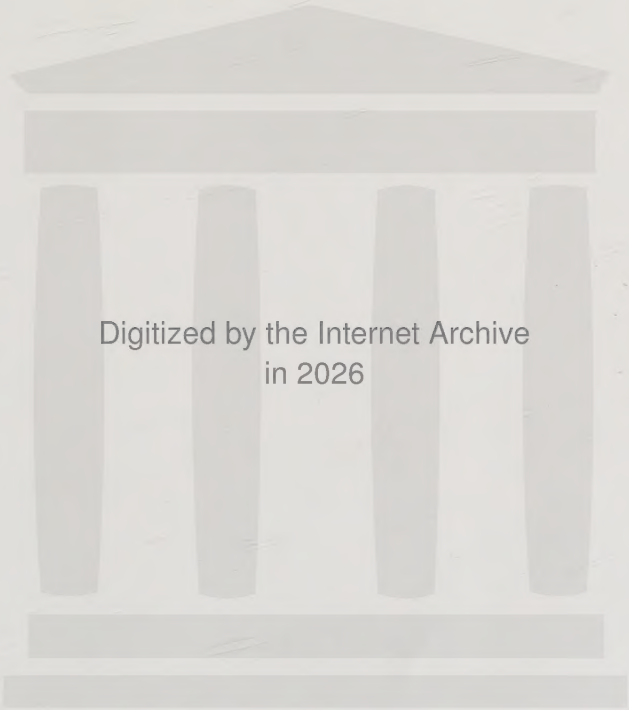
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THE

SELECT WORKS

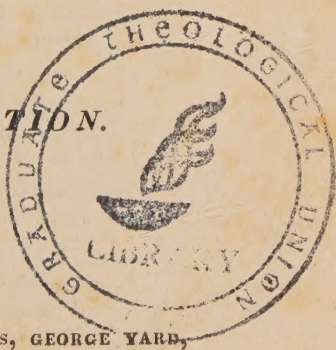
OF

WILLIAM PENN.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

THE FOURTH EDITION.



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CONTENTS

OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

Page.

An Address to Protestants of all Persuasions; more especially the Magistracy and Clergy; for the promotion of Virtue and Charity. In two Parts . . . . 1 *and* 45

Saul Smitten to the Ground: being a brief but faithful Narrative of the Dying Remorse of a late living Enemy to the People called Quakers, and their Faith and Worship, Matthew Hide. Attested by Eye and Ear Witnesses, whereof his Widow is one. Published, in Honour to God, for a Warning to Gainsayers, and a Confirmation to the Honest-hearted. With an Appendix, both to foes and friends, on this occasion . . 155

An Epistle to the Children of Light in this Generation, called of God to be Partakers of Eternal Life in Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God, and Light of the World 175

England's Great Interest in the Choice of this New Parliament. Dedicated to all her Freeholders and Electors 181

One Project for the good of England; that is, Our Civil Union is our Civil Safety. Humbly dedicated to the Great Council, the Parliament of England 189

A brief Examination and State of Liberty Spiritual: both with respect to Persons in their private capacity, and in their Church Society and Communion. Written for the Establishment of the Faithful, Information of the Simple-hearted, and Reproof of the Arrogant and High-minded 207

A Letter from William Penn, Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania in America, to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province, residing in London; containing a general Description of the said Province, its Soil, Air, Water, Seasons, and Produce, both natural and artificial, and the good increase thereof: with an Account of the Natives, or Aborigines 223

Page

The New Athenians no Noble Bereans: being Answers to several Athenian Mercuries, in behalf of the People called Quakers 237

A Key, opening the Way to every Capacity how to distinguish the Religion professed by the People called Quakers, from the Perversions and Misrepresentations of their Adversaries. With a brief Exhortation to all sorts of People, to examine their Ways and their Hearts, and turn speedily to the Lord 267

A Reply to a pretended Answer, by a Nameless Author, to W. Penn's Key; in which the Principles of the People called Quakers are farther explained and confirmed 293

Some Fruits of Solitude, in Reflections and Maxims relating to the Conduct of Human Life. In Two Parts 351

A brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers, in which their fundamental Principle, Doctrines, Worship, Ministry, and Discipline, are plainly declared 417

Primitive Christianity Revived, in the Faith and Practice of the People called Quakers. Written in Testimony to the present Dispensation of God, through them, to the World; that Prejudices may be removed, the Simple informed, the Well-inclined encouraged, and the innocent Friends rightly represented . . . 471

A Testimony to the Truth of God, as held by the People called Quakers. Being a short Vindication of them from the Abuses and Misrepresentations often put upon them by envious Apostates and mercenary Adversaries 513

A Defence of a Paper intitled Gospel Truths, against the Exceptions of the Bishop of Cork's Testimony . 527

The Advice of William Penn to his Children, relating to their Religious Conduct 590

AN ADDRESS

TO

PROTESTANTS OF ALL PERSUASIONS;

MORE ESPECIALLY THE

MAGISTRACY AND CLERGY;

FOR THE PROMOTION OF

VIRTUE AND CHARITY.

IN TWO PARTS.

BY WILLIAM PENN, A PROTESTANT.

Giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity. For if these things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh these things, is blind, and cannot see far off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins. 2 PET. i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Published in the Year 1679.

THE PREFACE.*

THE acceptance this address has found with all sorts of people, to whose hands it has come, who value religion for the sake of piety, more than out of interest or formality, hath brought it a second time to public view.

It was writ in the year 1679, as a Christian expedient for peace and safety: but our animosities were then too great, to consider of the best means to obtain them; which stood, and does, and will ever stand, in a thorough reformation of hearts and lives: else God, that cannot lie, in the ways of his providence, will undoubtedly meet with us, as he has often done and yet will do, to our great confusion, if we do not speedily repent and forsake those courses by which he is provoked against us. The design of the author was that of Christianity, to mend the spirits and lives of men, by shewing the odiousness of sin, the vanity of self,

* This Preface was put to a second edition of this book.

and the beauty of virtue, with the lamentable consequences that never fail to attend the one, and the advantages that always follow the other, wheresoever they are entertained, both to private persons and governments, to church and state. In which, as he went to the bottom, and dealt plainly with every party, so he did it without any animosity to their persons; and shews he laboured their reformation, affectionately, truly and thoroughly, both by letting them see the snares they have fallen by, and how to get out of them.

Three words may be said to comprehend this whole treatise: Vice, Presumption, and Violence; for under them is comprised the matter he strikes at, from first to last. They have their agreeable contraries, Virtue, Humility, and Charity, if not Unity. But we cannot come at them while the other stand in the way.

He has exposed vice in its deformities, and pointed to us the inevitable and dismal effects of it, in those countries where it has prevailed: a seasonable and informing lecture for our own times; which he chiefly refers to the civil magistrate, whose duty therein he shews and presses, with the next and proper means to suppress it; to wit, by a due execution of our just laws upon the present vicious livers, and a better education of our youth; that by preserving them from the infections of vice, the next generation at least may have some better pretence to virtue.

He is very close, and perhaps sharp, upon presumption in religion. This he detects likewise, and the many mischiefs it has done to Christian fellowship, and civil society too, by setting up men's opinions for articles of faith, and ties of religious communion; mistaking the nature of true faith, and debasing morality, in its work and weight in religion; and subjecting reason and truth to the results of human authority: whereby it has happened, that people have not had the witness in themselves for what they have embraced, nor their own convictions to warrant their conformity or profession; but an ancestor, a minister, their education, for the best reason and proof of their confession. And such as could not frame themselves to an easy compliance, but suffered inquiry to take place of authority, and would not allow an *ipse dixit*, or a constable's staff, for a sufficient resolution of their scruples, have suffered deeply in their persons or estates.

Not that I would have church-society, or authority, to be despised; they that do so, are much in the wrong: let every thing have its due place and just share; parents, education, church-power, &c. But let them have no more. Let God

have his part, who is sovereign of the conscience, and to whom every knee must bow: and they that bow in point of religion, without the convictions of his spirit, are rather idolaters than believers; to be sure they are merely formalists, and guilty of that implicit faith and blind obedience, which at other times we make so great a fault, and a sufficient reason of separation.

Violence, which is the last word, and that takes up the last part of this discourse, to which the presumption before expressed naturally tends, is that coercive power, used by those who are the strongest party, to impose their opinions and formalities upon the rest, at the hazard of their lives or estates that refuse to conform; though they dissent out of pure conscience to God: the breaches, ruin and destruction that have followed upon penal laws for religion, as they rise from creed-making, and the impatience of men to bear dissent from their own opinions, are become the scandal of Christianity all over the world. These two words, presumption and violence, are more immediately referred to the clergy of all persuasions, every where: though their hearers are invited to examine themselves, how far they lie under the guilt hereof, or are touched with a disposition to entertain the spirit that leads to persecution about religion. Nor does the author charge it upon every one of the clergy: but the faulty are reprehended, and the ignorant instructed, and the guiltless commended and confirmed in their moderation. And what is said of this kind of the clergy, may be yet as reasonably said of the laity: for though it is true that the civil officers that often prove the most violent executioners of penal laws for religion, are from among them; yet it is as true, that from among them also are found the most temperate and merciful spirits, that will least touch with cruelty, and are the most sensible of the miseries of the persecuted, and express the greatest compassion for them, and from whom, at last, the best part of their relief comes. But to avoid comparisons, and do what we can to be wholly upon the healing and truly reforming hand, it is greatly to be wished that the practice of piety were the main end and scope of men, the subject of their care and emulation; and that their hatred were to things, not to persons; to sin, and not to sinners. If we were as captious at our own actions, as we are at other people's faiths, we should live better lives, and they would live better by us: for so holiness and peace would be promoted. O that we could but once be persuaded to think of "working out our salvation!" It is not knowing, but doing, that recommends us to God, gives us peace, and fits us for heaven. That were the ready

way "to make our great calling and election sure." And what are we called to, but to holiness, to godliness, to purity? which makes us fit to see God, and that fits us for heaven, "For without holiness, no man," says the apostle, "shall see the Lord." He did not say without tongues, without philosophy, or without being an able disputant, a critic, a formalist, we should not see the Lord; but without holiness: for it is the peculiar privilege of the "pure in heart, to see God;" who is also "of purer eyes than to behold iniquity; without recompensing it with tribulation and wrath." Let us then humble ourselves to his voice, bow to his will, and set ourselves to love his law, and keep his commandments. We may remember who it was that said, "I have seen an end of all perfection, but thy commandments are exceeding broad." There is a glory, a comfort, a treasure in them not to be equalled; but known only to those that do observe them. For "Wisdom leads her children in the ways of righteousness, in the midst of the paths of judgment, and causes them that love her to inherit substance, and she fills their treasure." Riches and honour, and length of days are in her hands, and are the portion she often bestows upon her children: what, then, have we to do, but to hearken to her voice, and turn at her reproof, that we may live? The spirit of wisdom will be upon us; yea, the spirit of God and of glory will rest upon us. An ornament, a dignity, above that of earthly crowns and diadems. There were hopes of us, if we were but religious in earnest; every one in his own way; not false, cold, and unfaithful to what we pretend. I mean not exteriors now, but the holy fear of God, which all profess, and none truly have that live without an awful sense of his will and omnipresence. It is this that would teach us humility, and that would bring us to divine charity, till unity comes; which certainly would be very pleasant to God, very exemplary to the world, and honourable for religion, as well as comfortable for ourselves: for religion at heart would exercise our eyes more within than without, at home than abroad; and to conquer our sins and selves, would be a satisfaction transcending that of victory over the arguments and persons of our adversaries. Have we faith? Let us add then to our faith, virtue, or it is good for nothing; and to our virtue, knowledge, that it may be the more useful; and to knowledge, temperance, that we may not be conceited; and to temperance, patience, lest we faint by the way; and to patience, godliness, that we may be devoutly religious; and to godliness, brotherly kindness, that our zeal do not overrun love and fellowship; and to brotherly kindness, charity, the top

of all virtues and graces; without which, religion is a cypher, a bubble, an apparition at most; no solid or valid thing. Charity is comprehensive of all right love. It reaches to God, to our neighbour, and ourselves, both inwardly and outwardly: it reaches to heaven, as well as to the ends of the earth. It loves all, and acts towards all upon a principle of love; yea it is that love. "Charity," says the apostle, "suffers long and is kind:* charity envieth not: charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth: beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Charity never fails." Men are too often the worse for their wit, for their learning, aye for their religion too, if charity does not humble and sanctify them. "Ye know not of what spirit ye are" said the blessed Saviour of the world, to some of his overzealous disciples. There is a false, as well as a true zeal, and by their fruits we shall know them. True zeal is against sin, and shown best upon a man's self, his own life and conduct: it is tempered with wisdom, and will not outshoot the mark, especially towards others. But false zeal is nothing but passion in the name of religion. It is impatient, froward, angry, and revengeful. It can slander, quarrel, beat, plunder, and kill too, and all for God's sake! alas! their zeal is the excuse of their choler; and, for the most part, those that are captivated with it, are worse livers than those they so evilly treat; and, at best, shew most busy and concerned about the outside of religion. David was zealous, but not after this sort; for though he tells us that his "Zeal for God's house had eaten him up," yet he never said it had eaten up his neighbours. That furious zeal is strictly forbidden by Christ, the great Lord of the Christian religion.

It will therefore do us no hurt, if we try our own spirits, and see with what spirits we profess religion, and act for it. They that act not from religion, can never act rightly for religion; their spirits must be wrong; let their zeal swell as big as mountains, their faith can never remove one: they build upon the sand, and the fall of their building will be, at last, as terrible to themselves, as their ignorant zeal made it formerly burdensome to others.

Well then, where shall we pitch the nature and business of religion, under the various notions and shapes we find it wears among men, and that plainly and intelligibly? And with our answer to this, let us conclude this preface.

Religion, in the judgment of this author, is 'Living up

* Cor. iii. 5, 6, 7, 8.

to what a man knows of the mind of God: and attending diligently upon that light in himself, which gives him that knowledge of his duty.'

This is the gift of God by Christ, that "enlightens every man that comes into the world." This is the talent that men are intrusted with, to improve to the saving of their souls. And the apostle tells us, that "whatsoever may be known of God, is manifest in them, by this light," because "whatever makes manifest is light." Peruse John i. 9. chap. iii. 21. Rom. i. 19. Ephes. v. 13, 14. He that knows and acquaints himself with this holy light in himself, that comes by Christ, the great light of the world, and brings his deeds and thoughts to it, and squares his desires and will according to the manifestations and directions of it, will approve himself a disciple of Christ, a lover of religion, and therefore a religious man indeed: the nature and end of religion being our conformity to the will of God, which the apostle expounds to be our "sanctification;" and that cannot be, till we receive this holy leaven in ourselves, by which the whole lump of man comes to be leavened; man in body, soul, and spirit; man, throughout; man to be a new man: for so the apostolical doctrine instructs us, "that as we have long borne the image of the earthly, so we may come to bear the image of the heavenly man, the Lord from heaven;" and, like him, to be heavenly-minded. And truly, that is the man I would chose to associate myself with, and the church, society, or people, whose communion I would prefer, that are followers and children of this light of Jesus; who, destitute of pompous worship, and of tedious and difficult creeds, resolve all into an humble and daily watch and obedience to this light of Christ in the conscience, both as to their worship to God, and conversation among men, whatever the unjust unthinking world is pleased to judge of them.

I shall detain the reader no longer from the book itself. He will find virtue and charity the great tendency of it. And though it may be objected by some, that much of the service of it is over, because the current of persecution is stopped; they are under a great mistake: the service of it is not over; would it were: for debauchery of all sorts was never more impudent and epidemical; and as great uncharitableness still appears among people. Their hands are in some measure stopped or diverted, but their tongues are not, for they were never more on fire against one another: and we know, "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks." They do not only whisper, but rail and threaten one another; and, to be sure, religion must be much of the

ensign of their animosity: therefore till vice be suppressed, and education be better provided for, and presumption and violence extinguished, that so virtue, humility, and charity may prevail among us, this treatise will be serviceable: however, we are not to measure our duty by success: but if it shall please Almighty God to favour the honest purpose of the author with his blessing, that it may have those desirable effects where it comes, the author will exceedingly rejoice, and God shall have the glory of this, as of all other the services of his people; who is worthy for ever!

THE AUTHOR'S PREMONITION.

READER,

GREAT books seldom find readers; and it may be the times may render this such; for the motion of affairs is so swift, that action treads hard upon the heels of writing, and there is little time left to read: besides, people had rather converse with the living than the dead; and such all books are to men in business. This reflection at first daunted me, the tract being grown thus under my hand: but believing what I have writ to be both true and useful to our yet so much needed civil and ecclesiastical reformation, and taking encouragement by the kind reception of some former essays and addresses I made, I resolved to let it go; but with this care, that by prefixing contents, thou mayest readily turn to that part which may more immediately concern thee, or best suit and answer thy inquiry.

THE CONTENTS,

PART I.

§. 1. The introduction. Five great and crying evils of the times, under the correction of the civil magistrates.

§. 2. Of the sin of drunkenness.

§. 3. Of the sin of whoredom and fornication.

§. 4. Of the evil of luxury, and excess in apparel, in living, in furniture.

§. 5. Of the evil of gaming.

§. 6. Of the horrid sin of oaths, cursing and blasphemy.

§. 7. Of the sin of profaneness.

§. 8. An address to the magistrates for redress of those evils.

The first motive to this address, viz. the preservation of the government: examples of kingdoms, nations and people exalted by the practice of virtue, and overthrown by vice.

§. 9. The second motive to this address, viz. the benefit of posterity.

§. 10. The third and last motive to this address, viz. the glory of God.

PART II.

§. 1. Five capital evils that relate to the ecclesiastical state of these kingdoms.

§. 2. Of the first capital evil, viz. Opinions passing for faith.

§. 3. Of the second evil. A misunderstanding of the nature of the gospel faith, and mistakes about it.

§. 4. Of the third evil, viz. A debasing of the true value of morality under the pretence of higher things, mistaking the very end of Christ's coming.

§. 5. Of the fourth evil, viz. preferring human authority above reason and truth.

§. 6. Of the fifth evil, propagation of faith by force. Of the nature, difference, and limits of civil and ecclesiastical authority.

An appendix of the causes and cure of persecution.

An Address to Protestants.

PART I.

Sect. I.

The Introduction.

My friends and countrymen,

If you believe that there is a God, and that he is holy, just and good; that he made us; that we owe ourselves to him, and that he is not careless of us, but the constant observer of our thoughts and actions; and that as he is the rewarder of them that fear, love, and obey him, so he is the severe punisher of all such as transgress his law, and break his righteous commandments; if, I say, you believe these things, and not only that there is a final day of reckoning, but that God, even in this world, recompenses his judgments upon the wicked, and visits nations with his hot displeasure because of their impiety; which hath been the sensible experience and free confession of all ages; then it belongs to us of these kingdoms to reflect upon ourselves, and take a true view of our actions; since divine vengeance, for aught we see, is still at the door. And, for the Lord's sake, let us have a care in the doing of it, since "God will not be mocked;"* and that our miscarriage in such an inquiry will be, as only our own infelicity, so of infinite moment to us. I must needs be plain and earnest here; for if we miscarry in the search, we shall certainly miscarry in the cure. Sin gives the deadliest of all wounds to mankind; but, with grief I say it, for it is true, there is no wound so slightly healed. We rather seek our ease, than our security; like those fools, that love the pleasantest, not the safest potions. It is ill at all times to flatter a man's self; but it is most dangerous about repentance. Something men would keep, something men would hide; and yet they have to do with that "searcher of hearts,"† from whom it is impossible they should hide any thing. This folly increases our account, endangers our

* Gal. vi. 5, 6, 7. †Jer. xvii. 10.

cure, and makes our condition desperate, if not irrecoverable.

O England, my native country! Come to judgment! Bring thy deeds to the true light; see whether they are "wrought in God or no."* Put not off thyself with hay, straw and stubble; for they will burn, and the fire is at the door, that will consume them. He is coming, whose reward is with him, and will give every one according to his works.† Let us therefore examine ourselves, try ourselves, prove our ownselves, whether Christ be in us or not;‡ if his spirit, his nature, his meekness, his patience, his great self-denial, dwell in us: if not, we are reprobates; yet under the reproofs of the Almighty, the charge and guilt of sin; and his witness in our own consciences sends up evidence to heaven against us every day: this I justly fear and take to be our case. Let us therefore strictly look into our conversations, and with an impartial eye take a just view of those sins, that most severely cry to the great judge against us. And they appear to me to be of two sorts; the one relating more particularly to the state, and the other to the church, if I may without offence use that distinction; for my witness is with God, I intend not provocation to any, but the edification of all.

Those impieties that relate more particularly to the state to correct, are Drunkenness; Whoredoms and Fornication; Luxury or Excess, in Apparel, in Furniture, and in Living; Profuse Gaming; and finally, Oaths, Blasphemy, and Profaneness; these swarm in our streets, these are a scandal to our profession, and cry aloud to heaven, and provoke divine wrath against us.

Sect. II.

Of the Sin of Drunkenness.

Drunkenness, or excess in drinking, is not only a violation of God's law, but of our own natures: it doth, of all other sins, rob us of our reason, deface the impressions of virtue, and extinguish the remembrance of God's mercies and our own duty: it fits men for that which they would abhor, if sober. The incest, murder, robberies, fires, and other villanies, that have been done in drunken fits, make drunkenness a common enemy to human society. It renders men unfit for trust or business; it tells secrets, betrays friendship, disposes men to be trepanned and cheated: finally, it spoils health, weakens human race, and, above all, provokes the just God to anger, who cried thus of old

* John iii. 21. † Rev. xxii. 12. ‡ 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

against those that were guilty of it;* "Wo to the drunkards of Ephraim! the drunkards of Ephraim shall be trodden under feet: they have erred through wine, and through strong drink are out of the way; the priest and the prophet have erred through strong drink, they err in vision, they stumble in judgment." Again, "Wo unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink. Wo unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that continue unto night, till wine inflame them: and the harp, and the viol, the tabret and the pipe, and wine are in their feasts; but they regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the operations of his hands. Therefore hell hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure, and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoices, shall descend into it."

Yet, you will bear me witness, I do not wrong the present humour of too many in this nation, and those not of the lowest quality, in saying, that it is too often the beginning and top of their friendship: it is their common diversion and entertainment. I might safely say, the poor of England could be maintained by their excess. O! hath the God of heaven given men plenty for such ends? Or will this kind of improvement of their worldly talent give them peace in the day of judgment? But that people should do this without shame, nay, glory in it too, is greatly to be lamented; for it is not only palate or appetite, but an unnatural vanity of conquest, excites not a few; as if it were matter of triumph to drown a man's reason, and to degrade him to the beast.

Let us hear, upon the whole matter, the sentence pronounced against them by the wise man.† "Who hath woe? who hath sorrow, who hath contentions? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine, they that go to seek mixed wine. Look not thou upon the wine, when it is red, when it giveth his colour in the cup, when it moveth itself aright; at the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder. Thine eyes shall behold strange women, and thine heart shall utter perverse things."

Here is much of the mischiefs of drunkenness in a little, and of the excess and wantonness of the drunkard. But, alas! did ever any age come near ours, when the very tasting of the several sorts of wine (that are liberally drank of at many tables) is enough to distemper a temperate head?

* Isa. xxviii. 1, 2, 3. Amos vi. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.
† Prov. xxiii. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33.

But that such excesses should be endured by Christian governments, while the backs of the poor are almost naked, and their bellies miserably pinched with hunger, is almost as great a shame to our pretences to policy, as those (I fear) we unwarrantably make to religion. O! that we were fit to receive that heavenly exhortation of the apostle, "Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the spirit," (which, God knows, is mocked at! he goes on) "speaking to yourselves," (not in lampoons nor obscene songs, that excite lust, but) "in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord; giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."[2]

Sect. III.

Of the Sin of Whoredom and Fornication.

The next crying sin is that of whoredom and fornication. From one of the cleanest people under heaven, I fear, we are become one of the most unchaste, at least in and about London. The French have sufficiently revenged themselves upon us, by the loose manners they have brought amongst us, of which this makes a great part. But I must needs say, to their credit, but our reproach, they keep their wits in their debaucheries; whilst we, by over-doing them, in the imitation of them, lose both. What is become of the ancient education of the kingdom? Our integrity, gravity, and manhood, which gave our men so great reputation in the world? Is it not turned into swearing and drinking, fiddling and dancing, fine clothes, a duel and a wench? Their profaneness must pass for wit, and their base crafts be called policy.

But where is that retired breeding, which made our women as famous for their virtue, as they were always held for their beauty? Alas! there hath been a sort of industry used to subdue their native modesty, as if it were ill breeding to have it; and arts practised to make them hardy against their own blushes, and master their shy and bashful disposition (so peculiar to chastity) into an unconverted confidence: as if to be insensible of ill were their perfection, and to be tame at all things a virtue. Strange! that sobriety should be turned into levity! and lust called love! and wantonness, good humour! to introduce which, nothing has been so pernicious as the use of plays and romances amongst us, where the warm and uneven passions of our youth, easily transported beyond the government of their reason, have

been moved and excited to try that in earnest, which they have heard or seen in jest.

But which way soever this ungodly latitude came in, certain it is, that what forty years ago was not fit to be named in conversation, is now practised without any scruple. Marriage, which is God's ordinance, and as lovely to chaste minds as lawful, is now grown a dull thing, old and clownish, kept up only for issue, and that because the law will have it so; a sort of formality, not yet thought fit to be abrogated: so that what was once ordained of God for many other helps and comforts, and permitted by the holy apostle to prevent lust, "(better marry than burn)" is by the extravagant growth of vice turned to quite the contrary. For some men, and (which is worse) some women too, have said, 'They could love their wives and husbands, if they were not their wives and husbands;' though that be the true reason why they ought to love them. It is, in short, to say, if they were in that condition in which they ought not to love them, they could love them; but being in that condition in which they ought to love them, they declare they cannot love them: yet, alas! they must be called Christians, and children of God: what a shame is this; and what scandal to society? But, for God's sake, let this impiety be laid to heart! let not the marriage-bed be so horribly defiled; let not our virgins be so basely abused: it destroys honour, fortitude, health: it pollutes houses, and makes the issue of the nation spurious: it occasions great unkindnesses, rents, confusions, and divisions in families, between husband and wife, parents and children, masters, mistresses, and servants: it spots their name: but, above all, the poor children are unhappy, that wear an ignominy they never deserved. In fine, it teaches young men to slight marriage, and married men to break their contracts. If religion were not interested in it, yet the very breed of the nation is visibly injured by it: good horse-men are more nice and careful in their steeds: the policy of these kingdoms is concerned in preventing the mischiefs, that follow such licentious practices.

But if we will consider the share that religion has both in virginity and in marriage, we shall find many severe sentences past upon the violators of them.* "Thou shalt not commit adultery," saith God. "The adulterer shall be put to death,"† saith the same God. "I will be a swift witness against the adulterer," saith the Lord.‡ "Know ye not, that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived, neither fornicators, nor

* Exod. xx. 14. † Lev. xx. 10. ‡ Mal. iii. 5.

adulterers, nor effeminate persons, nor abusers of themselves with mankind."* And the holy apostle gives the reason,† "The body is not for fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body: know ye not," saith he, "that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid! Flee fornication: he that committeth fornication, sinneth against his own body. What?" saith he, "know ye not, your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own? For ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit, which are God's. If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy." O can men profess to believe these things, and lead that wretched life they live! But yet again hear this man of God: "But fornication, and all uncleanness, or covetousness, let it not be once named amongst you, as becometh saints; neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not convenient; but rather giving of thanks. For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words; for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience: be not ye therefore partakers with them, and have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness; but rather reprove them: see then, that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil."‡ I shall conclude with these two passages; the first is this, "Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled; but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge!"‖ This is the other, "But the fearful and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death." This alone ought to deter all people, who have any respect for holy scripture, and do believe the mind of God to be declared therein. Let then both cities, courts, towns, and houses, be swept of such iniquity; let the law have its course upon those immoral transgressors; let not God be provoked to destroy us, and let all such turn to God by unfeigned repentance; that sobriety, chastity, and virtuous conversation, may return again among us. So shall we escape the wrath, that

* 1 Cor. vi. 9, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20. † Ch. iii. 17.
Eph. v. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16. ‖ Heb. xiii. 4. Rev. xxi. 8.

for this, with other enormities, is ready to break out yet farther against us.

Sect. IV.

Of the Sin of Luxury, or excess in Living.

The third crying sin of this land, is great luxury and voluptuousness, and that in several respects: in apparel, in furniture, in feasting: in these things there is great excess. An excess is the immoderate use of any thing. That which is lawful in itself, may be abused in the use of it. What is more allowable, yet what is more abused, than clothes and victuals? The end of apparel is to cover nakedness, keep people warm, distinguish sexes; but the end is perverted. It is now used more for ornament, for pride, for lust; to beget esteem, and to draw respect to the person that wears it, than any real benefit: a mean, an effeminate, a wretched way to honour; yet such is the folly of the age, that few things are more reverenced. It opens doors, gets access, obtains dispatches, carries away the cap and the knee from most other pretences. The truth is, this vanity abuses the reason of just respect; for true quality, if plain, is not to be known among fine clothes. But it does not only confound all reasonable distinction, and those civil degrees that are among people, but it begets pride: they think themselves somebody, if they are fine; plain clothes must give them the way and the wall, and keep the distance too. It introduces effeminacy, and excites to wantonness; it provokes to prodigality, and leads people to idleness. But there is a sort of madness in it too; for it is not so much the apparel, as the trimming; not the clothes, but the cut, the mode, the figure, that prevails: and as often as this changes, clothes grow useless, that are not half worn out. This is an iniquity against the good of the government, as well as against God and his creatures; and there is so strong a temptation in it, that not a few turn naught to be fine, as well as that the fine turn naught. In short, there is no good, no advantage, prudence or conveniency in this excess: the law of God and of the land rebuke it: the third chapter of Isaiah is almost intirely employed against it,* in which God does not only rebuke the "Haughty looks, the wanton eyes, and enticing mein and behaviour of the women of those times;" but declares his resolution too, "that he would take away the bravery of their ornaments, chains, bracelets, rings, jewels, and changeable suits of apparel, and that their perfume should be turned into a stink; and instead of a girdle there

* Isa. iii.

should be a rent, and instead of well-set hair, baldness; and instead of a stomacher, a girding of sackcloth; and burning instead of beauty. Thy men," said God, "shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war; and her gates shall lament and mourn; she being desolate, shall sit upon the ground."

This was also the sin of Tyrus, as we may see, Ezek. xxvii. For pomp and pride she excelled in those days: she boasted in her splendour and sumptuous living; her buildings were lofty, her furniture stately, her apparel costly, but her end was trouble, and her destruction very great. And God expressly threatens by his prophet Zephaniah; "I will punish the princes and the kings children, and all that are clothed with strange apparel." What is this strange apparel? Is it new fashions? Then we are guilty with a witness. Or is it the fashions of strange countries? It is still our own case. We have been more careful to receive the law from France for our clothes, than from Christ for our conversation; and so prevalent is the humour of that country with us, and powerful the ascendant it hath over us, that we seem to be Frenchmen living in England. But in this, as also in all other things, the Christian religion excels, and that for the good of civil society. It reproves this excess, limits the vain mind of man, and teaches that decent plainness, which becomes the providence and gravity of civil government.

Hear the language of the holy apostles, whose doctrine we all pretend to believe:* "I will, therefore," saith Paul, "that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety, not with broidered hair, or gold, or costly array; but (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works." The same doctrine is repeated by the apostle Peter, speaking to the Christian women, to whom he wrote,† "Let not your adorning be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is, in the sight of God, of great price: for after this manner in the old time, the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves." Would to God I could say for the women of our age, that they trusted in God too, and adorned themselves with no other ornaments, than what agreed with the modest and humble plainness of those Christian times!

But the laws of the land, as well as the Christian law, reprove this excess. They only want to be refreshed and

* 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10. † 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4, 5.

enforced by the care of our superiors: were they strictly put in execution, it would not only prevent much mischief, and increase the wealth of the kingdom, but make private men in a little time thank the just and seasonable severity of the government. For it would help to keep them within compass, to preserve (which is one way to increase) their estate; to enlarge their trade, provide better for their children, and open their hands more liberally to the poor: and this, I am sure, God requires at our hands.

What I have said against excess in apparel, is also applicable to excess in furniture: for as finery is more valued than clothes, so is the furniture than the house. It is a most inexcusable superfluity, to bestow an estate to line walls, dress cabinets, embroider beds, with an hundred other unprofitable pieces of state, such as massy plate, rich china, costly pictures, sculpture, fret-work, inlayings, and painted windows, of no use in the earth, only for show and sight: the interest of which money, so ill employed, might probably maintain the poor of the nation.—'O Lord God! hast thou given us plenty, and should we see others want? Should we clothe our dead walls, and let thy poor go naked? Can we feed our eyes with these objects, and not feed the hungry with bread, and spend our money upon lifeless pictures, but shut up our bowels to thy living image, the poor and needy of the earth? Rebuke this evil mind, and bring down the pride of all flesh, O Lord! for thy name's sake.'

The last excess is that of feasting and voluptuousness, immoderate eating and drinking, with that strain of mirth and jollity, which is the mode and practice of the times. Dives is almost got into every family, especially of those of note and estate; and it is want of wealth, and not of will, that the greatest part of the nation is not guilty: they mostly sin to their ability, and that is sad. But the sin of voluptuousness is swelled to that bulk, that there are more receipts for eating and drinking, than there are precepts of life in the old and new law. The book of cookery has outgrown the bible, and I fear is read oftener; to be sure, it is more in use. In this art the lust of the flesh is deeply concerned; there is not so much care of the stomach, as of the palate, of health, as pleasure: it is the taste, the gust, the relish, that makes the victuals go down; therefore the sauce is preferred before the meat. Twelve pennyworth of flesh, with five shillings of cookery, may happen to make a fashionable dish; plain beef, mutton, or any other thing, is become dull food: but by that time its natural relish is lost in the crowd of the cook's ingredients, and the meat sufficiently disguised to the eaters, it passes under a French name for a

rare dish. But there is one thing in this impiety more than ordinarily condemnable: it destroys hospitality, and wrongs the poor: for that expense, which is now flung away upon a vicious palate, upon a French soup, or sauce, in former times afforded several dishes of substantial victuals; which did not only feed strangers or neighbours, but the poor, who have now little more than (what the dogs had then) empty dishes to lick. This is abusing the providence of God, tyrannizing over the creatures made for man's use, and sacrificing their poor lives, not to our lives, but to our lust. It is against such as these "the creation groans," and from whose intemperance it "cries to be delivered." Rom. viii. 21, 22.

God, in all ages, had a controversy with voluptuous men, and the testimonies of sacred records are strong and numerous against them: I will mention a few of them. Voluptuousness was the sin of the old world:* "They were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, pleasing the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, until the day of the flood." This also was the condition of Sodom; Christ himself has expressed it in these words:† "In the days of Lot they did eat, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded; the same day that Lot went out of Sodom, it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all." The prophet Ezekiel has it in these words, speaking to Jerusalem,‡ "Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness, was in her and her daughters: neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy; and they were haughty, and committed fornication before me; therefore I took them away, as I saw good." And it is very remarkable, that the voluptuousness of the Israelites was joined with their idolatry. It is said, that when Moses was in the mount, the people, impatient of his stay,§ "Sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play." They had got a calf of gold, and were dancing about it; but it was a dismal ball, and they paid dear for their junket, for several thousands were slain; and it is said, that "God plagued the people." Job's children had as ill success in their festivals;‖ "They went from house to house, eating and drinking; and a tempest rose, and smote the four corners of the house, and it fell and killed them." But most express is that complaint of God, by the mouth of the prophet Amos, against the voluptuous Jews: "Ye that put so far away the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near;

* Gen. vi. Mat. xxiv. 37, 38, 39. † Gen. xix. Luke xvii. 28, 29.
‡ Ezek. xvi. 49. 56. § Exod. xxxii. 28. ‖ Job i. 19.

that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and calves out of the midst of the stall: that chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music, like David :* that drink bowls of wine, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments; but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph. Therefore now shall they go captive with the first that go captive, and the banquet of them that stretched themselves shall be removed. And I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation; and I will make the end thereof a bitter day."

I shall sum up these excesses, and conclude the instances, with the story of Dives, more commonly known, than reverently believed, at least considered; it is delivered to us, by the great Lord of truth in these words: "There was a certain rich man, which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day. And there was a certain beggar, named Lazarus,† which was laid at his gate, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom. The rich man also died, and was buried: and in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried, and said, father Abraham, have mercy upon me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue, for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy life-time receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented. And besides all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed, so that they which would pass from hence to you, cannot; neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence."

This great passage comprehends the state of men in both worlds: it shows to us what that life is in this world, which leads to misery in the next, and what to happiness. No sensual man, no voluptuous person, not those that deck themselves with delicate apparel, and fare sumptuously every day, that love their back and their belly more than God and the poor, shall be received into Abraham's bosom, or dwell in blessedness for ever. Let none deceive themselves, the jealous God will not be mocked.‡ "If you sow to the flesh, ye shall reap corruption; but if you sow to the spirit, ye shall reap life everlasting."

* Amos vi. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. and chap. viii. 20. † Luke xvi. 19. 26.
‡ Gal. vi. 8.

They that live in pleasures, "Kill the just;"* they crucify the just witness in themselves: such treasure up wrath against the day of wrath.† "Wo, anguish and tribulation to every soul that doth evil, whether jew or gentile, professor or profane, Christian or infidel:" for the Dives's under all these names must be turned into hell: but such as, through patience and well doing, wait for immortality, as poor Lazarus did, after all their poverty, neglect, and hunger, shall receive "Glory, honour, and eternal life."‡ And truly it is some comfort to the miserable in this world, that they shall not live always in it, and that they have to do with a God, who is "no respecter of persons." This judge is impartial; the poor are upon even terms with the rich; and it will not be quality, but integrity; not riches, but righteousness, which will recommend us to him. No wonder then, if the prophet Jeremiah, in the name of God, charged the ancient jews not to go into "the house of feasting;"§ and that Ecclesiastes hath said, "It is better to go to the house of mourning, than to the house of feasting," since so many evils follow it. But there is one feast, that even Christ himself allows us; though I have little reason to believe it will be imitated, when I consider the natural averseness that is, even among professed Christians, to his self-denying precepts and example. "Thou," said Jesus, "When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends or thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen nor thy rich neighbours, lest they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee." (This would beget feasting, the thing to be avoided; no such matter.) "But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind, and thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee; but thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just."‖ There are few that strive to obey this counsel: there is so little of fashion, or of interest in it. What! persons of quality feast the poor, carve for the maimed, and feed the blind? It is too mean, too ignominious! If they have the bones, the scraps, the crumbs, it is well. No, no; this doctrine is too like him that taught it, to be practised by them that are so unlike him. They that follow him in these things, must "take up the cross, despise the shame, and sow in hope:" but because there is an everlasting recompense for those that do, I fervently desire of God, that it would please him to put it into the minds of both magistrates and people to "love mercy, do justice, walk humbly with the Lord," and meekly and charitably towards all men. I beseech you, in the tender bowels of a

* James v. 5, 6. † Rom. ii. 8, 9. ‡ Rom. ii. 7. § Eccles. vii. 2
‖ Luke xiv. 12, 13, 14.

Christian man, to consider of the present conjuncture:* is this a time for feasts and revels, plays and pastimes, when the very wrath of God seems to hang by a slender thread over our heads? O! let your moderation be known unto all men, now the Lord is so near at hand, so very near indeed.

And I do humbly pray the supreme authority of this land, to put a speedy check to these exorbitances, to discountenance these excesses, by the revival of the good old laws of the land, and in making of such new ones, as may be thought convenient to prevent such pride and prodigality. For I think I may, both with modesty and truth, affirm, if the very unnecessary expenses of most ranks or degrees in this kingdom could be brought into one public purse, they would arise to three times more money, than either is given, or is requisite, to the maintenance of the poor that are in it: and whether this be a thing practicable or no, it matters not, though I believe it is; the very preventing of that excess which is amongst us, would be pleasing to Almighty God, and one way or other beneficial to the whole.

Sect. V.

Of the Evil of Gaming.

It may not be improper for me here to follow this head of excess with the sin of gaming; an invention of much mischief in the world, and therefore inconsistent both with Christianity and civil government. The evils that attend it are neither small nor few. It is, first, a great enemy to business, and that just care that people ought to have for the discharge of their respective capacities in their civil affairs. Next, it is one of the greatest thieves to men's estates: many brave families have been ruined by a gamester. That which hath been got by the care and prudence of a father, it may be, hath been lost in one night by the extravagant humour of a son: but that the reward of virtue should be the stake of folly, and the painful acquest of worthy ancestors exposed to the chance and hazard of the die, is such impiety to God's providence, ingratitude to parents, injury to their own families, and disgrace to the government, that I conceive it may very well deserve the care of our superiors to prevent that extravagancy for the future, by the execution of the laws in being against it. Thirdly,, It is a great consumer of time. They who are addicted to gaming, are generally the most idle and useless

* Mic. vi. 5, 6, 7, 8. Col. iii. 14.

people in any government: and give me leave to say, that men are accountable to the government for their time: there ought to be no idleness in the land; for that end bridewells are provided. Of many other sins people are weary; but of this never, unless to sleep or eat, or for want of money to play. We are commanded to "redeem the time, because the days are evil;"* but these people choose rather to lose their time, and fall into the evil they should avoid. A gamester and a Christian, are as opposite as a saint and a sinner; for the Christian looks to God in the increase of his estate, but the gamester to skill and chance; and there is no more of God in his mind, than there is in his game: and it cannot be otherwise. Fourthly, Therefore gaming deserves to be suppressed, because it has been the occasion of breach of friendship, quarrels, bloodshed and murder: if we ought to shun the occasions of evil, to be sure we ought not to indulge them.

The last mischief that belongs to gaming (which I shall mention at this time) is the horrid oaths and passionate imprecations used by the generality of gamesters; but because they are not confined to gaming, but run through the whole conversation of men, they may very well challenge a place among those "crying sins," that I found myself obliged in conscience to complain of, to such as have power in their hands to punish and suppress them.

Sect. VI.

On the horrid Sin of Oaths, Cursing, and Blasphemies.

I have therefore reserved to speak of oaths, curses, and blasphemies till last, because I take them to be the most provoking sin. The other enormities of drunkenness, whoredom, excess, &c. do more immediately relate to ourselves; and are therefore sins against God, because they are a transgression of that order, which he placed in the nature of things: but oaths and blasphemies must be referred to God himself; they are sins committed more immediately against his being, his name, and the majesty and dignity of his nature. It is horrible to hear how he is called upon about every thing, be it never so trivial; yea, about nothing, and worse than nothing. He is summoned at their games, their sports, their obscenities, in their drunkenness, whoredoms, murders, rapines, and treachery. There is a generation that cannot speak without him, though they can live without him. They would make him a voucher of all their falshood, and a witness for their lies, as often as

* Ephes. v. 16.

they would be believed. But I tremble to remember, with what presumption some men, when transported into rage, invoke him to damn those they are angry with, yea, themselves too; and how impiously they send him at their pleasure upon the errand of their vengeance. Can there be greater blasphemy, than to dare so much as to think, that the holy, wise, and just God, should be the executioner of their passion and fury, and the avenger of their malice and corrupt interests? And it is observable, that if in any thing they are crossed or disappointed, they fall a swearing, cursing, damning, blaspheming; as if the name of God should make them satisfaction; or that it were a sort of ease to them, to deliver themselves of a burden of oaths.

But that which aggravates this evil, is the impudence of the people that commit it: they are not contented to use it at home, and at alehouses and taverns abroad; but in the open streets, markets, and fairs; in the most notorious places of commerce and traffick; to the dishonour of God, the grief and offence of sober men, and the bad example of those that are not so. But this shameful impiety ends not here; it has not only prevailed with the populace, the *canaille*, the vulgar; but the men of quality, the gentry, and the nobles of the realm, to whom God in his providence hath been more propitious, placing them at the distance of example and imitation to the multitude; even those that ought to be the heads of our tribes, the leaders of the people; whose virtue should at least keep pace with their quality, are guilty of this impious and base custom, and too many of them more concerned in it, than the meanest of the people. And to carry this practice to the utmost height of that mischief it seems capable of doing, too many, God knows, of those in authority use it; even the men, that by law should suppress it! and if men of office and power, that ought, in their several trusts, to be a terror to evil-doers, were so, methinks they should not suffer the name of the God of the nation (whom they pretend to worship) to be so profanely used and blasphemed; and, least of all, that they should be the men themselves, who commit the enormities that they should punish. To say truth, and with grief of soul I speak it, so universal is this contagion in the kingdom, that not only the elder sort and youth, but the children are infected: the boys of seven years old, that in my time did not think upon an oath, are now full of their God-damn-you's and God-damn-me's at their sports and plays! and the women of our nation, especially those of any rank, who by a reserved education, and the modesty of the sex, were scarcely ever heard to curse, even what they did not like, (much less to swear upon ordinary occasions) are, some

of them, grown hardy enough to do both. At whose door must all these mischiefs lie? I beseech God to put it into the hearts of our superiors, to use their utmost diligence to rebuke and suppress this and the like impieties!

We profess ourselves to be Christians, followers of that Jesus, "in whose mouth no guile was ever found:" what precept did he ever give us, what example hath he left us, to countenance this practice? It is true, he charged his disciples "not to swear at all;" but we cannot think ourselves to obey him, when we swear at every thing: pray consider the great difference there is betwixt Christ and such Christians. Christ is Lord of a more perfect law than that which came by Moses, which admits of oaths in some cases; but they were few, and must be kept upon great penalties: this new law of Jesus takes away oaths, by taking away the cause and need of them, namely, falshood and distrust; and by planting plainness, truth, and integrity in the natures of men, which make them such faithful disciples to him, and so entirely brethren to one another, that there seems no farther use for oaths among men under that qualification. "Ye have heard of old time," saith Christ Jesus, "Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but perform thy vows unto the Lord:" this was not swearing at pleasure, not swearing vainly; this was thus far good, it was the perfection of the law. So it was, "not to kill, nor to commit adultery:" but Christ Jesus carries it higher: 'Thou must not be angry: thou must not look upon a woman to lust after her: thou must not swear at all:* thou must not do that which was allowed or dispensed with under the law: for what the law could not do, through weakness, I am come to do: therefore let your communication, your speech, (for so the word should be rendered) be yea, yea, and nay, nay; speak the truth, by saying, yea, yea, or nay, nay; yes, yes, or no, no; for what is more, or imports more, than this, or rises higher, or goes farther, than this plainness and simplicity, is both needless and evil in a Christian; for it cometh of evil.' This is the doctrine of Jesus. Certainly then there can be no agreement between him and the swearing, damning Christians of this age, who are so far from obeying him, whose name they take, that they are not come to the righteousness of the law, that condemns all vain swearing; but lie under the heavy judgment of the Lord for the breach of his third commandment,† "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless, that taketh his name in vain." It is esteemed a profanation of things set apart for divine worship, to employ them in our common and ordinary services; and is it

* Mat. v. † Exod. xx. 7.

not profanation with a vengeance, to suffer the name of the great God to be prostituted at every turn by lewd and debauched people? Can we be so careful of our own names, and so careless of God's? Is it possible, that we can be more tender of ourselves, than concerned for him? For him, I say, who made us, and gives us life, breath, and being; to whom we owe ourselves, and all that we are? but that men, to right themselves, upon every little affront, should expose their lives to the utmost peril, and not find in their heart so much as to rebuke the indignities daily put upon heaven, is an ill proof of zeal and religion.

But as insensible as such are of their duty, God is not wanting to his own glory: he has forbidden these things; let men disobey at their peril.* "Ye shall not swear by my name falsly," saith God, "neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God; I am the Lord." Hear, O ye swearers, the judgment that God has denounced against you!† "Every one that sweareth shall be cut off." How cut off? From God.—Again, "The land is full of adulteries; and because of swearing the land mourneth: Behold! the whirlwind of the Lord shall heavily fall upon the head of the wicked."

Sect. VII.

Of the Sin of Profaneness.

To this I shall add a brief reflection upon that pernicious sin of profaneness, so near of kin to oaths and blasphemy. Such is the degeneracy of the age we are fallen into, that profaneness does not only go unpunished, but boldly lays claim to wit, and fills the conversation of too many of those that think themselves raised above the genius of the vulgar. He is reputed formal, that will not be rude to sacred things; and a man insipid, of no sense or salt, who cannot jeer devotion: and, which is strange, they make the bible a sort of common-place; but it is for mockery, not for piety. The phrases they use, are picked to abuse that holy book; and the profaneness is placed to the account of wit. But truly, if men must rally religion at the peril of passing else for fools, and abuse scripture to purge themselves from the sin of reverencing it, there is here an unhappiness in being conscientious; and, on the side of this world, the temptation to be profane is stronger than the encouragement to be virtuous. For this is my soul grieved, that men should use their wit to abuse him that gave it them; and that, though there is more to be said for religion, than there can be said against

* Jer. xxiii. 10, 19. † Zech. v. 3.

it, both with respect to its reasonableness and usefulness, and that the hazard of being irreligious is incomparably greater on the part of these atheistical scoffers, than of men professing to fear God, and believe another world, they shall yet be so constant and obstinate in their loose and lewd conversation? But if the profaning of the least thing that was dedicated to the worship of God in the times of the law, was so heinous a sin, what should we say, when men stick not to profane the name of God himself, and scoff at his revealed will, so much greater than either temple or altar, or those rites belonging unto them! God Almighty give his strong rebuke to this extravagant spirit!

And to you all, that live in the practice of these open and crying sins I have at this time insisted upon, this I say unto you, in the fear of God; 'Repent of the evil of your doings;' bring not down the farther judgments of God upon this land; they may be the affliction of many, but in the end they will be your punishment: ye shall pay the reckoning of their sufferings in the other world, and God will charge you with the calamity that they shall endure! remember, before it is too late. Dreadful things are denounced against the wicked; therefore go not on to gratify your heart's lusts, and to forget the living God; for this shall be the end of such works, that God will certainly bring you to judgment:* "And who may abide the day of his coming? And who shall stand when he appears?" No flesh can stand in his presence. Consider that awakening saying of the apostle,† "That the righteous scarcely are saved;" and if so, "Where shall the ungodly, where shall the wretched sinner appear?" How shall such be able to hold up their heads in the day of his wrath, in the hour of his judgment, at that great time of inquisition, when a final reckoning shall be past, and all must render an account of the deeds they have done, and receive the reward due unto them? Therefore, "while it is to-day, harden not your hearts against God and his law:" flatter not yourselves: to be Christians, ye must be like Christ: and if ye will be saved from wrath, ye must be redeemed from sin; for "the wages of sin is death:"‡ what we sow, we must reap. Increase not therefore guilt upon your consciences, by rebelling against the light, that shines in them, &c. But lay your impieties to heart, mourn with true contrition of soul, and yet love righteousness and hate iniquity, and ye will prevent the civil magistrate, and probably avert the indignation of God that hangs over the nation. You cannot say you do not know your duty, but you do not

* Eccles. xi. 9. † Mal. iii. 2. 1 Pet. iv. 18.
‡ Rom. viii. 11, 14. Gal. vi. 7.

do it: the light is come, and shines in you; and the grace appears daily to you, and in you, against the very imaginations and motions to evil; and you are self-condemned in your excesses of all sorts; and if your hearts condemn you, God will not justify you:* therefore bring your deeds to the true light with which Christ has enlightened you, and examine if they are wrought in God or no; and begin a cordial reformation, which stands in the 'spirit of reformation.'

Sect. VIII.

An Address to the Civil Magistrate for Redress.

Having thus ended my reflections upon the five great crying sins of the kingdom, and my reproof of the actors and promoters of them; give me leave to make my humble and Christian address to you that are in authority. And, in the first place, I beseech you to remember, that though ye are as gods on earth, yet ye shall die like men: that ye are encompassed with like passions, and are subject to sin. Such therefore of you, as may be concerned in any of these enormities (to whatever degree of guilt it be) I beg you, in the name of God, to "search yourselves," and to be just to your own souls. O! let the mercies and providences of God constrain you to unfeigned repentance! turn to the Lord, love righteousness, hate oppression, and he will turn to you, and love you and bless you.

In the next place, be pleased to consider your commission, and examine the extent of your authority; you will find that God and the government have empowered you to punish these impieties: and it is so far from being a crime, that it is your duty. This is not troubling men for faith, nor perplexing people for tenderness of conscience; for there can be no pretence of conscience to be drunk, to whore, to be voluptuous, to game, swear, curse, blaspheme and profane; no such matter. These are sins against nature, and against government, as well as against the written laws of God. They lay the axe to the root of human society, and are the common enemies of mankind. It was to prevent these enormities, that government was instituted; and shall government indulge that which it is instituted to correct? This were to render magistracy useless, and the bearing of the sword vain: there would be then no such thing in government as "a terror to evil-doers:" but every one would do that which he thought right in his own eyes. God Almighty defend us from this sort of anarchy!

There are three great reasons, which enforce my suppli-

* John i. 9. iii. 21.

cation. The first is, 'The preservation of the government;' which, by such improvidence and debauchery, is like to be greatly weakened, if not destroyed. The industry, wealth, health, and authority of the nation, are deeply concerned in the speedy and exemplary punishment of these extravagancies. This is the voice of interest, for the common good of the whole society; rulers and ruled.

But there is an higher voice, unto which Christian men ought to have regard, and that is, the 'Voice of God,' who requires us to fear him, and obey his righteous commandments, at the peril of making him our enemy, whom we should make our common friend and protector: for upon his goodness depends our very natural and civil comforts. So that it is our interest to be good; and it is none of the least arguments for religion, that the piety and practice of it is the peace and prosperity of government; and, consequently, that vice, the enemy of religion, is, at the same time, the enemy of human society. What then should be more concerned for the preservation of virtue, than government; that, in its abstract and true sense, is not only founded upon virtue, but, without the preservation of virtue, it is impossible to maintain the best constitution that can be made? And however some particular men may prosper that are wicked, and several private good men miscarry in the things of this world, in which sense things may be said "to happen alike to all, to the righteous as to the wicked;" yet I dare boldly affirm, and challenge any man to the truth thereof, that in the many volumes of the history of all the ages and kingdoms of the world, there is not one instance to be found, where the hand of God was against a righteous nation, or where the hand of God was not against an unrighteous nation, first or last? Nor where a just government perished, or an unjust government long prospered? Kingdoms are rarely as short-lived as men, yet they also have a time to die: but as temperance giveth health to men, so virtue gives time to kingdoms; and as vice brings men betimes to their grave, so nations to their ruin.

It is the reason given by God himself for the destruction of the old world. We have that example before our eyes, that a whole world has perished for its sin, 'its forgetfulness of God, and their duty to him; one family only excepted.' Gen. vi. That is the reason which God renders for casting out the people of those countries, that he gave into the hands of the children of Israel; "they were full of uncleanness, adulteries, fornication, and other impieties." And though he is sovereign Lord of the world, and may dispose of the kingdoms therein as pleaseth him (for he that gives, can take

away; and he that builds, can cast down; and mankind is but a tenant at will, to receive or surrender at his Lord's good pleasure) yet he useth not that prerogative to justify his gift of those countries to the Jews; but, at the end of his prohibition of unlawful marriages and lusts, he charges them in these words;* "Defile not yourselves in any of these things; for in all these the nations are defiled, which I cast out before you; and the land is defiled; therefore do I visit the iniquities thereof upon it; and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants. Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and judgments, and shall not commit any of these abominations, neither any of your own nation, nor any stranger that sojourneth among you; that the land spue not you out also, when ye defile it, as it spued out the nations that were before you."

So Saul's disobedience was his destruction, and his sin made way for David's title, "Saul died," saith the sacred story, "for his transgression:" this made the Philistines conquerors; his own sin beat him, and killed him. Saul died for his transgression: then if he had not sinned he had lived; he had beaten his enemies, and kept the kingdom? Yes, the place implies it. This, then, should deter men, but kings especially, who have so much to lose here, and so much to answer for hereafter. But what was Saul's sin? It was, first, "Not keeping, but disobeying, the word of the Lord," both as it came by the mouth of Samuel, God's prophet, and as it spoke the mind of God to him in his own conscience: for Moses had said before "that the word of God was nigh, in the heart," and in God's name commanded the children of Israel to obey and do it. In short, he refused the counsel of God, and God for his counsellor: for, in the next place, he betakes himself "to one that had a familiar spirit for advice," saith the story: "He enquired not of the Lord; therefore he slew him, and turned the kingdom unto David." There are too many people troubled with familiar spirits; it were well if they were less familiar with them: had Saul trusted in God, he needed not to have been driven to that strait. He that was made king by God's appointment, and endued with a good spirit, so basely to degenerate, as to run to a witch for counsel, could not but miscarry. To this darkness and extremity iniquity will bring men: and truly, a wo follows all such persons; answerable to that expression of God by the prophet;† "Wo unto them that take counsel, and not of me." "When Saul," saith the place, "was little in his own eyes, God honoured him; he made him head and king of the

* Levit. xviii. 24, 25, 26, 28. † 1 Sam. xv. 17.

tribes of Israel:" but when Saul grew proud, God deserted him, and for his disobedience destroyed him. And what befel the family of Saul, in some after-ages befel both kings and people, and worse: for their land was invaded, first by the Egyptians, then by the Chaldeans and Babylonians: their temple was rifled, their treasure taken, and their kings, princes, nobles, artificers, and mighty men of valour, yea all, save the poorest of the people, were killed, or carried away captive, by the king of Babylon. The reason rendered is this:* "Because the kings did that which was evil in the sight of God, and stiffened their necks, and hardened their hearts from turning unto the Lord God of Israel;" and because the chief of the priests and of the people transgressed very much after the abominations of the heathen. And when God sent his messengers to reprove and warn them, and that out of his great compassion, they wickedly mocked his messengers, despised his words, and misused his prophets, till his wrath came upon them, and overthrew them.

I will here end my instances out of sacred story: and let us now briefly consider what the histories of other places will tell us, that we may observe some proportion of agreement in the providence of God throughout the world.

The first empire had Nimrod's strength, and the wisdom of the Chaldeans, to establish it; and whilst their prudence and sobriety lasted, they prospered. No sooner came voluptuousness, than the empire decayed; and was at last, by the base effeminacies of Sardanapalus, in whom that race ended, transferred to another family. It was the policy of an Assyrian king, in order to subdue the strength of Babylon, then under good discipline, not to invade it with force, but to debauch it. Wherefore he sent players, musicians, cooks, harlots, &c. and by those means introducing corruption of manners, there was little more to do, than to take it. Nebuchadnezzar, by his virtue and industry, seen in the siege of Tyre, and in many enterprizes, recovered and enlarged the empire; and it seems his discipline (those times considered) was so excellent, that it was praised in scripture. But when he grew proud and foolish, forgetting that providence that had shown itself so kind to him, he became a beast, and grazed among beasts: till God, whom he had forgotten, had restored him the heart of a man and his throne together.

He, dying, left Evil-Merodach heir to his crown, not his conduct, nor the heart to consider what God had done by him: in his time pride and luxury increased, but came not

* 2 Kings xxiv. 14. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14.

to its full pitch, till the reign of Belshazzar, who did not only, as Nebuchadnezzar, live, but die, a beast. In him we have the exact example of a dissolute and miserable prince: he thought to fence himself against heaven and earth: dissolved in pleasures, he worshipped no other God: his story may make us well conclude, that God and man desert those that desert themselves, and neglect the means of their own preservation. The city was taken before he knew it, and the sword almost in his bowels, before he believed it: his sensuality had wrapt him in such a desperate security. But he fell not by the hand of one like himself; for God, who had determined the end, prepared the means. Cyrus and his Persians were the men: the people were poor, inhabiting a barren country; but hardy, and of sober manners. Cyrus God had endued with excellent natural qualities, cultivated (as story tells us) by the care of four of the most temperate, just, and wise persons of those times. This was he, whom God honoured with the name of his "shepherd," and who was the executioner of his vengeance upon the Assyrians. While he reigned, all was well; but after he and his virtuous companions deceased, their children fell into the vices of the Assyrians; and though they reigned from the Indus to the Hellespont, they soon became the conquest of the Greeks.

Never was there a greater instance given of the weakness of pomp and luxury, than in the resistance made at Thermopolæ, where three hundred virtuous Spartans encountered the vast army of Xerxes, consisting of no less than seventeen hundred thousand men. In short, the defeats of Salamine and Platea, the expeditions of Xenophon with Cyrus the younger, almost into Babylon, and the wars of Agesilaus in Asia, made it evident, that Greece wanted only union, and an head, to make herself mistress of that vast empire.

At last comes Alexander of Macedon, with the best disciplined people that was then known: the dispute was short, where steel was against gold, sobriety against luxury, and men against men that were turned women. Thus the Persians, prepared by their own vices, God delivered into the hands of the Greeks, who as much excelled them in their virtue, as they were short of their dominion and wealth. But this lasted not long; for Alexander, who died young, survived his virtue and reputation, by falling into those vices of the nations God had given him power to trample under foot; insomuch that he, who was before generous, became barbarous and tyrannical. Egypt, Asia, and Macedon, held up their heads a while; but not resisting the torrent of lewd-

ness that came upon them, they suffered themselves to be overwhelmed with misery and confusion.

Nor has this calamity been peculiar to monarchies; for several republics have fallen by the same mischief. That of Lacedæmon, or Sparta, so severe in her constitution, and so remarkable for the virtue of her people, and that for many ages, at last growing slack in the execution of her laws, and suffering corruption insensibly to creep into her manners, she became no more considerable, but weak and contemptible.

The same may be said of Athens, the great school of learning; and of all the republics of Greece, most famous for her virtue and philosophy, when that word was understood not of vain disputing, but of pious living: she no sooner fell into luxury, but confusion and revolutions made her as inconsiderable, as she had been great.

Rome, as she was the greatest commonwealth, so the greatest example of the Gentiles in virtue and vice, in happiness and in misery: her virtue and greatness are commemorated by Austin the father, and the latter made the effect of the former. 'God,' saith he, 'gave the Romans the government of the world, as a reward for their virtue.' Their manners were so good, and their policy so plain and just, that nothing could stand before them. And truly, they seemed to have been employed by God to punish the impious, and to instruct the barbarous nations: and so very jealous was she of the education of her youth, that she would not suffer them to converse with the luxurious Greeks. But carelessness, with length of time, overcoming the remarkable sobriety of her manners, who before seemed invincible, she falls into equal, if not greater miseries, than those that went before her; though she had not only warning enough from their example, but from Hannibal's army, and her great enemy: for one winter's quarter of Hannibal and his army in the luxurious city of Capua, proved a greater overthrow to them, than all the Roman consuls and armies had given them. They that had been victors in so many battles, turned slaves at last to dancers, buffoons, cooks, and harlots; so as from that time they never did any thing suitable to the reputation gained by their former actions; but fell without much difficulty into the Roman hands. Nay, not long before, Rome herself encountered one of the greatest dangers that ever had befallen her, by the corruption of her own people, in the same place, by the like means: and though this defection was recovered by those that remained entire in their manners, yet after the overthrow of Antiochus, Mithridates, Tigranes, so that the riches and vices of Asia

came with a full stream upon them, the very heart of the city became infected; and the lewd Asiatics had this revenge in their own fall, that they ruined, by their vices, those they were no ways able to resist by their force; like the story of the dying centaur. Thus pride, avarice, and luxury, having prepared Rome for destruction, it soon followed. Virtue now grew intolerable in Rome, where vice dared not for ages to show its face. The worthiest men were cut off, by proscriptions, battles or murders, as if she resolved *ipsam virtutem exscindere*: she destroyed her own citizens, and sent for strangers to protect her, which ruined her. Which proves, that the kingdom or state, that, under God, doth not subsist by its own strength, prudence and virtue, cannot stand: for the Goths, Hunns, and others, despised to serve those, whom they excelled in power and virtue; and instead of guarding, took their dominion from them. And truly it might rather be called a journey, than a military expedition, to go and pillage Rome; so weak had her vices made her. Thus she, that was feared by all nations, became the prey of all nations about her. So ended that once potent and virtuous commonwealth.

The Vandals in Africa soon became effeminate and lewd, which brought upon themselves speedy ruin. The Goths set up a powerful kingdom in Spain and part of France, and by the sobriety of their manners, it flourished near four hundred years, but its end was not unlike the rest. Two corrupt princes, Vuitzà and Roderic, by their dissolute example debauched the people, insomuch that men ran an hazard to be virtuous: this made their destruction easy to those whom God sent against them; which were the Moors, occasioned by the last of these kings dishonouring Count Juliano's daughter. In the time of his calamity, in vain did he expect the aid of those that had been the flatterers and the companions of his vices: his security (the effect of his luxury) was his ruin. For whilst he thought he had nobody to subdue but his own people, by abusing them he cut off his own arms, and made himself an easy prey to his real enemies: and so he perished with his posterity, that had been the cause of the mischief which befel that great kingdom. However, so it came to pass, that the remainder of the Goths, mixing with the ancient Spaniards (to that day distinct) recovered the liberty and reputation of the kingdom by an entire reformation of manners, and a virtue in conversation as admirable, as the vices by which their fathers had fallen were abominable. But the present impoverished state of Spain can tell us, they have not continued that virtuous conduct of their ancestors; the increase of their vices

having decayed their strength, and lessened their people and their commerce.

But why should we overlook our own country? that whether we consider the invasion of the Romans, Saxons, or Normans, it is certain the neglect of virtue and good discipline, and the present inhabitants giving themselves up to ease and pleasure, was the cause (if Gildas the Briton, and Andrew Horn may be credited) of their overthrow: for as the first bitterly inveighed against the looseness of the Britons, threatening them with all those miseries that afterwards followed; so the last tells us, 'that the Britons having forgotten God, and being overwhelmed with luxury and vice, it pleased God to give the land to a poor people of the northern parts of Germany, called Saxons, that were of plain and honest manners.' God is unchangeable in the course of his providence, as to these things: the like causes produce the like effects, as every tree doth naturally produce its own fruits. It is true, God is not careless of the world; 'He feeds the young ravens, clothes the lilies, takes care of sparrows, and of us, so as not an hair of our heads falls to the ground without his providence;' but if men despise his law, hate to be reformed, spend their time and estate in luxury, and persist to work wickedness, he will visit them in his wrath, and consume them in his sore displeasure. To conclude, wars, bloodshed, fires, plunders, wastings, ravishments, slavery, and the like, are the miseries that follow immoralities, the common mischiefs of irreligion, the neglect of good discipline and government.

Nothing weakens kingdoms like vice; it does not only displease heaven, but disable them. All we have said, proves it: but above all, the iniquity and voluptuousness of the jews, God's chosen, who from being the most prudent, pious and victorious people, made themselves a prey to all their neighbours. Their vice had prepared them to be the conquest of the first pretender; and thus from freemen they became slaves. Is God asleep, or does he change? Shall not the same sins have the like punishment? At least, shall they not be punished? Can we believe there is a God, and not believe that he is the rewarder, as of the deeds of private men, so of the works of government? Ought we to think him careful of the lesser, and careless of the greater? This were to suppose he minded sparrows more than men, and that he took more notice of private persons than of states. But let not our superiors deceive themselves, neither put the evil day afar off; they are greatly accountable to God for these kingdoms. If every poor soul must account for the employment of the small talent he has received

from God, can we think that those high stewards of God, the great governors of the world, that so often account with all others, must never come to a reckoning themselves? Yes, there is a final sessions, a general assize, and a great term once for all, where he will judge among the judges, who is righteous in all his ways. There private men will answer only for themselves, but rulers for the people, as well as for themselves. The disparity that is here, will not be observed there; and the greatness of such persons as shall be then found tardy, will be so far from extenuating their guilt, that it will fling weight in the scale against them. Therefore give me leave, I do beseech you, to be earnest in my humble address to you: why should ye not, when none are so much concerned in the good intention of it? Thus much for the first reason of my supplication.

Sect. IX.

Of the Second Motive to this Address.

My second reason urging me to this humble and earnest address, is the benefit of posterity. I would think that there are few people so vicious, as to care to see their children so; and yet to me it seems a plain case, that as we leave the government, they will find it: if some effectual course be not taken, what with neglect, and what with example; impiety, and the miseries that follow it, will be entailed upon our children. Certainly, it were better the world ended with us, than that we should transmit our vices, or sow those evil seeds in our day, that will ripen to their ruin, and fill our country with miseries after we are gone; thereby exposing it to the curse of God, and violence of our neighbours. But it is an infelicity we ought to bewail, that men are apt to prefer the base pleasures of their present extravagancies, to all endeavours after a future benefit; which, besides the guilt they draw upon themselves, our poor posterity must be greatly injured thereby, who will find those debts and incumbrances harder to pay, than all the rest we can leave them under. Upon this occasion I shall take the freedom to say something of Education.

The truth is, we are so much out of order in the education of our youth, that I wish I could say that we had only the sin of neglect to answer for. I fear, the care has been rather to educate them in a way of such vanity, as ends in great inconveniencies here, and must needs find "vexation of spirit" hereafter. Our universities have made more loose,

than learned; and what extravagancy is begun there, is usually perfected abroad, or at our inns of court at home; that now and then afford us a few able lawyers; but the generality are like the man of old, who returned home 'seven times worse than he went out.' The genius of this nation is not inferior to any in the world; it is industrious, it is wise, it is honest, it is valiant, yet soft and merciful. And, without partiality, we have men that have excelled in every worthy qualification. But, I must needs say, it has been more owing to the goodness of God, in the disposition of our natures, than the prudence and care of those who have had the charge of their education. It was the saying of a wise man,* "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it." This is proved to us every day; but it is in the wrong way, in the way of idleness, wantonness, and impurity of manners. It is worth while, and high time, to make the experiment the other way; to try what the suppression of vice, and the encouragement of virtue, will do: in this our superiors must begin, and give their example, as well as show their power. There is scarcely any one thing, that so much needs the wisdom of the nation in the contrivance of a new law, as the education of our youth, whether we consider the piety or prudence of our manners, the good life, or just policy of the government. There is such an example of what industry may do, in the practice of the jesuits, that I hope the present conjuncture will make the proposal of the thing more welcome to you.

That the interests of the jesuits is the greatest in the Roman church and empire,† is so far from being doubted, that all protestants wish it were; it is our trouble, rather than our scruple; it may be, some other orders are of the same mind, being much eclipsed since the rise of this great interest. They first appeared about the time of the reformation, and applied themselves, with all conceivable industry, to secure the tottering papacy against the progress of it. In this attempt they ventured so much farther than any of their predecessors in the church, that they have been esteemed, of merit, the great ministers and governors of the chair for some of the last ages. Indeed, they have almost engrossed the whole power of church and state to themselves in several principalities and kingdoms. To them all other orders seem but small retailers: their great politicians, their philosophers, orators, historians, and mathematicians, are generally found among this society; so that we scarce see any thing of note come out from men of that religion, which is

* Prov. xxi. 6. † The jesuits' interest is the greatest in the Roman church

not subscribed E. S. J. The fame and apprehension of their extraordinary learning, and the arts they have to recommend it, have made their order the choice of most princes and men of quality of that religion for the education of their children; in whom they have carefully instilled, with their instructions and principles, that peculiar respect to their own society, which hath greatly served to the advancement of it, when they have grown to age and power.

But that which above all other stratagems hath prevailed to extend their dominion in the Roman church, has been their erecting of schools, where they have colleges, for the 'free education of youth:' the very doing of it gratis makes it look like charity with the poor, that have little to give; and with the rich, that seldom love to part with money, to be sure it is no objection. Thus obliging the parents, they next fall to making themselves grateful with the children: and here they exercise not a little skill. They strictly survey and observe the divers humours and dispositions of their scholars, and take great care not to baulk their capacity by cross or unsuitable studies: but when once they are fixed, every youth, according to his genius, it is not easy to be believed what pains they take to allure them to their studies; how they will tempt them with childish rewards, and excite them to their book by raising an emulation among them: so that to excel, is more than a rod; and victory, than any chastisement whatever. By these arts they fit all capacities with suitable study, and cultivate them to the pitch of learning they are capable of; and all with that obligation upon the youth to love them, that from thenceforward they become partial devotees to the advancement of the honour and interest of that order. To conclude, they have got into their hands the education of the generality of the youth of the Romish religion in every country, from the king to the peasant; and being masters of them when boys, they grow governors and confessors to them when they are men; so that all seem to have fallen into their hands: and being but one entire interest throughout the world, and maintaining a most punctual correspondence, they must needs have the knowledge and disposal of the affairs of states and kingdoms, by that share they have in the counsels of princes, and that great reliance that is upon their judgment and ability. This, if we regard only the Romish religion, shows great wit, design, and industry: but if we consider well how formidable these arts render them to protestant kingdoms, it will become us to use our utmost prudence to secure ourselves. And there seems not to me a more effectual remedy, than a wise and virtuous education

of our youth. In order to it, let us use methods not inferior to theirs, but for better ends: let us employ our skill to improve the children's natural abilities, to excite them to virtue, and endear the truest interest of their own country to them. I will briefly set down what at present occurs to me, as a good way of education.

I. Let care be taken to breed up youth in morality:' virtue prepares the mind, helps the understanding, and gives industry to compass what is desired. I would have no books used in schools, in which there may be the least indecency. There were, and not without reason, ancient canons against the reading of such heathen authors; and not a few learned and sober men have rebuked that practice amongst us. It is an affront to Christianity, yea, to our natures, to fetch our wit, or our manners from them. It were well if some tracts of moral virtues, and invectives against vice, were written in those languages we would have youth to learn; for in such discourses they might obtain good manners with the languages; whereas by preferring in schools heathen authors, our youth has learned base obscenities, and a corrupt conversation.

II. In the next place, I would propose some of the more obvious and easier parts of the mathematics, and the knowledge of plants and natural bodies, to be composed on purpose, after a familiar manner, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of nature, and learn things, at the same time they learn words: it is a most reprovable ignorance, that we know not our own natures, the world we are of and in, the parts that compose it, and their nature and service, their sympathies and antipathies. Nature is an excellent book, easy, useful, pleasant and profitable; but how few, alas! are learned either in the macrocosm, or their microcosm? I wish this were better understood; it would be both our honour and our advantage.

III. The last sort of books which I would recommend, and are, in my opinion, most suitable to their maturity of age and understanding, are such as relate to the histories and transactions of our own kingdoms; the interest of the true protestant religion and civil policy among us. But because there are very few (if any) of these discourses extant, it were worth the care of our superiors, and an act deserving praise, that some skilful, sober, and judicious men were set to work for the composure of some small tracts of this nature; and, as an appendix to the whole, that there might be a summary of the most virtuous and infamous actions of former times, with the rewards and punishments they have received from God and just government; that, by the power of ex-

ample, they may be deterred from vice, and provoked to an honest emulation of the virtues and reputation of the ancients.

IV. In the fourth place, cross not the genius of your youth, but match their talents well; for if you do not suit their studies to their understanding, it will be drawing up hill, going against the grain, or swimming against the tide: that which will be gained, will be little; and with so much labour and time too, as will not quit cost. It should be greatly the care of those who have the charge of youth, to make the ways of learning easy and cheerful; which leadeth me to my last observation upon this head.

V. Let all honest arts be used by masters of schools to provoke their youth to learning, without much fierceness or beating: for that sort of education has nothing of that free and generous disposition in it, which might be raised and improved in youth by more gentle and reasonable methods. They that are taught to obey only for base fear, make fear, and not reason, the rule of their obedience; and this grows up in too many with their age, that they turn mere mercenaries, and only worship violence. In short, make instruction easy, correction reasonable: convince them of their miscarriage with mildness, then pardon them; and, finally, excite them to amendment by smiles and favour. This awakens the noble part, and excites youth to perform that, which may ingratiate them with their tutors; who, if they at any time commit an error, should rather show themselves affectionately sorry for them, than bitterly angry. Plato, being greatly displeased with his servant, and going about to correct him, gave the wand to one that stood by, saying, 'Do thou beat him, for I am angry.' Chastisement should be used with reason and reluctancy: a discreet and cool hand may direct the blow right, and hit the mark, when men of fury rather ease their passion, than mend their youth; especially, if the correction exceed the fault; for that hardens. This very brutishness is more injurious to the nature of our youth, than usually their instruction is beneficial.

Upon the whole matter, I take the freedom to say, that if we would preserve our government, we must endear it to the people. To do this, besides the necessity of present just and wise things, we must secure the youth: and this is not to be done, but by the amendment of the way of their education, and that with all conceivable speed and diligence. I say, the government is highly obliged: it is a sort of trustee for the youth of the kingdom, who, though now minors, yet will have the government when we are gone.

Therefore depress vice, and cherish virtue, that, through good education, they may become good; which will truly render them happy in this world, and a good way fitted for that which is to come. If this be done, they will owe more to your memories for their education, than for their estates.

Sect. X.

Of the third and last Motive for this Address.

My third and last reason for this serious supplication to the civil magistrate is so great, that I find difficulty to express it: it is the glory of that God that made us; that hath so often delivered us, and doth so plentifully provide for us; who "sent his Son into the world to save us," and waits every day to be good and gracious to us. But he hath so particularly, and with that transcendancy, set the marks of his favour upon you, both in your restoration and protection, as scarce any age can parallel. O! let a steady virtue be the return of these mercies, and a pious care to retrieve and encourage morality, which is the very basis of our religion and government, be the humble token of your gratitude: it is your office; you do but comply with the 'reason of your own institution:' God expects it, and good men beseech it from you. There is much in your power at this time, to make this the island of peace and lasting tranquillity. Lose not, I beseech you, the present opportunity: revive the laws against these gross iniquities: terrify all evil-doers, and cherish them that do well: provide for the poor, that their stock may not be abused, nor their cries pierce heaven against you, because of neglect: that God may yet vouchsafe to spare us.

"Your sins," said God of old, "have withheld good things from you: it is righteousness that exalts a nation; but sin is the reproach of any people." Would ye prosper? then please God; and if ye will please him, ye must put away the wicked from amongst you, at least from power, and offices in the government: they that would rule others, should be just themselves, and of good lives. It was both his complaint, and the cause of his judgment, in former ages: "There are found wicked men among my people; they lay wait, as he that setteth snares; they set a trap, they catch men: as a cage is full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit: therefore they are become great, and waxen rich; they are waxen fat, they shine. They overpass (or overlook) the deeds of the wicked; they judge not the cause of the fatherless; yet they prosper." These were no small folk, but men of power; such as got largely by the govern-

ment, and employed their authority to enrich themselves, and not to relieve the oppressed. I must needs say, and can with great truth, that misgovernment is the occasion, though the devil be the cause, of that mischief and ruin that attend nations.

What kingdoms hath God destroyed, and cities turned into rubbish, because of national evils; too much occasioned by the remissness of magistrates? The slack hand that the rulers of Israel held over the manners of that unhappy people, made way for their unsubjected passions and corrupt affections to break out into the vilest impieties; but if men shall be left to their own licentiousness, to commit sin with greediness, and with impunity despise the laws of God and men, all I can say is this: God, who is jealous of his glory, the great avenger of his law upon rebellious nations, will withhold his mercies, and hasten his judgments upon ours.

"Hear the word of the Lord," saith the prophet Hosea,* "ye children of Israel; for the Lord hath a controversy with the inhabitants of the land: by swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and blood touches blood; therefore shall the land mourn." And by the prophet Malachi God threatens that people thus:† "I will come near to you, and I will be a swift witness against sorcerers, and against the adulterers, and against false swearers, and such as fear not me, saith the Lord of hosts." Yea, to that degree was that magistracy degenerated, that they thought it a vain thing to serve God, and keep his commandments. 'They called the proud happy; yea, they that worked wickedness were set up, they were advanced to places of honour and trust, and they that tempted God, were delivered: but the word of the Lord was unto them a reproach; they had no delight in it: they made a mock at sin, laid snares for the innocent, and (like us) made men offenders for a word,' for a good word, a word of reproof, or an harmless opinion. Well, but what followed? "Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord, shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?" O that magistrates would hear this! God as truly speaks to us by the scripture now, as he did by them that writ it then to the jews. Truly, it is our very case; the same impieties are daily found amongst us: certainly God is offended, his spirit grieved, and heaven is set against us. For the Lord's sake do your duty in this present conjuncture, and mistake not your measures: let every thing have its due weight and place with you; that is the way to succeed. Ye are now warmly concerned in the dis-

* Hosea iv. 1, 2, 3. † Mal. iii. 5.

covery and prosecution of a jesuitical plot; a design, it seems, to destroy the king, blow up your religion, and wrest the government out of your hands: in this, doubtless ye do well; and all just care to preserve the peace of the kingdom from such mischievous conspiracies, is most commendable in you, and deserves and draws all due acknowledgments from honest and English minds: but, I beseech you, let God have a share in your concern; remember him, as well as yourselves. You confess this great discovery is only owing to his goodness; shall we be then more zealous for our own safety, than for his glory; who, when all is done, must save us, or we are lost? Let us make him our friend, who is stronger than the combinations of all our enemies; and guard ourselves against that which can only bring their evil devices to pass, (alas!) our sin. That is their strength, and the poison of their arrows; let us confess and forsake it; let us humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, that it may not "grind us to powder." And truly, if our hearts were not harder than adamants, this testimony he has given us of his care over us, notwithstanding all our repeated provocations given to him, should break us into deep contrition. O let his long suffering prevail upon us to unfeigned repentance! then shall we stand clear men before God; and if so, he will quickly make our enemies to flee before us.

If there be any truth in sacred history, any credit to be given to Christian religion, or the experience of ages, this that I say of God and government is true: and it is our duty, yea, our interest, the truest and easiest way to safety. God has decreed, "that nation and kingdom that will not serve him, shall perish, yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted." Isaiah lx. 12. "But great is their peace, that love thy law: it shall go well with the righteous; but it shall go ill with the wicked:" upon them God hath threatened to rain snares, difficulties, perplexities; they shall not know which way to turn themselves. I am not against the use of means: men have not wisdom and power for nothing: but then let them use them in the fear and name of God: "Cursed is he that putteth his strength in man, and his confidence in the arm of flesh."* And in another place, "Wo to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses, and trust in chariots, because they are many; and in horsemen, because they are very strong: but they look not to the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord." It was his reproof to the nation that professed him, that they should seek to the stratagems, and rely upon the strength, of heathen na-

* Isa. xxxi. 1, 2.

tions, rather than upon faith in him, the living God: and the reason he gives in the third verse is great, viz. "The Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit: when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down, and they all shall fall together." If, then, the hand of God be so much stronger than man, for the Lord's sake let us lay hold of it; let that fight our battles, and decide the controversy: "He that trusteth in the Lord, shall never be confounded." It was the saying of a great king, and a great conqueror, "By thee I have leaped over a wall, by thee I have run through a troop," &c. Psalm xviii. 19. Who preserved the Israelites from Pharaoh's fury, threw down the walls of Jericho, when the priests blew the rams-horns, and gave Gideon his mighty victories; with more of the like kind. And we must not think that God is altered, or faith is in itself weakened, that no wonders are reserved for the latter and Christian ages. The truth is, faith (generally speaking) is lost, and that holy confidence now-a-days is esteemed presumption: it is become a principle, that "such things are not to be expected;" so that we shut up, or bar from ourselves, the true and most powerful way of deliverance. Let us not betake ourselves to the common arts and stratagems of nations, incredulous of the strength of the God of Israel, who is the God of true Christians too. O! that our faith may be greater than our arms! no matter for the strength of our enemies, if God be our strength: and truly, it is vain to acknowledge a Providence in human things, and not to confide in him, and rely upon him, that provides for us. "I was young," said David, "and now I am old; but I never saw the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread:" it shall go well with the righteous. Therefore fear God, put away the evil that provokes him, and trust not in man, but in the living God, and it shall yet go well with England.

What noble feats did the ancients do by faith! and shall Christians have less than jews had? Is not God the same? Yes; he is unchangeable: but, alas! we are not the same; that is our mischief. Christ did not many mighty works in some places, because they believed him not: if our confidence be not in God, our hopes will prove vain, and our success will fail us. We shall but have men of our side, not God; flesh, and not spirit: and if we should be so unhappy as to make this our strength, both the helpers and helped will fall together. But let Nineveh teach us better things, and may her zealous king be the example of ours; and let all the people say amen! the suitableness of which

story to our present occasion makes me choose to end this first part of my address with it.

"For word came unto the king of Nineveh; yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown. And he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sate in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh, (by the decree of the king and his nobles) saying, let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing; let them not feed, nor drink water. But let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands. Who can tell, if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not. And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented from the evil that he said that he would do unto them, and he did it not." Jonah ii. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

O God! thou that workest wonders in the earth, whose power cannot be controuled, in whose hands are the souls of men, and the spirits of all flesh, who canst turn them in a moment: turn thou the hearts of king and people unto thee, and one unto another. Do thou proclaim a fast from sin throughout these sinful kingdoms: let wickedness and oppression find no place among us: turn away thy fierce wrath, wipe away our reproach, and love us freely, O God! for thy dear Son's sake.

THE SECOND PART.

Sect. I.

Five capital Evils that relate to the Ecclesiastical State of these Kingdoms.

Having finished the first part of my address relating to the immoralities of the times, and left it with the civil magistrate, as, in conscience, I found myself obliged to do; whose peculiar charge it is, and I earnestly and humbly desire and pray that it may be his great care, effectually to rebuke them; I shall betake myself to the second part of this address, that more immediately concerns us as professed Christians and Protestants. But before I begin, I desire to premise, and do with much sincerity declare, that I intend not the reproach of any person or party; I am weary with seeing so much of it in the world: it gains nothing, that is worth keeping; but often hardens, what it is our duty to endeavour to soften and win. But if, without offence, I may speak the truth, that which, to the best of my understanding, tends to the present settlement and future felicity of my poor country, I shall, by God's help, deliver myself with the modesty, plainness and integrity, that becomes a Christian, a Protestant, and an Englishman.

Those capital sins and errors that relate to the ecclesiastical state, or church-capacity, of these kingdoms, and which are so inconsistent with Christian religion and purest protestancy, and that, above all, displease Almighty God, are

First, Making opinions articles of faith, at least giving them the reputation of faith, and making them the bond of Christian society.

Secondly, Mistaking the nature of true faith, and taking that for faith which is not gospel-faith.

Thirdly, Debasing the true value of morality, under pretence of higher things, mistaking much of the end of Christ's coming.

Fourthly, Preferring human authority above reason and truth.

Fifthly, Propagating faith by force, and imposing religion by worldly compulsion.

These I take to be the church-evils, that have too much and too long prevailed even in these parts of the reformed world: and though the Roman church hath chiefly transcended other societies in these errors, and may, in a sense, be said to be the mother of them, she from whom they took birth, by whom they were brought forth, and have been propagated in Christendom, yet there hath not been that integrity to the nature of Christianity, and first reason of reformation from the papacy in our own country, as had been and is our duty to conserve.

Sect. II.

Of Opinions passing for Faith.

First, that opinions pass for faith, and are made articles of faith, and are enjoined to be embraced as the bond of communion.

That this is so, let us take the most impartial view we can, and we shall find it to be true, both of the national and many other select societies. That I may be understood in the signification of the word opinions, I explain it thus: 'Opinions are all those propositions, or conclusions, made by men doctrines of faith and articles of communion, which either are not expressly laid down in scripture, or not so evidently deducible from scripture, as to leave no occasion of doubt of the truth of them in their minds who sincerely and reverently believe the text: or, lastly, such as have no new or credible revelation to vouch them.'

That this is our case, let the several confessions of faith, published by almost every party in England, be perused, and you will find such propositions translated into doctrines of faith and articles of communion, as are, first, not only not expressed in scripture, but, perhaps, not well deducible from scripture: and if one party may be but believed against another, we can want no evidence to prove what we say. And, in the next place, such as are, though not expressed, yet, it may be, deducible as to the matter of them, are either carried so high, spun so fine, or so disguised by barbarous school terms, that they are rather a bone of contention, than a bond of concord to religious societies. Yet this has been the unhappiness even of this kingdom, after all the light of reformation, which God hath graciously sent amongst us, Men are to be received or rejected for denying or owning of such propositions. Wilt thou be a presbyterian? Embrace and keep the covenant, subscribe the Westminster-confession and directory: and so on to the end of every

society that grounds communion upon conformity to such propositions and articles of faith.

What a stir have we had in England about the word, Ἐπίσκοπος! He that says it signifies an higher office than Πρεσβύτερος, shall have no part or fellowship with us: on the other hand, they that will debase *Episcopos* to *Presbuteros*, and turn levellers or degraders of episcopal dignity, shall be excommunicated, silenced, punished. Is not this plain fact? Can any deny it, that love truth more than a party? The fire kindled by this contention, hath warmed the hands of violence: it had been well if men had entertained equal zeal against impiety, and been but half as much enemies to sin, as they have been against one another on such accounts.

If we look a little back, we shall find, that the debate of free-will and unconditional reprobation filled this kingdom with uncharitableness and division. In the arch-episcopacy of Abbot (reputed in himself a good man) whosoever held, 'that Christ so died for all men, that all men might be saved, (if they would accept the means) and that none were absolutely decreed to eternal reprobation,' was reputed an heretic, and excommunicated, as an enemy to the free-grace of God; which, it seems, at that time of day, lay in being narrow.

In the reign of archbishop Laud the tide turned: and those that held an absolute election and reprobation, without regard had to the good or evil actions of men, and asserted, that Christ only died for the elect, and not for all, must be discountenanced, displaced, and pointed at as men out of fashion, though at the same time conscientious, sober, and (at worst) mistaken; and to be pitied, rather than persecuted; and informed, not destroyed.

This controversy begat the synod of Dort: he that reads the epistles of that judicious man J. Hales, of Eton college, upon the matter and conduct of that assembly, will find cause of being sad at heart; too many of them talking of religion without the spirit of it: men, perhaps, learned in books, but few of the sticklers gave any great testimony of their proficiency in that science, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated. This flame, kindled between Arminius and Episcopius, &c. for the remonstrants, and Gomarus, Sibrandus, &c. for the predestinarians, distracted Holland not a little, and had an ill influence upon the affairs of England, at least so far as concerned the church. But the mournfullest part of that history is the ill usage Martinus Crocius, the bishop of Landaff, and others had; who, though they were acknowledged to be sound in the faith of those things, which generally followed the judg-

ment of Calvin, as to the main points controverted, yet if at any time they appeared moderate in their behaviour, gentle in their words, and for accommodation in some particulars, with the remonstrants, or free-willers; Gomarus and his followers, not observing the gravity due to the assembly, the rules of debate, and least of all the meekness of Christian communion, fell foul of their brethren, reproached their tenderness, and began to fix treachery upon their sober endeavours of accommodation; as if they intended to execute, as well as maintain, their reprobation, and blow up their friends, rather than not destroy their adversaries.

But if we will rise higher in our enquiry, and view the mischiefs of earlier times, flowing from this practice, the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ will furnish us with instances enough. We cannot possibly forget the heavy life some men made about the observation of Easter-day, as if their eternal happiness had been in jeopardy: for so far were they degenerated from the love and meekness of Christianity, that about keeping of a day, which perhaps was no part, but, to be sure, no essential part, of the Christian religion, they fell to pieces; reproached, reviled, hated, and persecuted one another. A day was more to them than Christ, who was the Lord and end of days; and victory over brethren, sweeter than the peace and concord of the church, the great command of Jesus, whom they called Lord.

But the remarkable and tragical story of Alexander bishop of Alexandria, and Arius his priest, in their known debate about the 'Nature and existence of the Son of God,' with the lamentable consequences thereof, (as all writers upon that subject have related) witnesseth to the truth of what I say. The bishop's curiosity, and the strictness of Arius; the presumption of the one to expound beyond the evidence and simplicity of the text, and the captious humour of the other, that would not abate the bishop any thing for his age, or the rank he held in the church, but logically exacted the utmost farthing of the reckoning from his old pastor; first began the fray: which as it became the perplexity of church and state for some ages, so it raged to blood; and those that had been persecuted like sheep by the heathen not long before, turned wolves against each other, and made sport for the infidels, doing their work to their own destruction. Nay, so much more Christian was Themistius, the philosopher, that he, in his oration, called consul, commended the emperor Jovianus, for his moderation, and advised him to give that liberty of conscience, which professed Christians refused to allow each other; who seemed to think

they never did God better service, than in sacrificing one another for religion, even as soon as ever they had escaped the heathen's shambles.

Did we duly reflect upon the unnatural heats, divisions, and excommunications among them, the many councils that were called, the strong and tedious debates held, the translations of sees, the anathemas, the banishments, wars, sackings, fires and bloodshed that followed this unnatural division, that sprang from so nice a controversy, one would verily believe no less, than that religion itself had been in the utmost hazard: that judaism or paganism were over-running Christianity; and not that all this stir had been made about an *Iota*. For the whole question was, whether *Homousia*, or *Homoiusia*, should be received for faith? In which the difference is but the single letter i: certainly, we must do violence to our understanding, if we can think that these men were followers of that Jesus that "loved his enemies, and gave his blood for the world," who hated their brethren, and shed one another's blood for opinions: the heathen philosophers never were so barbarous to one another, but maintained a better understanding and behaviour in their differences.

But how easily might all these confusions have been prevented, if their faith about Christ had been delivered in the words of the scripture; since all sides pretend to believe the text? and why should any man presume to be wiser, or plainer in matters of faith, than the Holy Ghost? It is strange, that God and Christ should be wanting to express or discover their own mind; or that the words used by the Holy Ghost should have that shortness, ambiguity, or obliquity in them, that our frail capacities should be needed to make them more easy, proper and intelligible. But that we should scarcely deliver any one article of faith in scripture-terms, and yet make such acts the 'Rule and bond of Christian communion,' is, in my judgment, an offence heinous against God and holy scripture, and very injurious to Christian charity and fellowship. Who can express any man's mind so fully, as himself? And shall we allow that liberty to ourselves, and refuse it to God? "The scriptures came not in old time," said the apostle Peter, "by the will of man: but holy men of God spake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." Who can speak better, or express the mind of the Holy Ghost plainer, than the Holy Ghost? The scripture is the great record of truth, that which all these parties in controversy agree to be 'the declared mind and will of God,' and they unanimously say, it ought to be believed and professed as such. If this be true, in what lan-

guage can we so safely and properly declare our belief of those truths, as in the very language of the scripture?

And I cannot see how those persons can be excused in the day of God's judgment, who make men heterodox or heretical, for refusing to subscribe their articles of faith that are not in scripture-terms, who in the same time offer to declare their belief of God, Christ, spirit, man's lapse or fall, repentance, sanctification, justification, salvation, resurrection, and eternal recompense, in the language of holy scripture? I must say it is preposterous, and a contradiction, that those who desire to deliver their faith of truth, in the language of truth, shall not be reputed true believers, nor their faith admitted. This were to say, that therefore their faith is not to be received, because it is declared in the language of that very truth, which is the object of that faith, for which it ought to be received, and which is, on all hands, concluded to be 'our duty to believe.' It seems then, we must not express our belief of God in his words, but our own: nor is the scripture a creed plain or proper enough to declare a true believer, or an orthodox Christian, without our glosses.

Are not things come to a sad pass, that to refuse any other terms than those the Holy Ghost has given us, and which are confessed to be the rule or form of sound words, is to expose a man to the censure of being unsound in the faith, and unfit for Christian communion? Will nothing do but man's comment instead of God's text? His consequences and conclusions, in the room of sacred revelation? I cannot see how any man can be obliged to receive, or believe, revealed truths in any other language than that of the revelation itself: especially if those, that vary the expression, have not the same spirit to lead them in doing so, or that it appears not to me that they have the guidance of that holy spirit. If the Holy Ghost had left doubts in scripture, which is yet irreverent to believe, I see not how men can resolve them; it is the work of that spirit. And since men are so apt to err, doubts are better left in scripture, than made or left by us. But it is to cross that order of prudence and wisdom among men, who choose to conform their expressions to the thing they believe. If an honest man hath related a story to me, of something he hath seen, and I am to declare my faith about it, if I believe the fact, I will choose to deliver it in the terms of the relator, as being nearest to the truth.

Suppose a father, dying, makes his last will and testament, and, as he thinks, so plain, that there can be no mistake made by the executors, but what is wilful: if they, instead

of proving this will, and acting according to the plainness of it, turn commentators, make more difficulties than they find, and perplex the whole matter, to the children and legatees, and send them to the law for right; will we not esteem such executors ill men, and justify those persons concerned in their refusal of their paraphrase? "God hath, at sundry times, and in divers manners," by his prophets, his beloved Son, and his apostles,* delivered to the world a declaration of his blessed will; but some have claimed, and taken to themselves, the keeping, explanation, and use of it, so as those that choose to be concluded by the letter and text of Christ's testament, in its most important points, expose themselves to great prejudice for so doing; for they are excommunicated from all other share in it, than the punishment of the breakers of it; which is part of their anathema, who, of all others, are most guilty of adding, or diminishing, by undertaking to determine, for others as well as themselves, the mind and intention of the Holy Ghost in it.

But if it be true, as true it is, that few have writ of the divine authority of scripture, who do not affirm that the very penmen of it were not only inspired by the Holy Ghost, but so extraordinarily acted by him, as that they were wholly asleep to their own will, desires or affections, like people taken out of themselves, and purely passive, "as clay in the hands of the potter," to the revelation, will, and motion of the spirit; and for this end, that nothing, delivered by them, might have the least possibility of mistake, error, or imperfection, but be a 'complete declaration of the will of God to men;' I cannot see which way such men excuse themselves from great presumption, that will notwithstanding, have the wording of creeds of communion, and reject that declaration of faith as insufficient, which is delivered in the very terms of the Holy Ghost; and deny those persons to be members of Christ's church, that in conscience refuse to subscribe any other draught than that the Lord has given them.

Two things oppose themselves to this practice: the glory of God, and the honour of the scripture; in that it naturally draws people from the regard due to God and the scripture, and begets too much respect for men and their tradition. This was the difficulty Christ met with, and complained of, in his time; they had set up so many rabbies to teach them religion, that the Lord of the true religion could hardly find place amongst them. And what did they do? "They taught for doctrines the traditions of men:" they gave their own and their predecessors' apprehensions, con-

* Heb. i. 1.

structions, and paraphrases upon scripture, for the mind and will of God, the rule of the people's faith. They were near at this pass in the church of Corinth, when they cried out, "I am for Paul, I am for Apollos, and I am for Cephas," though they had not the same temptation.

And that which followed then, ever will follow in the like case, and that is, distraction; which is the contrary to the second thing that opposeth itself to this practice, and that is, the concord of Christians. For the sake of peace consider it: Lo here, and, lo there, always followed; one of this mind, and another of that: as many sects, as great men to make and head them. This was the case of the Jews; and yet I do not hear that they devoured one another about their opinions and commentaries upon scripture; but the Christians have done both; divided and persecuted too. First, they have divided, and that mostly upon the score of opinions about religion. They have not been contented with the expressions of the Holy Ghost; they liked their own better. And when they were set up, in the room of scripture, and in the name of scripture, submission was required, upon pain of worldly punishments. This dissatisfied curiosity, this unwarrantable, what shall I say? This wanton search, has cost Christendom dear, and poor England dearest of any part of it.

I design not to grate upon any, or to revive old stories, or search old wounds, or give the least just occasion of displeasure to those that are in present power; yet I must needs say, that opinion, on one side or the other, has been the cause of much of that discord, animosity and confusion that have troubled this kingdom. And it seems to have been the great stratagem of Satan, to prevent the spreading of the glorious gospel of salvation in the world, by taking men off from the serious pursuit of piety and charity, humility and holy living, peace and concord; and, under pretence of more raised apprehensions, and sublime knowledge of religion, to put them upon introducing curious and doubtful questions, that have given occasion, first for contention, and then for persecution. This was no more uncondemned, than unforeseen of the apostle Paul, who exhorted his beloved son Timothy, 1 Tim. vi. 3, 4, 5. "To avoid those that doted about questions;" those men that would be thought skilful, inquisitive searchers after truth, such as love to exercise their faculties, and improve their talents: but let us hear his judgment, "Of which," says he, "cometh strife, railing, surmises, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds." And the truth is, none else love such disputings: they, who seek a daily victory over the world, the flesh and the devil, and press fervently after fellowship with God, and that consola-

tion that ensues such an employment of their time, have very little to lose upon contention about words. I could wish I were able to say, that vain controversy were not our case! but this is not all, the apostle does expressly tell Timothy, that "if any man consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the doctrine that is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions," &c. They were such as used "Philosophy, and vain deceit," as he writes to the Colossians, Col. ii. 8. "Beware," says he, "lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit," (that is, draw them away from the simplicity of the gospel, and the wholesome words of Christ) "after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." He used no human wisdom, yet he spake wisdom; but it was in a mystery; though to the humble disciples of Jesus nothing was plainer; but it was "a mystery to the wise men of this world." And truly, they that are not unacquainted with the more degenerate ages of the Greek philosophers, how philosophy, once taken for the love of virtue and self-denial, which they esteemed the truest wisdom, and was begun by men of ordinary rank, but great example of life, became little else, than an art of wrangling upon a multitude of idle questions, and so they entertained the apostle Paul at Athens, may very well guess which way apostacy entered among Christians; especially when we consider, that in the third and fourth centuries, the heathen-philosophers had the education of Christian youth, and that no man had any reputation among the Christian doctors, who was not well initiated in the philosophy, rhetoric, and poetry of the Gentiles; which made for impurity of language, and laid a foundation for great feuds in the church. Christ and his doctrine must be proved by Aristotle and his philosophy. Yes, Aristotle must explain Scripture, and by degrees methodize the loose parts of it, and reduce them to formal propositions and axioms; and by the help of such philosophers, the poor fishermen were taught to speak metaphysically, and grew polite in the sense of Athens, who, to say true, were neither guilty of using nor understanding it. But as the first rules of philosophy were few and plain, and consisted in virtuous living; so the Christian religion was delivered with much brevity, yet much plainness; suited to the capacity of the young, the ignorant, and the poor; to inform their understanding, subdue their affections, and convert their souls to God, as well as persons of more age, knowledge, and ability.

And truly, when we consider the smallness of the writ-

ings of the evangelists, the shortness of Christ's sermons, the fewness of the epistles writ by the apostles, and the many and great volumes of commentators and critics since, we may justly say, the text is almost lost in the comment, and truth hid, rather than revealed, in those heaps of fallible apprehensions. Where, by the way, let me say, that the voluminousness of the books is no small token of the unclearness of the writers; for the more evident, and better digested any matter is, the more easy and short it will be in expressing. But after the Christians had declined the simplicity of their own religion, and grew curious and wanton; loving God above all, their neighbours as themselves, and keeping the plain commandments of Christ, that relate to good life, became but ordinary and homely things: their easiness rendered them contemptible: they gave but little pleasure to speculative minds; they had nothing in them above ordinary capacities; and it seemed hard that men of inquisitive and raised spirits, should sit down with the lesson of rustics and peasants: philosophers did not do so; and they would be like other nations. It was not enough now to know, 'There was a God,' and that he was 'but One, just and good, the observer of their actions, and the rewarder of their deeds, and that therefore they should serve him;' but they must be distinctly informed of his nature, and all his attributes, his purposes and his decrees, and the suitableness of them all to the line and plummet of their understanding: 'So that God was to be, what their conclusions would allow him to be; that yet knew not themselves.' Nor did it satisfy that there was a Christ; that this Christ was the Son of God; that God so loved mankind, as, beholding them in a way of destruction, he sent his son to proclaim pardon upon true repentance, and offered a general reconciliation to as many as received and embraced his testimony; and that to that end he laid down his life a ransom, rose and ascended, and gave his good spirit to lead his followers, after his example, in the way of truth and holiness: but they must search into 'the secret of this relation; how, and after what manner, he is the Son of God? His nature, power and person must be discussed: they will be satisfied in this, before they can find in their hearts to believe in him.' Next, 'Whether he be the cause, or the effect, of God's love? What was that price he paid, and ransom he gave? And how he died for us? If properly and strictly, or tropically and elegantly, to satisfy the justice of God? and whether God could, or could not, have saved man another way? If this mercy were offered to all, or but some? And whether acceptance and repentance be with the consent of the creature,

or by an irresistible grace? What body he rose and ascended with? And what bodies we shall have in the resurrection, in nature, stature, and proportion? Lastly, What this spirit is, that comes from Christ? If it comes from God also? Whether it be God, or an inferior minister? How it exists? If a person, in what relation, degree, or dignity it stands to the Father and Son?' With abundance more of this unreasonable strain, flowing from the curious, ungoverned, and restless minds of men. No man would be used by his servant as they treat God. He must wait our leisure, before we will believe, receive, and obey him: his message is obscure, we do not understand it; he must gratify our curiosity; we desire to be better satisfied with it before we believe or deliver it; it comes not presently up to men's understandings; it is too obscurely expressed; we will explain it, and deliver it with more caution, clearness and success, than it is delivered to us. Thus God's revelation hath been scanned, and his precepts examined, before licensed by his creature: man would be wiser than God; more wary than the Holy Ghost. Our Lord, it should seem, understood not what kind of creature man was; he wanted his wisdom to admonish him of the danger; or haply he thought not upon that corruption, which should befall mankind in these latter ages of the world, which might require the abilities of men to supply the wants and defects left by the Holy Ghost, in the wording of the scripture.—I wrong not this practice; I render it not more odious than it is: it is an inexcusable piece of presumption, that which debases the external testimony of God, and draws men off from that which is eternal too. It introduces the traditions of men, in the room of God's records, and setteth up their judgments and results for the rule of Christian faith, and canons of Christ's church. This is one of those things that made Rome so hateful, and her yoke intolerable, to our predecessors: pretended deductions from scripture, put in the room of scripture, with a supersedeas to all dissent upon ever so just a ground of dissatisfaction.

I beseech you, protestants, by the mercies of God, and love of Jesus Christ, ratified to you in his most precious blood, Flee Rome at home: look to the enemies of your own house! have a care of this presumption; carry it not too high; lay not stress, where God has laid none, neither use his royal stamp to authorise your apprehensions in the name of his institutions.

I do not say, that men are never to express their minds upon any place of scripture to edification: there is a Christian liberty, not to be denied; but never to lay down articles

of faith, which ever ought to be in the very language of holy writ, to avoid temptation and strife. You see how the contrary method hath been the great make-bait in all ages, and the imposition of such opinions the privilege of hypocrites, but the snare of many honest minds; to be sure the sad occasion of feuds and miserable divisions. It was plainly seen, that by the many disputes that rose from hence, men's wits were confounded with their matters; truth was lost, and brotherhood was destroyed. Thus the devil acted the part both of opponent and defendant, and managed the passions of both parties to this end, which was discord. And but too many were ready to persuade themselves, from the miscarriages on both sides, that nothing certain could be concluded about religion; for it so fell out, that whilst men were perpetually wrangling and brawling about some one opinion of religion, the most important points of faith and life were little regarded, unity broken, amity destroyed, and those wounds made, that were never closed but with the extinction of one party; not a good Samaritan being to be found to heal and close them. Now it was that a godly man was distinguished from an ungodly by this, 'Let his life have been almost what it would, that he seemed to maintain the opinions in vogue, and to abhor the doctrine, which, in some one or two points, might be reputed heretical, or schismatical.'

O that we could but see how many and how great defeats Satan hath given to the work of God in the hearts of men! what desolations he hath made by this one evil, controversy; begot of opinion, and used for it; and how few have contended for "the faith as it was once delivered to the saints!" he must be a man of brass, that could refrain from weeping at these calamities. And truly I must desire to take leave sometimes to bewail this broken condition of Christendom, and to bestow my tears in secret upon these common ruins: and I beseech God Almighty, with a soul sensibly touched with the mischiefs that naturally flow from this practice, to awaken you to a most speedy and serious consideration of your present standing, an amendment of your miscarriage, in this and all other points that may concern your good, and his glory. Put away wrath! away with clamours! away with arrogance and impatience! let that holy spirit of God, which we in common profess to be the Christian's guide, have the ordering of our understandings in spiritual things, lest ignorance should mistake, interest wrest, or prejudice pervert, the sense of God's book. For as too many are ignorant of the divine truth through their own concupiscence, and vile affections, that carry them

away to the desire of other things, and therefore easily mistake about nice or obscure matters; so there are not a few, who come to search the scriptures with prepossessed minds, that are sorry to meet with a contradiction to their own judgment, instead of being glad to find the truth, and who use their wits to rack out another sense than that which is genuine; which sort of men use the scripture for its authority, and not its sense of truth.

All this while, the head is set at work, not the heart; and that which Christ most insisted upon, is least concerned in this sort of faith and Christianity; and that is, "keeping his commandments." For it is opinion, not obedience; notion, and not regeneration, that such men pursue. This kind of religion leaveth them as bad as it findeth them, and worse; for they have something more to be proud of. Here is a creed, indeed, but of what? The conclusions of men! and what to do? To prove they believe in Christ, who, it seems, never made them. It had been happy for the world, that there had been no other creeds, than what he and his apostles gave and left: and it is not the least argument against their being needful to Christian communion, that Christ and his apostles did not think so, who were not wanting to declare the whole counsel of God to the church.

To conclude: if you desire peace, love truth, seek piety, and hate hypocrisy, lay by all those things called articles of faith, and canons of the church, that are not to be found in express terms in scripture, or so plainly authorised by scripture, as may, with ease, be discerned by every honest and conscientious person. And in the room of those numerous and disputed opinions, made the bond of external communion, let some plain, general and necessary truths be laid down in scripture terms, and let them be few; which leads me to the next point, and that is faith, which is generally mistaken in the very nature of it.

Sect. III.

Of Faith, and Mistakes about it.

The second mischief that is amongst us, is the misunderstanding of the nature of faith; whence it comes to pass, that men take that for faith, which is not; and sit down in a security pernicious to their eternal happiness. I shall briefly say something of what is not faith, before I speak of that which appears to me to be truly and scripturally such.

The faith of our Lord Jesus Christ is not only not believing men's opinions and determinations from the sacred text, of which I have so freely delivered myself, but it is not

merely the belief even of the things contained in scripture to be true: for this the devils and hypocrites do, and yet are very bad believers: they refuse not the authority of scripture: the devil made use of it to Christ himself; but he would have the explaining and applying of it: and since he could not hinder the divine inspiration, if he may but be allowed the exposition, he hopes to secure his kingdom. Since then the verity and authority of both history and doctrine may be believed by the devil and hypocrites, that are false to their own faith and knowledge, we cannot, without great injustice to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the faith of all his followers, allow, that a mere belief of the verity and authority of the history and doctrine of scripture, is that "true and precious faith, which was the saints' victory over the world."

Faith, then, in the sense of the Holy Ghost, is by the Holy Ghost thus defined: viz. "The evidence of things not seen, and the substance of things hoped for."* This is general, and runs through all ages; being received of all sorts of Christians as a true definition of faith: but, with leave, I shall express it thus: 'True faith in God, is entirely believing and trusting in God, confiding in his goodness, resigning up to his will, obeying his commands, and relying upon his conduct and mercies, respecting this life and that which is to come.' For a man cannot be said to believe in God, that believes not what he says and requires; and no man can be said to do that, who does not obey it, and conform to it; for that is believing in God, to do as he says. This is in scripture called "the gift of God;"† and well it may, for it is supernatural: it crosses the pride, confidence and lust of man: it grows out of the seed of love, sown by God in the heart; at least "it works by love:"‡ and this distinguishes it from the faith of ill men and devils, that though they do believe, they do not "love God above all," but something else instead of God, and are full of pride, anger, cruelty, and all manner of wickedness. But this faith that works by love, that divine love which God plants in the heart, it draws and inclines man, and gives him power, to forsake all that displeaseth God: and every such believer becomes an "Enoch," translated, that is, changed, from the fashion of this world, the earthly image, the corrupt nature; and is renewed in the likeness of the Son of God, and walks with God. "The just shall live by faith:"‖ they have in all ages lived by this faith; that is, been sustained, supported, preserved: the devil within, nor the world without, could never conquer them. They walked

* Heb. xi. 1. † Eph. ii. 8. ‡ Gal. v. 6. ‖ Gal. iii. 11.

not by sight, but by faith, and had regard to the eternal recompense: no visible things prevailed with them to depart from the invisible God, to quench their love, or slacken their obedience to him; the great testimony of their faith in him.

This holy faith excludes no age of the world; the just men, the "Cornelius's" in every generation, have had some degree of it: it was more especially the faith of the simpler ages of the world, such as those in which the patriarchs lived, who, having not an outward law, became a "law to themselves, and did the things contained in the law;"* for they believed in God, and, through faith, "obtained a good report."† But because that it hath pleased God, in order to man's recovery from that grievous lapse disobedience hath cast him into, at sundry times, and in divers manners to appear to the sons of men, first by his prophets, and last of all by his Son;‡ and that these several manifestations have had something peculiar to them, and very remarkable in them, so that they claim a place in our creed; it will not be amiss that we briefly consider them.

The first was that of the prophets, in which Moses preceded, by whom the law came to the jews;‖ but grace and truth to mankind by Jesus Christ. The first brought condemnation, the last salvation; the one judgment, the other mercy; which was "glad tidings" indeed. The one did forerun the other, as in order of time, so in nature of dispensation: the law was the gospel begun; the gospel was the law fulfilled, or finished: they cannot be parted.

The decalogue, or ten commandments, were little more than what had been known and practised before; for it seemed but an epitome and transcript of the "law writ in man's heart by the finger of God:" this is confessed on all hands and in all ages since, as the writings of ancient gentiles, as well as jews and Christians, tell us. This, therefore, must needs be a part of our creed; for it relates to that righteousness which is indispensable and immutable: the other part of their constitution, that was peculiar to their politic, typical, and mutable state, the gospel is either unconcerned in it, or else ended it, by the bringing in of a better hope and a more enduring substance. "But grace and truth came by Jesus Christ:" grace is opposed to the condemnation of the law; and truth, to shadows. This is the most excellent dispensation; it is ours; and it becomes us to weigh well our interest in it. Take it in other words of the Holy Ghost. "God, who at sundry times, and in divers

* Rom. ii. 14. † Heb. xi. 39. ‡ Heb. i. 4. ‖ John i. 17.

manners, spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken to us by his Son.* God so loved the world, that (after all the world's provocations, by omissions and commissions) he gave his only begotten Son into the world, that the world through him might be saved."

And here two things present themselves to our consideration: First, the person; who he was, what his authority? Secondly, his message, his doctrine, what he taught? Which, though ever so reasonable in itself, depended very much, in its entertainment among the people, upon the truth of his mission and authority, that he was no impostor, but came from God, and was the promised Messiah. This was done two ways; by revelation and by miracles. By revelation, to such as were well prepared and inclined; as honest Peter, the woman of Samaria, and those that were moved to believe him from the authority in which he spake, so unlike that of the formal scribes. By miracles, to those that, being blinded by ignorance or prejudice, needed to have their senses struck with such supernatural evidences; from many of whom this witness came, "that he was the Messiah, the Christ and Son of God."

In fine, all was done, within the compass of that people among whom he daily conversed, that was needful to prove he was from God, and had God's message to declare to the world. Insomuch that when some of his disciples were not so firm in their belief of his authority, as he deserved at their hands, he calls his own works to prove his commission, and convict them of incredulity: "If ye will not believe that the Father is in me, that he doth these works by me, believe me for the very works' sake."† Thus he argued with the jews: "Say ye of him the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?" "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not:" this is reasonable; he that shall judge the world, offers to be tried himself: he goes on: "But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me."‡ And he laid the sin of the jews upon this foot, viz. That they rejected him, after he had made proof of his divine mission by such extraordinary works, as no man among them all could do: which, to give them their due, they do not deny, but shamefully pervert, and foolishly abuse, by attributing them to the power of the devil. To which malice and slander he returned this inconfutable answer; "A kingdom

* Heb. i. 1. John iii. 16. 17. † John viv. 10, 11. ‡ John x. 36, 37, 38.

divided against itself cannot stand."—What! Cast out devils by the prince of devils! It is a contradiction, and very madness itself.

I have nothing to do now with atheists, or those that call themselves theists, but such as own themselves Christians; and shall therefore keep to my task, namely; 'What of the Christian dispensation is so peculiar and important, as to challenge of right the name of creed or faith.' I say then, 'That the belief of Jesus of Nazareth to be the promised Messiah, the Son and Christ of God, come and sent from God to restore and save mankind,' is the first, and was then the only requisite, article of faith, without any large confessions, or an heap of principles or opinions, resolved upon after curious and tedious debates by councils and synods: and this may be proved both by example and doctrine.

It is evident from example, as in the case of Peter; who for having believed in his heart, and confessed with his mouth, "That Jesus was the Christ and Son of God," obtained that signal blessing.* This made Nathaniel a disciple; "Rabbi," said he, "Thou art the Son of God, thou art the king of Israel." It was the like confession, that made amends for Thomas's incredulity, when he was sensibly assured of the resurrection of Jesus, "My Lord and my God!" This was also the substance of Martha's confession of faith to Jesus, when he said to her, "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me shall never die: believest thou this? She answered, yea, Lord, I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world?" She answered him not as to that particular of the resurrection, but in general, 'That he was the Christ, the Messiah, that was to come into the world,' and that sufficed. It was a confession not unlike to this, that the blind man made, to whom Christ gave sight, when Jesus said to him,† "Dost thou believe on the Son of God? Lord, said he, I do believe; and he worshipped him." What shall we say of the centurion, preferred by Christ himself before any in Israel, though a gentile?‡ or of the faith of the woman and inhabitants of Samaria, that he was "the Messiah?"‖ or of that importunate woman that cried to Jesus, to cast a devil out of her possessed daughter, and would not be put off, to whom Christ said,§ "O woman, great is thy faith; be it unto thee even as thou wilt?" To which let me add the faith of the people that brought the sick man of the palsy to Christ,¶ who uncovered the roof to let him down to be touched; the faith of Jairus the ruler; and of that good woman, who

* Mat. xvi. 16, 17. John i. 49. † John ix. 35. 38. ‡ Mat. viii. 10.
‖ John iv. § Mat. xv. 23. 28. ¶ Mark ii. 4, 5. Mark v. 22.

pressed through the crowd to touch the hem of Christ's garment, to whom Jesus said,* "Be of good comfort, daughter, thy faith has made thee whole:" Also the two blind men that followed him out of the ruler's house, crying,† "Thou Son of David have mercy on us;" who, when Jesus had said, "Believe ye that I am able to do this?" answered, "Yea, Lord;" upon which he touched their eyes, and said, According to your faith be it unto you:" Also the blind man near Jericho;‡ the leprous Samaritan that Christ cleansed;‖ and that notable passage of the woman that kissed his feet, and anointed his head; to whom he pronounced this happy sentence;§ "Thy faith hath saved thee, go in peace."

I will conclude this with that famous instance of the thief upon the cross, who neither knew, nor had time to make, a large confession like the creeds of these days; but, it seems, he said enough;¶ "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." And Jesus said unto him, "Verily, I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with me in paradise." By which it is easy to learn that it was the heart, not the mouth; the sincerity, not the words, that made the confession valid.

Nor was this only in the days of Christ, the effect of his gracious dispensation, or peculiar indulgence; for after-times afford us the like instances. This was the main bent of Peter's sermon; and when the "three thousand believed that he, whom the jews had crucified, was both Lord and Christ, and repented of their sins, and gladly received his word," they are said to have been "in a state of salvation."** Thus Cornelius, and his houshold and kindred, so soon as Peter declared "Jesus to be the Messiah," and that they had believed, "the Holy Ghost fell upon them," and they were received into the Christian communion. But the story of the eunuch is very pat to our purpose: as he rid in his chariot, he was reading these words out of the prophet Isaiah, viz. "That he was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and like a lamb dumb before the shearers, so opened he not his mouth. In his humiliation his judgment was taken away; and who shall declare his generation? for his life is taken from the earth." Philip joined to him, and asked him, "if he understood what he read?" He desired Philip to interpret the mind of the prophet, whether he spoke of himself, or another? Philip upon the place preached to him Jesus: the eunuch was so well persuaded by the apostle,

* Mat. ix. 20, 21, 22. 27. † Luke xviii. 35. 42.
‡ Luke xvii. 15. 19. ‖ Luke vii. 45. 50. § Luke xxiii. 42, 43.
¶ Acts ii. 37. 47. Acts x. 24. 48. Acts viii. 27. 37.

that coming to a water, he said, "What doth hinder me to be baptized?" Philip answered him, "If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest:" To this the eunuch replied, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." Upon which he was baptized; and it is said, "He went away rejoicing;" which indeed he might well do, that felt the comfort of his faith, the remission of his sin, and the joys of the Holy Ghost, which always follow true faith in Christ.

I will conclude these examples with a passage in the Acts, of Paul at Thessalonica;* it is this: "Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three sabbath-days reasoned with them out of the scriptures; opening and alleging that Christ must needs have suffered and risen again from the dead; and that this Jesus (said he) whom I preach unto you, is Christ. And some of them believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas; and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few." Thus we may plainly see, that they were baptized into the faith of Jesus, and not into numerous opinions; and that this one confession, from true faith in the heart, was the ground and principle of their church-fellowship. Then God's church was at peace; she throve; there were then no snares of words made to catch men of conscience with. Then not many words, but much integrity: now much talk, and little truth: many articles, but "O ye of little faith!"

Nor was this only the judgment and practice of that time, out of condescension to weakness, and charity to ignorance; for both Christ Jesus himself and his apostles (those blessed messengers of holy truth) have doctrinally laid it down, as the great test to Christians; that which should distinguish them from infidels, and justly intitle them to his discipleship, and Christian communion one with another. Let us read a little farther: "Then said they to Jesus, what shall we do, that we might work the works of God?† Jesus answered and said to them, This is the work of God, that ye believe on him, whom God hath sent. Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, hath everlasting life." And upon another occasion, to the jews, he said, "For if ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins." It must follow then, that if they did believe him to be the Messiah, the anointed of God to salvation, "they should be saved." Most plain is that answer of the apostle's to the gaoler, when he came trembling to them, and said, "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" "Believe," said they, "on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." The apos-

* Acts xvii. 2, 5, 4. † John vi. 28, 29. 47. John viii. 24. Acts xvi. 30, 31. Rom. x. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

tle Paul confirms this in his epistle to the Romans, when he says, "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation: for the scripture saith, Whosoever believeth on him, shall not be ashamed. For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek; for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him. For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved."* This was the word of faith which they preached; and he testified that it was "nigh in the heart," as Moses had done before him. And, saith the apostle John, on this occasion, "Who is a liar, but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ?†—Hereby know ye the spirit of God; every spirit that confesseth (or every one that in heart or spirit confesseth) that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God." Again, says he, "Whosoever shall confess, that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God."‡ Yet once more he affirms, "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God." But this is more than an historical belief; a true, sound, and hearty persuasion: a faith that influenceth the whole man into a suitable conformity to the nature, example, and doctrine of the object of that faith.

I will conclude these doctrinal testimonies out of scripture, with a conclusive passage the apostle John useth towards the end of his evangelical history of Jesus Christ:"‖ "And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book; but these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life in his name." In which place two things are remarkable: First, That whatever things are written of Jesus, are written to this end, "That we might believe that Jesus is the Christ." Secondly, "That those that sincerely believe, shall through him obtain eternal life." Certainly, then, if this be true, their incharity and presumption must be great, who have taken other measures, and set another rule of Christianity, than Jesus and his apostles gave. This sincere confession contented Christ and his apostles; but it will not satisfy those that yet pretend to believe them: it was enough then for a miracle and salvation too, but it goes for little or nothing now. A man may sincerely believe this, and be stigmatized for a schismatic, an heretic, an excommunicate:

* Deut. xxx. 14. † 1 John ii. 22. ‡ 1 John iv. 2. 15. John v. 1.
‖ John xx. 30, 31.

but I may say, as Christ did to the Jews in another case, "From the beginning it was not so."

But here I expect to be assaulted with the objection: If this be all that is necessary to be believed to salvation, of what use is the rest of the scripture?'

I answer, of great use, as the apostle himself teaches us;* "All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." It concerns the whole life and conversation of a man; but every passage in it is not therefore fit to be such an article of faith, as upon which Christian communion ought, or ought not, to be maintained. For though it be all equally true, it is not all equally important: there is a great difference between the truth and weight of a thing. For example: it is as true that Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate, as that he suffered; and that he was pierced, as that he died: and that he did eat after his resurrection, as that he rose from the dead at all; but no person of common understanding will conclude an equal weight or concernment in these things, because they are equally true: the death of Christ was of much greater value than the manner of it; his resurrection, than any circumstance of his appearance after he was risen. The question is not, whether all the truths contained in scripture are not to be believed; but whether those truths are equally important? And whether the belief with the heart, and confession with the mouth, that Jesus is the Christ and Son of God, be not as sufficient now to intitle a man to communion here, and salvation hereafter, as in those times? Against which nothing can be, of weight, objected.

If it be said, 'that this contradicts the judgment and practice of many great and good men;'

I answer, I cannot help that. If they have been tempted, out of their own curiosity, or the corruption of times, to depart from the ancient paths, the footsteps of purest antiquity and best examples, let their pretences have been what they will, it was presumption: and it was just with God, that error and confusion should be the consequence of those adventures; nor has it ever failed to follow them.

Lastly, if it be alleged, 'that this will take in all parties, yea, that schismatics and heretics will creep in under this general confession, since few of them will refuse to make it:'

I do say, it would be an happy day. What man, who loves

* 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

God and Christ, seeks peace and concord, that would not rejoice if all our animosities and vexations about matters of religion were buried in this one confession of Jesus, the great Author and Lord of the Christian religion, so often lost in pretending to contest for it? View the parties on foot in Christendom among those called protestants, observe their differences well, and how they are generally maintained, and you will tell me, that they are rent and divided about their own comments, consequences and conclusions: not the text, but the meaning; and that too, which perhaps is not in itself essential to salvation; as the dispute betwixt the Lutherans and Calvinists, the Arminians and Predestinarians, and the like. Is it not lamentable to think, that those who pretend to be Christians, and reformed ones also, should divide with the winds, and fight, as *pro aris et focis*, for such things, as either are not expressly to be found in scripture, or if there, yet never appointed or intended by Christ or his apostles for articles of communion. Should they then erect their communion on another bottom, or break it for deviating from any other doctrines than what they in so many words have delivered to us for necessary?

If we consider the matter well, I fear it will appear that the occasion of disturbance in the church of Christ hath in most ages been found to lie on the side of those who have had the greatest sway in it. Very pertinent to our present purpose is that passage of J. Hales of Eton, in his tract concerning schism:* 'It hath,' said he, 'been the common disease of Christians from the beginning, not to content themselves with that measure of faith which God and the scriptures have expressly afforded us; but, out of a vain desire to know more than is revealed, they have attempted to discuss things, of which we can have no light, neither from reason nor revelation. Neither have they rested here; but, upon pretence of church authority, which is none, or tradition, which for the most part is but figment, they have peremptorily concluded, and confidently imposed upon others a necessity of entertaining conclusions of that nature; and, to strengthen themselves, have broken out into divisions and factions, opposing man to man, synod to synod, till the peace of the church vanished, without all possibility of recall. Hence arose those ancient and many separations amongst Christians; Arianism, Eutychianism, Nestorianism, Photinianism, Sabellianism; and many more, both ancient and in our time.

And as he hath told us one great occasion of the disease,

* Tract on Schism, (printed with other things) pages 212, 213.

so he offers what follows for the cure:* 'And were liturgies,' says he, 'and public forms of service so framed, as that they admitted not of particular and private fancies, but contained only such things, as in which all Christians do agree, schisms on opinion were utterly vanished: whereas to load our public forms with the private fancies upon which we differ, is the most sovereign way to perpetuate schism unto the world's end.—Remove from them whatever is scandalous to any party, and leave nothing but what all agree on; and the event shall be, that the public service and honour of God shall no ways suffer. For to charge churches and liturgies with things unnecessary, was the first beginning of all superstition.—If the spiritual guides and fathers of the church would be a little sparing of incumbering churches with superfluities, and not over rigid, either in reviving obsolete customs, or imposing new, there were far less danger of schism or superstition.—Meanwhile, wheresoever false or suspected opinions are made a piece of the church liturgy, he that separates is not a schismatic: for it is alike unlawful to make profession of known or suspected falshoods, as to put in practice unlawful or suspected actions.' He farther tells us, in his sermon of dealing with erring Christians,† 'That it is the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and not the identity (or oneness) of conceit, which the Holy Ghost requires at the hands of Christians.—A better way my conceit cannot reach unto, than that we should be willing to think that these things, which with some show of probability we deduce from scripture, are, at the best, but our opinions. For this peremptory manner of setting down our conclusions under this high commanding form of necessary truths, is generally one of the greatest causes which keeps the churches this day so far asunder; when-as a gracious receiving of each other by mutual forbearance, in this kind, might, peradventure, in time bring them nearer together.'

Thus much of this great man concerning schism, the cause and cure of it. And for the notion of heretics he will help us altogether as well: for though they are generally taken for such who err in judgment about doctrines and articles of faith, yet if this man may have any credit, and perhaps none of his profession has deserved more, he tells us, that 'heresy is an act of the will, not of reason; and is, indeed, a lie, not a mistake: else,' says he, 'how could that known speech of Austin go for true, *Errare possum, Hæreticus esse nolo:* I may err, but I am unwilling to be an heretic?' And indeed

* Tract of Schism, pages 215, 216, 217, 218.
† J. Hales' Golden Remains, pages 49, 50.

this is no other than what holy scripture teacheth; "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition reject; knowing that he that is such, is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself."* Which is as much as to say, that nobody is an heretic, but he that gives the lie to his own conscience, and is self-condemned: which is not the case of men merely mistaken, or who only err in judgment. And therefore the term of heretics is as untruly as uncharitably flung upon those that conscientiously dissent, either in point of discipline or doctrine, from any society of Christians; and it is not hard to observe that those who have most merited that character, have most liberally bestowed it.

But to show you that neither true schismatic, who is 'one that unnecessarily and unwarrantably separates from that part of the visible church of which he was once a member,' nor true heretic, who is a 'wilful subverter of true, or an introducer of false doctrines, a self-condemned person,' can ever shelter himself under this common confession of Christianity, sincerely made; let us consider, that whoever so declares Jesus to be the Messiah and anointed Saviour of God to men, must be supposed to believe all that of him, with respect to which he is so called. Now that for which he is so denominated, is that which God sent him to do: the reason and end of his coming he could best tell, who hath told us thus; "I am come, that ye may have life, and that ye may have it more abundantly." The world was dead in trespasses and sins; the guilt and defilement of transgression had killed the soul, as to spiritual life and motion; and from under this powerful death he came to redeem the soul unto life: in short, to restore man from that fearful degeneracy which his disobedience to God had reduced him unto.

The way he took to accomplish this blessed work was, first, 'to preach repentance, and the approach of the kingdom of God,'† which is his rule and authority in the hearts of men: and that brings to the second thing to be believed; namely,

What he taught.

First, his doctrine led to repentance: "Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand." No man could receive the kingdom of God, whilst he lived under the kingdom and power of Satan: so that to repent, is not only to bring their deeds to the light, which Christ exhorted men to; but to forsake that, upon examination, which appears to be evil. Wherefore I conclude, that such as have not been acquainted

* Tit. iii. 10, 11. † Mark i. 14. John iii. 20, 21.

with this holy repentance, do not sincerely believe, neither can rightly confess, Jesus to be the Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour of the world. Therefore saith the apostle, "Let him that nameth the name of the Lord, depart from iniquity;" plainly implying, that those do rather profane than confess the name of the Lord, who do not depart from their iniquities. And, saith the apostle in another place, "No man can call Jesus Lord, but by the Holy Ghost:" which opens to us the nature of the true confession we ought to make, and which, being truly made in a scripture sense, makes us Christians in a right Christian acceptation; to wit, 'That the true confession of Jesus to be both Lord and Christ, is from such a belief in the heart, as is accompanied with the embracing and practising of his holy doctrine.' Such a faith is the work of the Holy Ghost; and those that do not so confess him, or call upon him, that is, by virtue of the overshadowing of this divine spirit and power, are not truly Christians, true worshippers, or believers and disciples of our Lord Jesus.

Furthermore, they that receive Christ, receive his kingdom, his power and authority in their souls; whereby the strong man that kept the house becomes bound, and his goods spoiled by this stronger man, the "Lord's Christ;" who is come from heaven to dwell in us, and be the hope of glory;' for so he was preached to the Gentiles. This kingdom, the apostle tells us, stands in righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost; and Christ tells us where it is to be set up:* "The kingdom of God is within you," saith the king himself; and where should the king be, but in his own kingdom? They are blessed that feel him to rule, and that live under the swaying of his righteous sceptre: for when this "righteous one rules the earth, the sons of men rejoice."

So that no man can truly confess, and rightly believe, Jesus to be the Christ and Son of God, who does not receive him to be his king to rule his heart and affections. For can a man be said to believe in one that he will not receive? But "to as many as received Christ of old, gave he power to become the sons of God;† which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man. but of God." What is this will of God? Paul answers the question:‡ "The will of God is your sanctification;" for this Christ came into the world. So that those that believe and receive Christ, he is made to them "righteousness, sanctification, and redemption; that is, he has saved them from their sins, both guilt and defilement, and sanctified them from

* Luke xvii. 20, 21. † John i. 12, 13. ‡ 1 Cor. i. 30.

their corruptions: they live now by the grace of God, that teaches them to be of a sober, righteous, godlike life. "Ye shall know them by their fruits," saith Christ of the Pharisees; so shall men know them, that sincerely believe and confess Christ, by their sanctified manners and blameless conversations. And wo from the true and just God to them that make other distinctions! for God has made no other: there will be but goats and sheep at the last day; holy and unholy; just and unjust: therefore let that be our distinction, which ever was, and will be, God's distinction; for all other measures are the effects of the passions and presumptions of men. But because it may be expected that I should fix upon some few general heads of Christian doctrine, from the mouth of Christ and his apostles, as requisite to Christian communion, I shall proceed to mention what Christ eminently taught.

He that reads his sermon upon the mount, will find in the entrance how many states and conditions Christ blessed;* "the poor in spirit, the mourners, the meek, they that hunger after righteousness; the merciful, the pure in heart, and the peace-makers;" which, indeed, comprehend the whole of Christianity.

By mourners, we understand true penitents, men of unfeigned repentance; which leads them not only to confess, but forsake their sins. This "godly sorrow" strips men of all false rests and comforts, makes them "poor in spirit," empty of themselves, wanting the comfort of the light, life and power of Jesus to support and sustain them; yet, as they stedfastly walk in that measure they have, the atonement of the blood is felt, and it cleanseth them from all unrighteousness, which makes them pure in heart. And in this condition no food will serve their turn but righteousness;† after this they hunger and thirst, more than for the bread that perisheth. They are full of meekness and mercy, making peace, and promoting concord, wherever they come: for being themselves reconciled to God, they endeavour to reconcile all men unto God, and one unto another: submitting all worldly considerations to this incomparable peace, that passeth all human understanding.

In short, let us bring it home to our consciences, and deal faithfully with ourselves. Do we know this holy mourning? This godly sorrow? Are we poor in spirit indeed?‡ Not self-conceited, but humble, meek, and lowly in heart, like him that bid us do so? Do we hunger after the kingdom of God, and the righteousness of it? And are our hearts purified by the precious faith of the Son of God, that is a

* Mat. v. † 1 John i. 7. ‡ 1 Cor. ii. 3.

working, cleansing and conquering faith: In fine, Are we merciful? Tender-hearted? Lovers of peace, more than lovers of ourselves? Persecuted, rather than persecutors? Such as receive stripes for Christ's sake, and not those that beat our fellow-servants? No man has true faith in Christ Jesus, that is not acquainted with these blessed qualifications. This is Christ's doctrine; and to believe in him, is to obey it, and be like him.

The great intention of this sermon, is to press people to a more excellent righteousness than that of the Scribes and Pharisees. "For," said Jesus to the multitude, "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven."*

1. He taught, not only that killing, but anger, without a very just cause, is unlawful to his disciples, his followers.†

2. He prefers concord above devotion; mercy before sacrifice: he that will not use his utmost endeavour to be reconciled to his brother, shall find no place for his prayers with him that can only make them effectual.‡ And every man is this brother.

3. He not only forbids adultery, which the law forbids, but lust. The axe of his doctrine is laid to the root of the tree:‖ it reaches to the first seeds of things, to the innermost and most hidden conceptions of the mind, because he has brought this light near, and searches the innermost parts of the belly with his divine candle.

4. From keeping and performing legal vows, to not swearing at all. And indeed, what use can there be of any swearing, where men's yea is yea, and their nay, nay?¶ There their speech, their answers, on all occasions, should be, at the most, but yea, yea; or nay, nay.

5. He taught, not to resist evil, but to suffer loss, rather than enter into contention: his divine wisdom did foresee how much easier it would be to overcome the violent passions of men by patience, than controversy.§ And he that justly considers the unruliness of some men's dispositions, their heats and prejudices, will find, that it is not always a real injury or loss, but some passion, revenge, or base interest, that puts them upon clamours, and suits of law.

6. He taught us the highest complacency and charity: "If any man compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain."†† Be of an easy and ready mind to do good; to all friendly offices be easily persuaded; and therein rather exceed, than fall short of, any one's intreaty or necessity.

* Mat. v. 20. † Verse 22. ‡ Verse 23, 24, 25. ‖ Verse 28, 29, 30. ¶ Verse 33, 34. § Verse 39, 40. †† Verse 14.

7. He taught as great liberality and bounty, "To give to him that asks, and from him that would borrow, not to turn away."* In short, to be stewards of our external substance for the good of mankind, according to our respective abilities; not grudging, knowing whose it is; nor disbelieving, as knowing him who is both able and bountiful.

8. He advances the doctrine of loving friends, to the degree of loving enemies. "Ye have heard," said Jesus, "that it hath been said, thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy;† but I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you." Surely, then, where no anger dwells, no revenge can grow; and if we must love enemies, there is no man left to be hated. This is the doctrine of that Jesus that laid down his life for all; and this is the end for which he preached it. "That," says he "ye may be children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." It is as much as if Christ had said 'No man can be like God, who does not love his enemies, and cannot do good to all.' Consequently, he that does love enemies, and is ready to do good unto all, he is like God the Father that is in heaven, who is love.

9. Christ teaches us to avoid ostentation in our charity: "Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them."‡

10. He teaches us the duty of prayer, and what: "not in the corners of the street, nor in the synagogues to be seen of men: but in the closet, in the secret of the heart, betwixt God and the soul."‖ O heavenly precepts! he knew our natures, our weakness, and how to meet with it, and mend it. A blessed physician indeed! Let us receive him, for he is sure, and he is free.

11. He forbids hoarding, and laying up of money in the bank; but "presses our treasuring up wealth in heaven;"¶ and the reason is this, "That the one is corruptible, and the other is incorruptible."

12. He teaches dependance upon the providence of God; calling the distrustful,§ "O ye of little faith! which of you," says he, "by taking thought, can add one cubit to his stature? Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewith shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek;

* Mat. v. 42. † Verse 43, 44 45. ‡ 1 John iv. 8. Mat. vi. 1.
‖ Verse 5, 6. ¶ Verse 19, 20. § Verse 25, to the end.

for your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added to you."

13. He sets up a discrimination or distinction between false and true prophets; those that are his disciples, from counterfeits. "Ye shall know them," said Christ,* "by their fruits: do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit: wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them." This was the distinction given by Christ to his followers; the tree was not accounted a good tree by the leaves, but the fruits; not by a meer opinion, but holy living. The faith in that day, was an entire resignation and dependance upon God, and not a subscription to verbal propositions and articles, though ever so true: that was the work of after-times, more corrupt and superstitious ages, that laid more stress upon consent, aye, the very show of it, than holiness, without which no man shall ever see the Lord. But—

14. Lastly, Christ preaches the general judgment. "Many will say to me in that day," [What day? The last day, or day of account, and final reckoning with mankind:] "Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name cast out devils,† and done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity. Not every one that saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock, and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was builded upon a rock. And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand: and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall of it. And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine; for he taught them as one having authority, and not as the Scribes."

By all which it is most plain, that as Christ is the rock, on which true Christians build, so none can be said truly to build upon this rock, but those that keep his sayings, that do his

* Mat. vii. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. † Mat. vii. 21, to the end.

commandments, that obey his doctrine. Wherefore that faith of Jesus to be the Son and Christ of God, must be such a faith as does the will of the heavenly Father, and keepeth these sayings of Christ.

There are two places, in which Christ seems to sum up his blessed doctrine: one is this,* "Therefore all things, whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets;" which, by the way, Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfil. But the other passage seems to be more full; the first relating only to our dealings with men, this second passage comprehending our duty both to God and men, viz.† "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; this is the first and great commandment: and the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

This is the sum and perfection of the Christian religion, the great commandment of Christ, and the certain token of discipleship.‡ "A new commandment," said Christ, "I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another: by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Again Christ speaks to his disciples:‖ "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love, even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love: and this is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you." Yea, once more; "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you, that you love one another. He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me:¶ and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him: but he that loveth me not, keepeth not my sayings." So that only those are friends and disciples of Christ Jesus that do his sayings and keep his commandments; and the great commandment of all is love; for upon this one commandment do all the rest depend.

And indeed the reason is very obvious, since he that loves God above all, will leave all for God: not one of his commandments shall be slighted: and he that loves his neighbour, will much more love the "Household of faith," Well may such be true Christians, when their faith in Christ works by love, by the power of this divine power: he that dwells in this love, dwells in God,§ (if John say true) for he is

* Mat. vii. 12. † Mat. xxii. 37, 38, 39. ‡ John xiii. 34, 35.
‖ John xv. 10, 12, 14, 17. ¶ John xiv. 21. § 1 John iv. 16.

love. "And in this he recommended his love unto us, that he sent his only-begotten Son,—that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life." Also, herein did Christ manifest his love, in laying down his life for us.* "This is my commandment," said Christ, "that ye love one another, as I have loved you: and greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends; ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." Indeed he gave his life for the world, and offered up one common sacrifice for mankind:† "And by this one offering up of himself, once for all, he hath for ever perfected," that is, quitted and discharged, and taken into favour, "them that are sanctified;" who have the spirit of grace and sanctification in their hearts; for such as resist it, receive not the benefit of that sacrifice, but damnation to themselves.

This holy offering-up of himself by the eternal spirit, is a great part of the Messiahship; for therein he hath both confirmed his blessed message of remission of sins, and life everlasting, to as many as truly believe in his name, and hath given himself "a propitiation for all that have sinned, and thereby come short of the glory of God:" Insomuch that God is said, by the apostle Paul,‡ to be "just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God."

Unto which I shall join his mediatorship or advocacy, linked together both by the apostle of the Gentiles, and the beloved disciple John: the first in these words;‖ "For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time." The apostle John expresseth it thus:¶ "My little children, these things write I unto you, that you sin not: and if any man sinneth, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." So that, to be brief, the Christian creed, so far as it is declaratory, lies eminently in a confession of these particulars: of the divine authority of the New, as well as of the Old Testament writings, and particularly of these great, general, and obvious truths therein expressed; to wit, 'Of God and Christ, his miracles, doctrine, death, resurrection, advocateship or mediation, the gift of his light, spirit or grace: of faith, and repentance

* John xv. 12, 13, 14. † Heb. x. ‡ Rom. iii. 25, 26, 27.
‖ 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6. ¶ 1 John ii. 1, 2.

from dead works unto remission of sins, keeping his commandments, and lastly, of eternal recompense.'—Less, once, than all this, would have done; and it does not show the age more Christian, but more curious, indeed more infidel, to be sure more captious and froward, that there is this stir made about external creeds of communion: for distrust of brethren, and incredulity among Christians, are no small signs of their decay of faith towards God: "From the beginning it was not so."

But it may be here objected, 'How shall we know that such a declaration of faith is sincere?'

I answer, 'By recurring to that evidence which God shall give us.'* They that can try spirits, under the most sheep-like clothing, have the most immediate and certain proof, and such an one there is, by the savour and relish the spirit of God gives, to them that have it, of the spirits of men: but let it suffice, that Christ hath told us,† "By their fruits ye shall know them. If any man," says Christ, "will come after me, let him take up his cross, and follow me: and in another place he tells us thus:‡ "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me;" that is, they are led by my spirit, they live my life, they obey my doctrine, they are of my own nature. And the apostle Peter assures us,‖ 'That true faith purifies the heart; and no impurity can flow from a pure heart.' You may know this faith by that way by which Abraham's faith was known to be true, to wit, obedience. "He believed God;" that is, he obeyed God; he submitted to the will of God, and relied upon his goodness: as if he had said, and he said it doubtless to himself,¶ 'He that gave me my son by a miracle, can work another to save him: to God all things are possible.' It is called by the apostle Paul,§ "The spirit of faith;" something more near and inward, than any external articles and declarations of faith: that from whence all true confessions and good works came; which made the apostle Paul thus to say,* "We give thanks to God always for you all, making mention of you in our prayers, remembering, without ceasing, your work of faith."

It was this true faith, that brings forth works of righteousness, by which "Abel offered to God, Enoch was translated, Noah was saved." It is said of him, "that he became the heir of the righteousness which is by faith." By this faith Abraham left his own country, and obeyed the voice of God. "By faith Moses was preserved from his childhood; and when he came to years, refused to be called the son of

* 1 John iv. † Mat. xvi. 24. ‡ John x. 27. ‖ Acts xv. 9.
¶ Rom. iv. § 2 Cor. iv. 13. * 1 Thes. i. 2, 3.

Pharaoh's daughter: by faith he forsook Egypt, and passed the Red Sea. By faith the walls of Jericho fell down, and Rahab was saved. By faith Gideon, Barak, Sampson, Jephtha, David, Samuel, and the prophets, subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword;"* with much more too large to be uttered here.

This is that faith, which the apostle James magnifies against all false faiths:† "Faith," says he, "if it has not works, is dead. A man may say, thou hast faith, and I have works; shew me thy faith without thy works, and I will show thee my faith by my works." And as if he had foreseen the pother made by the men of creeds and articles, he speaks on this wise; "Thou believest that there is one God; thou dost well; the devils also believe and tremble. But wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead? Was not Abraham, our father, justified by works, when he had offered Isaac his son upon the altar? Seest thou how faith wrought with his works? And by works was faith made perfect.—And he was called the friend of God." Very notable and informing is that expression of his, "The devils also believe and tremble;" and as if he had said, 'The devil believes, as well as you; and trembles too, which is more.' This shows there is a faith that is not the true faith, and that not with relation to the matters believed, but the spirit of the mind in believing: for the devils believe the truth literally; but their faith works not by love, no more than their knowledge by obedience, and therefore it does them no good, and is not the true faith. O that Christendom would lay this very one thing to heart! But I must proceed.

The exhortation of the apostle Peter is a farther and plain discrimination of true faith:‡ "And besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godliness, and to godliness brotherly-kindness, and to brotherly-kindness charity. For if these things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh these things is blind, and cannot see far off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins:" as if he had said, they have forgot where they begun, that think they can be Christians without a life of holiness.

* Heb. xi. † James ii. 17, 13, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.
‡ 2 Pet. i. 5, 6, 6, 7, 8, 9.

I will seal up these scripture testimonies of faith, with that account which is given us by the apostle John,* "For whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world: and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?" So that the belief in the Son of God must have this evidence to prove it a true belief in God's account, that by it men are born of God and overcome the world:† wherefore their faith is false whom the world overcomes: "I am not of this world," saith Christ Jesus; neither can that faith be, that is rightly called the faith of the Son of God.

There are three passages left upon record by this beloved disciple of Jesus, of great weight and importance to us: when he had discoursed of the propitiation and advocateship of Christ, he does immediately add;‡ "And hereby do we know that we know him, if we keep his commandments. He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him. But whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected: hereby know we that we are in him. He that saith, he abideth in him, ought himself also to walk, even as he walked."

The second passage, very pertinent to this matter, is in the next chapter;‖ "My little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and in truth. And hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him: for if our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things. Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God: and whatsoever we ask, we receive of him, because we keep his commandments, and do those things that are pleasing in his sight. And this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, as he gave us commandment."

The third and last passage, which I shall mention on this account, is in the fourth chapter of the same epistle,¶ viz. "And we have seen, and do testify, that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world. Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God. And we have known and believed the love God hath to us. God is love; and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him. Herein our love is made perfect, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment; because, as he is, so are we in this world."

* 1 John v. 4, 5. † John xiv. 17. ‡ 1 John ii. 3, 4, 5, 6.
‖ 1 John iii. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. ¶ 1 John iv. 14, 15, 16, 17.

So that keeping God's word and commandments, and our consciences from accusing us, and our being like to Christ in this world, is our loving of God as we ought to love him.

These are the holy fruits of all those that love God, and believe in Christ, that are the 'family of the faithful,' regenerated and redeemed from the earth: wherever two or three of them are met together, Christ is in the midst of them; they neither ask nor hope in vain. With this character let us take a view of all persons and societies of Christians throughout the world, not forgetting ourselves: let us hereby try their faith and religion, and our own:* 'If it be of God the Father, it is pure and undefiled; it leads them that have it, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep themselves unspotted from the world.' Is this our case? O that it were so!

If it be objected, 'Which way shall we obtain this like precious faith?'

I answer, We must take diligent heed to the light and grace that comes by Jesus;† that candle of the Lord, which he has set up in our souls: we must bring our deeds to this light, and see if they be wrought in God or no? for this gives us to discern betwixt the precious and the vile; the one gives joy, the other brings a load of guilt upon the soul. Do we not know, that we do the things we ought not; and that we leave undone the things we ought to do. This, alas! will be our judgment one day, the last, the terrible day: for therefore men are condemnable, because they know.

Those, therefore, that would obtain this precious faith, that overcomes the world, must embrace the "Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," by which this faith is begotten; and they who believe not in this grace, nor receive it in the love of it, nor give themselves up to be taught and led by it, can never be said truly to believe in him from whom it comes, any more than the Jews may be said to believe in God, when they rejected him that came from God, his beloved Son. He that denies the measure, can never own or receive the fulness. John bears record, that he was‡ "full of grace and truth, and that of his fulness they received, and grace for grace: for the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ:" so that it is utterly impossible for a man to believe in Christ, and not to be taught and led by the grace that comes from him, and by him.

It is a common saying of people in these days, "We are

* James i. 27. † John iii. 20, 21. ‡ John i. 14, 16, 17.

not under the law, but under grace;" who are in truth under sin and the law of death, and subjects to the prince of the power of the air, who reigns in the hearts of "the children of disobedience;" and their lives show it: no, those are under grace, that live the holy life of grace. * "For the grace of God, that bringeth salvation," saith the apostle Paul, "hath appeared unto all men; teaching us, that denying ungodliness and the world's lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world:" these are the people that believe in Christ, unto the saving of the soul. This is that blessed light which shines in the hearts of those that believe, and gives "the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ." The ancients walked in it, and found eternal life by it.† "I am the light of the world," said Christ, "he that follows me shall not walk in darkness, but have the light of life."‡ The saints armed themselves with it against the fiery darts of Satan; and, by the virtue and power that is in it, were enabled to overcome temptation. And this will be the condemnation of disobedient men, that they see, but shut their eyes; they know the light, but rebel against it. Christ, by his holy light in the conscience, shows men their danger, warns them of it, before it comes upon them: no man on earth can plead either ignorance or surprise.

It is true, the "Candle of the wicked is often put out:"‖ but that implies it is often lighted, and that men sin against conviction, against sight and knowledge: it is wilful, and that is dangerous. No faith, in disobedience, will do; no faith, without holy fruits, holy works, will save. Men must be born again, if ever they will enter into the kingdom of God: there is no fellowship between Christ and Belial:¶ people must part with their vile affections and inordinate desires, or they are no company for Christ; they have no share in him. What part can pride have in humility, wrath in meekness, lust in self-denial, revenge in forgiveness? To pretend to believe in Christ, and not to be like him, is a contradiction. "This is the message," said the beloved disciple,§ "which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is light; and in him is no darkness at all: if we say, that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth." The truth is, all such faith and profession are a lie, and that "in the right-hand;"** a cheat upon a man's self. "But," says he, "if we walk in the light, as God is

* Tit. ii. 11, 12. † John viii. 12. ‡ Rom. xiii. 12, 13, 14.
‖ Job xxi. 17. ¶ John iii. 3. 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15. § 1 John i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.
** Isaiah xliv. 20.

in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his son cleanseth us from all sin. If we say that we have no sin, (to be cleansed from) we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us: but if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." To conclude, Christ Jesus, the Son of God, and Saviour of the world, is holy, harmless, and undefiled, and so must his followers be: he is no head of a corrupt body, nor master of rebellious servants: he that has not the wedding garment, must be cast out: the branch that brings not forth fruit, will be cut off. But those that truly believe in his name, walk in his light, and are taught by his grace to renounce the "Lusts of the eye, the lusts of the flesh, and pride of life,"* the unjust profits, pleasures and pomps of the world, and choose to follow him in his own holy way of resignation and regeneration, the same is his brother, his sister, and his mother. And whatever losses they may here sustain for his name's sake, they have the promise of an "hundred-fold in this life, and the inheritance of that which is eternal."†

And I do fervently beseech Almighty God, the giver of all saving faith, mercifully to vouchsafe, more and more, to beget a serious inquiry in us, what that faith is which we have? Who is the author of it? And what fruits it hath brought forth? That so we may not profane the name of God by a vain profession of it, nor abuse ourselves unto eternal perdition: but that we may endeavour, by God's assistance, to approve ourselves such believers, as sincerely fear God, love righteousness, and hate every evil way, as becomes the redeemed of God by the precious blood of his Son. Since, therefore, we are not our own, but the Lord's, who hath bought us with that great price, let us glorify him in our bodies, in our souls, and in our spirits, which are his: then shall we be children of Abraham indeed, heirs of the promises, partakers of that resurrection and life, that immortality and glory, which God the righteous judge will, one day, plentifully distribute to them that abide in this precious faith unto the end. This naturally brings me to my third head, and an unhappiness we have long laboured under.

* Mat. iii. 32, 33, 34, 35. † Mat. xix. 28, 29.

Sect. IV.

Of debasing the true Value of Morality, under pretence of higher things; and mistaking, in great measure, the very end of Christ's coming.

By morality, I understand virtuous living, purity of manners; that justice, temperance, truth, charity, and blamelessness in conversation, out of conscience and duty to God and man, which may well denominate the man that lives that life, a man just, virtuous, and pious: in short, one that "does unto all men, as he would have all men do unto him:"* This is my moral man.

It is notorious how small an estimate two sorts of people have put upon him; the profane and the professors, the publicans and the pharisees: the first despise him, as too squeamish, nice and formal; they deride his regularity, and make a jest of his preciseness. And thinking no man can be good, because they are naught, and that all must needs fall by those temptations they will not resist, they construe sobriety to be a trick to decoy mankind, and put a cheat upon the world. If they hear any one say, 'Such a man is a sober and just person,' they have learned, by themselves, to call him knave; that he has a design upon somebody, by being just in little things, to cheat in things of more moment. This man is very unfashionable among men of immoral principles; for his very looks and life carry a reproof with them upon vicious men; who, as if virtue were their common enemy, are in combination against the lovers and entertainers of her: the reason is, because such true virtuoso will neither do the ill things they would have them, nor flatter them in the ill they do; and therefore where ill men have the power, good men are sure to be made the common enemy.

But the reproaches that men of morality receive at the hands of lewd men, are more their honour than their suffering: that which is most of all anxious, is, 'That morality is denied to be Christianity; that virtue has any claim to grace; and that those who glory to be called Christians, can be so partial and cruel as to renounce a mere just man their society, and send him packing among the heathen for damnation.' And pray what is the matter? 'Why! though this person be a sober liver, yet he is but a general believer; his faith is at large. It is true, he believes in God, but I hear little of his faith in Christ.' Very well, does he not therefore believe in Christ? or must he therefore be without

* Mat. vii. 12

the pale of salvation? Is it possible that a man can truly believe in God, and be damned? But as he that believes in Christ, believes in God, so he that believes in God, believes in Christ: "For he that believes on him that raised up Jesus from the dead, his faith shall be imputed to him for righteousness;" and says Christ himself: "He that believeth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life:"* has he that believes in God no interest in this expression? But more particular is that place of the apostle to the Hebrews, viz.† "For he that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him." Now if those who so believe can come to God, the moral man's condition is not dangerous, even in the strictest sense of the word; not only such as have a general faith of Christianity, and never adhered to any particular party, (a sense we shall anon consider) but even those who never heard the history of Christ, nor had a distinct knowledge of him, as we profess him.

For it seems a most unreasonable thing, that faith in God, and keeping his commandments should be no part of the Christian religion: but if a part it be, (as upon serious reflection who dare deny it?) then those before and since Christ's time, who never had the external law nor history, and have "done the things contained in the law, their consciences not accusing, nor hearts condemning, but excusing them before God," are in some degree concerned in the character of a true Christian. For Christ himself preached and kept his Father's commandments, and came to fulfil, and not to destroy, the law; and that not only in his own person, but ‡ "that the righteousness of the law might be also fulfilled in us."

Let us but soberly consider what Christ is, and we shall the better know whether moral men are to be reckoned Christians. What is Christ, but meekness, justice, mercy, patience, charity, and virtue in perfection? Can we then deny a meek man to be a Christian; a just, a merciful, a patient, a charitable, and a virtuous man to be like Christ? "By me kings reign, and princes decree justice," ‖ saith wisdom; yea, the "wisdom that is from above;" so may I say here, 'By Christ men are meek, just, merciful, patient, charitable, and virtuous;' and Christians ought to be distinguished by their likeness to Christ, and not their notions of Christ; by his holy qualifications, rather than their own lofty professions and invented formalities. What shall we

* Rom. iv. 22, 23, 24. † John v. 24. Heb. xi. 6. ‡ Rom. viii 4.
‖ Prov. viii. 15.

say then of that extravagancy which those men are guilty of, who, upon hearing a sober man commended, that is not of any great visible profession, will take upon them to cast him off with this sentence; 'Tush! he is but a moral man; he knows nothing of saving grace; he may be damned for all his morality.' Nay, some have gone so far, as to say and preach, if not print, 'that there are thousands of moral men in hell.'

But it is worth our while to consider, that he that sins is not saved by grace in that state, and that the virtuous man is the gracious man; for it is the nature and end of true grace to make men so. Unanswerable is that passage of the apostle to the Romans,* "Therefore if the uncircumcision keep the righteousness of the law, shall not his uncircumcision be counted for circumcision? And shall not uncircumcision, which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who by the letter and circumcision dost transgress the law? For he is not a Jew, who is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew, which is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God." So that he who keeps the law of God, and abstains from the impurity of the world, is the good man, the just liver; he is the apostle's true Jew and circumcision.

Wherefore it is not ill expressed by that extraordinary man, J. Hales of Eton: 'The moral man,' says he, 'is a Christian by the surer side:' as if he had said, speculations may fail, notions be mistaken, forms wither, but truth and righteousness will stand the test; and the man that loves them will not be moved. He tells us, 'That the fathers had that opinion of the sincerity of the life of some heathens, that they believed God had in store for such even his saving grace, and that he would make them possessors of his everlasting kingdom.' And measuring your satisfaction by the pleasure I took in reading what the author both quotes and comments upon this subject, I will venture to transcribe him at large, whose authority ought to go as far as his reason, and he claims no more; nor indeed does any reasonable man, since God himself seems to submit to that method of overcoming us, to wit, conviction, viz.

* 'Let it not trouble you,' saith he, 'that I intitle them to some part of our Christian faith, and therefore without scruple to be received as weak, and not to be cast forth as dead. Salvianus, disputing what faith is; *Quid est igitur*

* Rom. ii. 26, 27, 28, 29. + J. Hales of Eaton, 'Golden Remains, of dealing with erring Christians,' pages 36, 37.

credulitas vel fides? saith, *Opinor fideliter hominem Christo credere*, id est, *fidelem Deo esse*, hoc est, *fideliter Dei mandata servare.* What might this faith be?' said he, 'I suppose it is nothing else, but faithfully to believe in Christ; and this is to be faithful unto God; which is nothing else but faithfully to keep the commandments of God. Not therefore only a bare belief, but the fidelity and trustiness of God's servants, faithfully accomplishing the will of our master, is required as a part of our Christian faith.

'Now, all those good things which moral men by the light of nature* do, are a part of God's will written in their hearts; wherefore so far as they were conscientious in performing them (if Salvianus's reason be good) so far have they title and interest in our faith. And therefore Regulus, that famous Roman, when he endured infinite torments, rather than he would break his oath, may thus far be counted a martyr and witness for the truth. For the crown of martyrdom sits not only on the heads of those who have lost their lives, rather than they would cease to profess the name of Christ; but on the head of every one that suffers for the testimony of a good conscience, and for righteousness' sake. And here I cannot pass by one very general and gross mistake of our age. For in our discourses concerning the notes of a Christian man, by what signs we may know a man to be one of the visible company of Christ, we have so tied ourselves to this outward profession, that if we know no other virtue in a man, but that he hath conned his creed by heart, let his life be never so profane, we think it argument enough for us to account him within the pale and circuit of the church. On the contrary side, let his life be never so upright, if either he be little seen in, or peradventure quite ignorant of, the mystery of Christ, we esteem of him but as dead. And those who conceive well of those moral good things, as of some tokens giving hope of life, we account but as a kind of Manichees, who thought the very earth had life in it. I must confess that I have not yet made that proficiency in the schools of our age, as that I could see why the second table, and the acts of it, are not as properly the parts of religion and Christianity, as the acts and observations of the first? If I mistake, then it is St. James that hath abused me; for he, describing religion by its proper acts,

* Or the light which comes with us into the world, and grows up with us, as we are of a capacity to discern the teachings of it. See John i. 9. chap. viii. 12. Rom. i. 19 Ephes. v. 13. 1 John i. 7. All agree in it, as to its universality; but the beloved disciple instructs us of its original, nature and use, in the first chapter of his Evangelical History, deeply and clearly: they had it before Christ's coming, as may be seen Job xviii. 5, 6. chap. xxi. 17. chap. xxiv. 13. 16. Psalm xxvii. 1. 36. 9.

tells us, that "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father, is, to visit the fatherless and the widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted of the world." So that the thing which is an especial refined dialect of the new Christian language, signifies nothing but morality and civility, that, in the language of the Holy Ghost, imports true religion.' Thus far J. Hales.

He hath said so well on this account, that there is little need I should say any more; yet let me add thus much: did men mind the language of the Holy Ghost more than their own conceits, they would not style those mere moral men, in a way of disgrace, who are not of their persuasion: it would suffice, that those that "fear God and work righteousness in all nations are accepted of him;" that Christ himself had said,* "he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven;" and of them that work iniquity, "Depart from me, I know you not."

My friends, let us not deceive ourselves; "God will not be mocked; such as we sow we shall certainly reap."† The tree is known by its fruits, and will be judged according to its fruits. "The wages of sin is death:"‡ men will find it so; and every man shall receive his reward suitable to his work. For people to talk of special grace, and yet be carried away by common temptations; to let pride, vanity, covetousness, revenge, &c. predominate, is provoking to God: but to conceit that the righteous God will indulge his people in that latitude which he condemns in other men, is abominable. It is sanctification that makes the saint, and self-denial that constitutes the Christian; and not filling our heads, and elevating our fancies, by applying those promises to ourselves, which, as yet, we have no interest in, though we may think they belong to nobody else: this spiritual flattery of ourselves is most pernicious. I cannot but say, with the apostle,‖ "It is neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, jew nor gentile (this nor the other thing) but the new creature, created after Christ Jesus in holiness: for without holiness no man shall ever see the Lord." And what is holiness, but abstaining from wickedness? And what is that, but keeping the law of God? "Great peace have they that love thy law,"§ said David, that had known the trouble of breaking it: therefore it is that "grace and truth are come by Jesus Christ," to help us to fulfil the law, not to excuse our disobedience to the law: and what before

* Acts x. 34, 35. Mat. vii. † Gal. vi. ‡ Mat. vii. Rom. vi. 23.
‖ Rom. ii. 29. Gal. vi. 17. Heb. xii. 14.
§ Psalm cxix. Psalm clxv. John i. 16, 17.

we were unable, this gives us force to do. So that Christianity is not an indulgence of people under weakness and disobedience, but the completing and perfection of that righteousness, which, without him, was but short and imperfect, through the all-sufficient grace and power that came by Jesus Christ.

Give me leave, I beseech you, for I have a godly jealousy upon me; I fear lest the very end of Christ's coming is mistaken; and of how dreadful a consequence such a mistake would be, you cannot possibly be ignorant, that believe "there is no salvation in any other name." Let us hear the testimony of scripture: they are the words of Christ himself,* "I must preach the kingdom of God, for therefore am I sent." Now, what is this kingdom of God, but God's government? And where is this kingdom and government to be set up, but in man? So Christ tells us,† "Behold the kingdom of God is within you." So that the reason of his being sent is, that the kingdom and government of the devil may be destroyed, the strong man that kept the house, the heart, be dispossessed, and the kingdom and government of God in the soul erected and established. We are taught to pray for it, as little as we make of it."‡ Thy kingdom come, thy will be done." Would to God people would but consider what they pray for! for they are scandalized at the thing they ask, and both neglect and revile the substance of their own prayers; "Thy kingdom come, and thy will be done;" but believe neither. It was the office God designed his Son to. "The thief," says Christ, "does not come but to kill, to steal, and to destroy;" that is, to steal away the heart from God, and to kill and destroy all good desires and inclinations in the soul: for the devil is the thief and destroyer: "But I am come," says Christ,‖ "that ye might have life; and that ye might have it more abundantly." Again,§ "O death, I will be thy death!" as if he had said, 'I will kill that which kills the soul: I will breathe the breath of life into it again; and, by my spirit and grace, I will beget holy motions, and kindle heavenly desires, in it after God, after the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof:' this is the newness of life:¶ 'And I will not only restore that life the soul has lost, but I will increase it: I will add to it, that it may have life more abundantly; more power and strength to resist evil, and embrace and delight in that which is good.

Indeed he was anointed of God for this purpose; and is

* Luke iv. 43. † Luke xvii. 21. ‡ Luke xi. 2.
‖ John x. 11. John x. 10. § Hos. xiii. 4. ¶ Rom. vi. 4.

therefore called the "Restorer of paths, the repairer of breaches, and the builder-up of waste places;" that is, he is ordained of God for the recovery of man from his fallen and disobedient state; this is the reason of his name: "Thou shalt call his name Jesus," said the angel,* "for he shall save his people from their sins:" not from wrath only, but from sin, which is the cause of wrath. That is, of bad men he will make them really good men, and of sinful and unholy, he will make them holy and righteous men, i. e. such as truly believe in him. This is the burden of John's testimony: "There is one," says he,† "that cometh after me, who is mightier than I; he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire; whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor." And seeing Jesus coming to him, he said,‡ "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world!"

I know the use that too many make of these scriptures, as if they were an Hebraism borrowed from the old sacrifices, which may be said to take away sin by taking away the guilt, and not that the natures of men are restored and perfected. And, indeed, this is that sense which I dread above all others, because it perverts the end of Christ's coming, and lodges men in a security pernicious to their own souls. For though it is most true, that remission of sin was, and is, preached in his name and blood,‖ and that sin, in a sense, may be said to be taken away, when the guilt of the sin is removed by remission; yet this is only of sin past, that upon repentance is forgiven: but this is not the whole, full and evangelical sense, as Christ's own words do plainly import. "For," says he,§ "the Son of man is come to save that which was lost."

And upon another occasion he expresseth himself to the same purpose, and almost in the same words,¶ "For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." Now, who is this that is lost, but man? And in what sense can man be said to be lost, but by sin and disobedience? That it was which cast him out of the presence and garden of God, and put him in a condition of eternal misery. If Christ then came to save lost man, he must be understood to save him from that which puts him into a lost condition, and that is sin; for "the wages of sin is death, and the servant of sin is a son of perdition."

Christ has determined this point beyond all exception, in his discourse with the Jews, John viii. 31, 32, 33, 34. "Then said Jesus to those Jews which believed on him, If ye conti-

* Mat. i. 21. Mat. iii. 11, 12. ‡ John i. 29.
‖ Acts x. 43. Eph. i. 7 § Mat. xviii. 11. Luke xix. 10. ¶ Rom. vi. 23.

nue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." What freedom was this? Certainly from sin; suitable to that passage in his prayer: "Sanctify them through thy truth, thy word is truth."* But some Jews present, proud of their privileges, apprehended not the liberty Christ spoke of, and therefore answered him thus: "We are Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man; how sayest thou, ye shall be made free? Jesus answered them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin." In which place it is very remarkable, that men are only to be distinguished by their works; that no claims, privileges, successions, or descents are available, but he that commits sin, is the servant of sin. So that Christ's free man is he that is freed from sin: this is his follower and disciple. And as Christ opposed the works of the Jews, who unjustly sought to kill him, to the pretensions they made to be Abraham's seed; so we must oppose the actions of ill men to their better professions: we must faithfully tell them, "He that commits sin, is the servant of sin;" from which servitude Christ came to save his people, and is therefore rightly called "the Saviour and Redeemer."

This doctrine is closely followed by the apostle Paul, in his sixth chapter to the Romans. "Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.—Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin.—Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord."† As if he had said, 'The end of Christ's coming, is to turn people from their sins; and that those who persist in their disobedience, resist the benefits that come by him.'

"Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lust thereof.‡ Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin; but yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God.—Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?—For when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness. What fruit had ye then in those things, whereof ye are now ashamed? For the end of those things

* Rom. xvii. 17. † Rom. vi. 4. 6. 11.
‡ Rom. vi. 12 13. 16, 20, 21, 22, 23.

is death. But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life. For the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

To conclude, nothing can be more apparent, than that freedom from actual sinning, and giving newness of life to the souls of men, was the great reason of Christ's coming, and the end for which he hath given us, out of his fulness of grace and truth, "Grace for grace;" and that to be under grace, and not under the law, is not to have liberty to do that now, which ought not to have been done before, or to be excused from former moral obligations, as the ranters interpret it; but to be freed from the condemnation of the law, first, through remission of the sins that are past, upon faith and repentance; and next, by freeing us from that weakness, by which we were disabled from keeping God's just law, and fulfilling the righteousness of it, in receiving and obeying the light and grace that comes by Jesus Christ.

Very pertinent is that passage of the apostle Paul to Titus, to our present purpose, for it seems to comprehend the end of Christ's coming, and the faith and duty of his people; which our great Selden, after all his painful readings, and curious disquisitions, said, but a little before his death, was the most weighty passage of the whole bible to him, as the bible was the best of books in the world, viz. "For the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men;* teaching us, that denying ungodliness, and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works."

In which comprehensive passage, we find the end of Christ's coming to be our redemption from all iniquity, both to blot out our sins that are past, and to purify our hearts from the sin that remains. We have the means that works and brings this salvation into our souls, which is the grace; and the way by which this grace doth accomplish it, is by "teaching us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." Which has this great encouragement joined to it, that those who so live, have only right to look for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ.

* Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.

I will add the testimony of his beloved disciple John,* who has defined to us the end of Christ's coming thus: "Whosoever committeth sin, transgresseth also the law; and ye know, that he was manifested to take away our sins." And to show that this is understood not only of the guilt of sins past, but of the nature and present power of sin in man, observe what follows; "Whosoever abideth in him (Christ) sinneth not." And as if this apostle had foreseen the present mischief Christianity labours under, both on the side of evil men, and of but too many mistaken professors, he adds, "Little children, let no man deceive you; he that doth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous; he that committeth sin is of the devil, for the devil sinneth from the beginning." Now comes this most express passage to the matter in hand: "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil:" which is more than the remission of sins that are past; here is the destruction of the power and kingdom of Satan. They that know not this, know not Christ as he should be known; not savingly. For as we, so our Lord, is known by his fruits, by the works which he works in us: therefore it is said, "That his own works praise him." And said Christ,† "If I had not done among them the works which no other man did," &c. So that he referred to his works to prove his nature and mission.

He therefore that lives in sin, denies Christ, by denying the end of his coming. The fool did not say with his mouth, but in his heart, "There is no God;" yet but too many now-a-days, plead with their tongues and pen for sin 'Term of life,' by endeavouring to show the impossibility of overcoming sin. But what saith this apostle further of the business?‡ "Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin: in this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil; whosoever doth not righteousness, is not of God; neither he that loveth not his brother. But if we walk in the light, as God is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.‖ He that saith he abideth in Christ, ought himself also so to walk, even as Christ walked." A little lower, in the same chapter, he says, "I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one."

I will add one scripture testimony more in the present case, and it is this:¶ "Herein," saith John, "is our love

* 1 John iii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. † John xv. 24.
‡ 1 John iii. 9, 10. 1 John i. 7. ‖ 1 John ii. 6, 14. ¶ 1 John iv. 17.

made perfect, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment, because as he is, so are we in this world."

Behold now the true end of Christ's coming! viz. "To save from sin, and to purge us from all iniquity; that he might present us to God without spot or blemish."* Let us not then flatter ourselves, for we shall be the losers: neither let us make that impossible through our infidelity, which a grain of sincere faith can make not only possible, but easy. What has been may be again; nay, in this case must be. Did the first Christians "overcome the wicked one?" so must the last Christians too. Were those ages led by the Holy Spirit, and taught by the grace of God to live God-like, or like God, in the world? so must we of these latter ages too, if we will be blessed for ever; that, having "put off the old man," the devil and his works, we may "put on Christ,"† the new and heavenly man, the second Adam, with his holy life and works; so shall "the fruits of his spirit" shine through us, which are "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, patience, gentleness, faith, meekness, temperance; for they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts:" they hear his voice, that leads them out of the concupiscences of this vile world; "and they follow him, and he gives unto them eternal life, and a stranger they will not follow."‡ The world, the flesh, and the devil, make up this stranger; and those that are carried away by this stranger are in an unreconciled state to God, and, so dying, must inevitably perish. Well, then! will we be true Christians? Have we faith? Then let us take the advice of that good man Peter;‖ "Let us add to our faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowlege temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godliness, and to godliness brotherly-kindness, and to brotherly-kindness charity: for," says he, "if these things be in you and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh these things is blind, and cannot see afar off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins. Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence, to make your calling and election sure; for if ye do these things ye shall never fall. For so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

Thus much, O ye protestants! that profess a reformation, and value yourselves upon it, of the true reformed doctrine of godliness, a virtuous and good life; without which your

* Eph. v. 27. † Rom. xiii. 14. Eph. iv. 12. Gal. v. 22, 23, 24.
‡ John x. 4, 5. 27. ‖ 1 Pet. i. 5. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

profession will be the aggravation of your guilt. For know this once for all, that a true reformation lies in the spirit of reformation, reforming the minds and manners of such as profess it. God Almighty open your eyes, and affect your hearts with this great truth.

Sect. V.

The Fourth great Ecclesiastical Evil, is preferring Human Authority above Reason and Truth.

This, and the next evil, which is the last now to be considered, to wit, propagation of faith by force, and religion by arms, are the two legs upon which the false church hath in all ages stood. Under this degeneracy we find the jewish church at Christ's coming, and he complains of it,* "Ye teach for doctrines the traditions of men; ye seek to kill me, a man that has told you the truth:" but I challenge the whole account of time, and records of the world, which are come to the hands of this age, to tell me, when, where, and by whom, these principles have been received, improved and used, in any sort of proportion or comparison with the practice of that church, which has long prided herself in the name of Catholic and Christian. And yet I could wish nothing of these two ill principles had found any place amongst us, that call ourselves protestants; though to the great men of her communion in divers countries of Europe, is chiefly owing most of that ignorance, superstition, idolatry, persecution and bloodshed that have been among Christians, since the Christian profession hath grown to any power in the world. I shall consider them severally, respecting us, and in their due order, with as much brevity as well I can.

That human authority hath been preferred above reason and truth, that is, that the apprehensions, interpretations, conclusions, and injunctions of men have been reputed the great necessaries or essentials to salvation and Christian communion, insomuch as a sober and reasonable dissent hath been too often overruled, not by weight of argument or evidence of truth, but by the power and numbers of men in ecclesiastical office and dignity, is, and speak modestly, in a large degree true amongst us. The first church-evil reprehended in this discourse may begin the proof, and give the first witness upon this part of the charge, viz. 'That opinions have been made articles of faith; that is, the con-

* Mat. xv. 9. John viii. 40.

structions and conclusions of men from sacred writ, and not the text itself, have been enjoined and imposed as essential to eternal salvation, and external Christian communion,' insomuch that no reason, scripture, or purest antiquity, hath been suffered to prevail against such determinations, and too often not enough to excuse those that have pleaded for a conscientious dissent from them; the authors of them either resting upon the authority of their own judgments, or conforming themselves to the example of ages less pure and clear.

I conscientiously refuse to name parties, because I am tender of giving the least offence; but upon a just observance of those revolutions of protestancy that have been amongst us, we may see with what stiffness, not to say obstinacy, several models of religion and draughts of creeds have been contended for. I would beseech every party, in Christ's name, to look into itself, for I do not; because such are best able (if they will be impartial, and put no cheat upon themselves) to make the application of what I say. However, I will name those points, about which the authority of man, as it seems to me, has been so positive. 'Of God, as to his prescience and predetermination: of Christ, as to his natures and personality, and the extent of his death and intercession: of free-will and grace: of faith and works: of perseverance and falling away: of the nature and power of the church: and, lastly, of the dignity and power of the clergy.'

And if men please but to lay their hands upon their hearts, and cast their eyes upon the scriptures; if they will but use the light that God has afforded them, and bring such debates and results to the test of that light, and the sound form of words the Holy Ghost hath used and preserved amongst us, I need not take the employment upon me of pointing to human authority among the several parties of protestants, as to these points, since nothing will be clearer. For it is about the meaning of this, and the intention of that, place of scripture, the contest hath been and still is; and how to maintain and propagate those conceits; so that the falling out is in the wood of our own opinions, and there the contention is kindled, that consumes all about our ears: a most unwarrantable curiosity and nicety, for the most part, that has more influence upon our passions than our practice; which is usually the worse in point of charity, and not the better for them in any thing. O that we would but be impartial, and see our own overplus to the scriptures, and retrench that redundancy, or keep it modestly! for it is an horrid thing that we protestants should assume a power of

ranging our human apprehensions with the sacred text, and enjoining our imaginations for indispensable articles of faith and Christian communion.

But the next proof of the prevalency of human authority amongst us protestants, is 'The great power and sway of the clergy, and the people's reliance upon them for the knowledge of religion, and the way of life and salvation.' This is such plain fact, that every parish more or less proves it. Is not prophecy, once the church's,* now engrossed by them, and wholly in their hands? Who dares publicly preach or pray, that is not of that class or order? Have not they only the keys in keeping? May any body else pretend to the power of absolution or excommunication? Much less to constitute ministers? Are not all church rights and privileges in their custody? Do not they make it their proper inheritance? Nay, so much larger is their empire than Cæsar's, that only they begin with births, and end with burials; men must pay them for coming-in and going-out of the world: to pay for dying is hard! Thus their profits run from the womb to the grave; and that which is the loss of others, is their gain, and a part of their revenue. Both lives and deaths do bring grist to their mill, and toll to their exchequer; for they have an estate in us for our lives, and an heriot at our deaths.

It is of this great order and set of men only, that all synods and convocations are, of modern ages, compounded; and what they determine, is called the canons or decrees of the church; though, alas! she is only to obey, what they of the gown ordain; giving us thereby to understand, that they want the authority of her name, where they deny her to have a part, or to be present.

But they have not only been the usual starters of new opinions, and the great creed-makers among Christians, but the sway they have long had with the people, makes them so considerable an interest in the eyes of the civil magistrate, that he often finds it not for his safety to disoblige them. Upon this it is, that we see them so successful in their solicitations of public authority to give its sanction to their opinions and forms; and not only recommend them (which goes certainly a great way with the people) but impose their reception, and that on severe penalties: insomuch, that either men must offer up their understandings to their fears, and dissemble conviction, to be safe, or else perish: there is no medium. Something of this lies near us: God Almighty open our eyes to see both the truth and mischief of this thing.

* 1 Cor. xiv.

But what shall I say of that implicit reverence the people have for the clergy, and dependance upon them about religion and salvation; as if they were the only trustees of truth, and high-treasurers of divine knowledge to the laity: and we daily see, that the blind opinion they have of their office (as that which is peculiar to that order, and not common to Christians, be their gifts as they will) disposes them to rely entirely upon their performances. The minister is chooser and taster, and every thing for them: they seem to have delivered up their spiritual selves, and made over the business of religion, the rights of their souls, to their pastor; and that scarcely with any limitation of truth too: and, as if he were, or could be, their guarantee in the other world, they become very unsolicitous of any farther search here. So that if we would examine the respective parishes of protestant as well as popish countries, we shall find, and it is come to that sad pass, that very few have any other religion than the tradition of their priest. They have given up their judgment to him, and seem greatly at their ease, that they have discharged themselves of the trouble of "working out their own salvation, and proving all things, that they might hold fast that which is good;" and, in the room of that care, bequeathed the charge of those affairs to a standing pensioner for that purpose.

Thus the clergy are become a sort of mediators betwixt Christ and us; that as we must go to God by Christ, so must we come to Christ by them: they must be, it seems, like the high-priest under the law, who only entered into the "holy of holies; whose lips preserved knowledge;" and by them we must understand the divine oracle. As if the mysteries of salvation were not to be intrusted with the vulgar, or that it were a kind of profanation to expose them to their view; and the only way to make them cheap and contemptible to suffer every Christian to have the keeping of them; though they belong to every Christian But this language, thanks be to God! is that of human authority, that would magnify the mysteries of salvation by the ignorance of those that should know them; as if the gospel-dispensation were not that of full age, but infancy or minority.

It is true, the state of people under the law and the Levitical priesthood is called "a state of bondage, childhood and minority," and the law therefore is termed a "schoolmaster to bring us to Christ;"* but it is as true, that the state of Christianity is reputed the age of "grace, freedom, manhood. and inheritance," by the same apostle: and that we should have external guardians of our faith and religion

* Gal. iii.

upon us, after we are come to years of discretion, that might be very allowable under the feeble state of our minority, is not to obtain greater freedom, but to make our case worse. For it is more tolerable to be used as children when we are children, and know nothing above that condition, than when riper years have brought us to the understanding and resentment of men. But it is almost as unpardonable, as it is unsufferable, to make that infancy the 'Perfection of the Christian religion;' as if there were nothing beyond wearing a bib, and being fed, carried, and governed as nurses please; that is, as the priest will. It is a knowing and reasonable, and not a blind obedience, that commends a man: children should be ruled, because they have not so ripe an understanding, or choice; but because it is not so with men, reason ought to conduct them in their duty, that the service they perform to God may be such as the apostle calls a reasonable one: the will is no longer will, if not free: nor conscience to be reputed conscience, where it is compelled. The gospel is not the time of ceremonial works, but of faith; therefore not coercive, because out of their own power; it is the gift of God.

But though this be very unhappy, that so excellent a reformation, founded upon the freest principles of inquiry, common to all that had souls to save, should so miserably degenerate into formality and ignorance, implicit faith and blind obedience; yet that part of our history is most lamentable to me, where we find the "Noble Bereans," the diligent inquirers, people that desire to "prove all things," that they may "hold fast that which is good;" such as would see with their own eyes, and that dare not transfer the right of examination of points that so nearly concern their immortal souls to any mortal man; but who desire to make their faith and religion, the faith and religion of their conscience and judgment, that on which they dare depend, and rest their eternal happiness in the day of judgment; that these, I say, should, instead of being cherished, be therefore exposed to the displeasure of the clergy, the scorn of the rude multitude, and the prosecution of the civil magistrate, has something in it, I confess, that is harsh and anxious to remember; and I only do it for this purpose, that it may put us in mind of our great declension from primitive protestancy, and how much human authority has crept into the affairs of religion, since that time of the day, when we made it a prime article of our protestant creed to reject and renounce it.

And that you may yet see yourselves short of your own pretences, if not contrary to your express principles, and

how much you have narrowed yourselves from the use of your first principle; let us suppose a Turk is convinced, that Christ is that, which he believed Mahomet to be, the "Greatest of all prophets;" that Mahomet was an impostor; that Jesus is the only Saviour and Mediator; but, being catechistically taught the two natures in one person, the hypostatical union, in fine, the Athanasian creed, and other articles of faith, or rites of your church, not so clearly expressed in scripture, or easily apprehended or assented to; will not this poor creature be looked upon either as infidel or heretic, and deprived of all share in Christ or Christian fellowship, because his weakness, or understanding, will not allow him to come up to the full inventory of articles believed and imposed by you? Certainly you must either be partial, and give him that liberty you deny to persons of equal tenderness; or else you must, after your present straitness, conclude him infidel or heretic, though he believe 'One God, Christ to be the only mediator, the gift of the spirit, the necessity of holiness, communion and charity.' But I would beseech you that we may consider if this bears any proportion with the wisdom and love of God, in sending Christ into the world to save you and me?

The apostle "became all unto all, to win some;" but this is "becoming all unto none, to force all:" he thereby recommends the utmost condescension that can be lawful; but this use of human authority seems to make it unlawful to condescend: as if faith per force were better than love; and conformity, however it be come at, than Christian condescension.

The blessed apostle had his eye to the good intention and sober life of the weak, and used an holy sort of guile to catch them: he seems as if he dissembled the knowledge of those averse opinions which they held, or the necessity of their embracing these doctrines, which, as yet, they might not believe. He fell not to debate and canvass points in difference between them: which, instead of union, would have inflamed the difference, and raised contention: no, no, "he became all unto all;" that is, he stooped to all capacities, and humbled himself to those degrees of knowledge that men had, and valued that which was good in all; and with this sweetness he practised upon them to their farther proficiency in the school of Christ. These allurements were all his injunctions. Nay, in this case he makes it an injunction to use no other: "Let us therefore," says he,* "as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you." Which

* Phil. iii. 15.

is to say, 'You shall not be imposed upon, stigmatized, or excommunicated, for want of full satisfaction, or because you do not consent before conviction; for "God shall reveal it to you;" you shall see and know what you do, and to God you shall owe your knowledge and conformity, and not to human authority and imposition: your faith shall not be implicit, nor your obedience blind; the reason of your hope shall be in you.'

Pray let us compare this with the language of our own times; where, because people cannot come up to the prescription of men, but plead the liberty of dissent, though with ever so much sobriety and true tenderness of conscience, they are upbraided after this manner: 'Are you wiser than your superiors? Were our forefathers out of the way? Did nobody know the truth till you came? Are you abler than all our ministers and bishops, and your mother the church? Cannot it content you to believe as she believes? Is not this pride and presumption in you, a design to make and head sects and parties?' With the like entertainment.

Now this is that which you yourselves, at least in the persons of your ancestors, have stiled popery; yea, popery in the abstract; to wit, implicit faith and blind obedience: if so, then, say I, let us also have a care of popery in protestant guise; for that popery is likely to do us more injury that is least suspected. I beg you, by the love of God and truth, and as you would lay a sure foundation of peace here, and eternal comfort to your own souls, that you would consider the tendency of upbraiding and violently over-ruling the dissent of the conscientious and peaceable people: for if you will rob me once of the liberty of my choice, the use of my understanding, the distinction of my judgment, no religion comes amiss; indeed it leads to no religion. It was the saying of the old king to the then prince of Wales, and our present king; 'Make the religion of your education the religion of your judgment:' which to me is of the nature of an appeal from his education to his judgment, about the truth of his religion that he was educated in: and that religion which is too tender to be examined is unsound: "Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good," lies as an impeachment against imposition, delivered upon record by the apostle Paul, in the name of the Holy Ghost. It was the same apostle that commended the Bereans of old for that they "diligently searched the scriptures," whether those things, delivered by the apostles, concerning the Messiah, were true.

Nay, Christ himself, to whom all power was given in heaven and in earth, submitted himself to the test: he did not require them to believe him, because he would be believed; he refers them to the witness that God bore to him:* "If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true." He also sends them to the scriptures; and pleads the truth of his authority from that of his doctrine and miracles:† "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did." And, finally, challenges them to convince him but of one sin‡ "Which of you convinceth me of sin? And if I say the truth, why do ye not believe me?" He offers to reason the matter, and submit himself to the judgment of truth; and well he might, who was truth itself.

But an imposing church bears witness of herself, and will be both party and judge: she requires assent without evidence, and faith without proof; therefore false. Christian religion ought to be carried on only by that way by which it was introduced, which was persuasion: "If any man will be my disciple, let him take up his cross, and, follow me:" and this is the glory of it, that it does not destroy, but fairly conquer, the understanding.

I am not unacquainted with the pretences of Romanists to Abnegation, to a mortified and self-denying life; and I do freely acknowledge, that the author of the 'German Theology,' Taulerus, Thomas à Kempis, and other mystics in that communion, have written excellent practical things; but there is scarcely any thing of this violent popery in those tracts: on the contrary, the very nature and tendency of them is diametrically opposite to the compulsory spirit and constitution of that church, and all others that practise imposition in religion, whatever name they walk under.

And as it is one great mark of the false church to pervert the right end of true doctrine, so hath she excelled in the abuse of that excellent word, self-denial: for she hath translated it from life to understanding, from morals to faith: *subjugare intellectum in obsequium fidei*, 'to subject the understanding to the obedience of faith,' is the perpetual burden of their song, and conclusion of their confererences. But what is this faith? That which conquers the world, and purifies the heart? By no means: but it is to believe that the church of Rome is the true church, and the pope Christ's vicar, and the visible head of that church.

Thus that self-denial, which relates to our wills and affections in a corrupt state, they apply to the use of our understanding about religion: as if it were the same thing to deny that which we understand and know to be the will of God

* John v. 31, 32, 37. 39. † John xv. 24. ‡ John viii, 46.

that we should deny, (which is the Christian self-denial) and to deny that very knowledge and understanding which is God's gift and our honour. Whereas religion and reason are so consistent, that religion can neither be understood, nor maintained, without reason. For if this must be laid aside, I am so far from being infallibly assured of my salvation, that I am not capable of any measure or distinction of good from evil, truth from falshood. Why? I have no understanding; or, at least, not the use of any. All the disadvantage the protestant is under in this, is that of his greater modesty, and that he submits his belief to be tried; which the other refuses, under the pretence of unaccountable infallibility: to that authority reason demurs; right reason I mean; the reason of the first nine verses of the first of John; for so Tertullian, (and some other ancient, as well as modern critics) gives us the word *Logos*: and the divine reason is one in all; that lamp of God, which lights our candle, and enlightens our darkness, and is the measure and test of our knowledge.

So that whereas some people excuse their embracing of that religion, by urging the certainty that is in it, I do say, it is but a presumption. For a man can never be certain of that, about which he has not the liberty of examining, understanding, or judging: confident, I confess, he may be; but that is quite another thing than being certain.

Yet I must never deny, but that every Christian ought to believe as the church believes, provided the church be true: but the question is, which is that true church? And when that is answered, as a man may unlawfully execute a lawful sentence, so he may falsly believe as the true church believes: for if I believe what she believes, only because she believes it, and not because I am convinced in my understanding and conscience of the truth of what she believes, my faith is false, though hers be true: I say, it is not true to me; I have no evidence of it.

What is this church, or congregation rather (as worthy Tindal every where translates it) but 'a company of people agreed together in the sincere profession and obedience of the gospel of Christ.' Now look, what inducement they severally had to believe and embrace the gospel, and unite into fellowship, that we must have to join with them: for as they made not one another an infallible authority to one another, upon which they first embraced the gospel, neither are we to ground our belief thereof upon their authority jointly: but as they had a rule to believe and commune, so must we have the same rule to embrace their communion. So that the church cannot properly be the rule of my faith,

who have the same faith, and object for my faith, that she has. I argue thus,

I must believe as the church believes; that is, I must have the same faith the church has: then I must have the same rule; because the church can be no more the rule of that faith, than she can be that faith of which some would make her the rule. If then the church has faith, and that faith have a rule, and that she can no more be the rule of her own faith, than she can be that faith itself; it follows she cannot be the rule of the faith of her members, because those members have the same faith, and make up this church. For that which is the rule of the congregation's faith in general, must reasonably be the rule of every member's faith that makes up that congregation; and, consequently, of every member that may hereafter adhere to it. So that to talk of believing as the church believes, to flourish upon that self-denial and humility which takes all upon trust, and revile those with the bitterest invectives that are modestly scrupulous, and act the Bereans for their souls (who think that easiness of nature and condescension may be better used, and in this occasion is ill placed and dangerous) is to put the knife to the throat of protestancy, and, what in them lies, to sacrifice it to implicit faith and blind obedience. For it cannot be denied, but that the great foundation of our protestant religion is, the divine authority of the scriptures from without us, and the testimony and illumination of the holy spirit within us.

Upon this foot the first reformers stood, and made and maintained their separation from Rome, and freely offered up their innocent lives in confirmation. With good cause, therefore, it is the general consent of all sound protestant writers, 'That neither traditions, councils, nor canons of any visible church, much less the edicts of any civil sessions or jurisdiction, but the scriptures only, interpreted by the holy spirit in us, give the final determination in matters of religion; and that only in the conscience of every Christian to himself.' Which protestation made by the first public reformers against the imperial edicts of Charles the fifth, imposing church traditions without scripture authority, gave first beginning to the name of protestant, and with that name hath ever been received this doctrine, which prefers the divine authority of the scripture and spirit, to that of the church and her traditions. And if the church is not sufficient to be implicitly believed, (as we hold it is not) what can there else be named, of more force with us,* but the divine illumination in the conscience, or conscience in

* 1 John iii. 20.

the best sense of the word; than which, God only is greater? But if any man shall pretend that the scripture judges, according to his conceptions or conscience, for other men, and that they must take their religious measures by the line of his direction; such a person makes himself greater than either church, scripture, or conscience. And, pray, let us consider if in any thing the pope is by our protestant divinity so justly resembled to antichrist, as in assuming infallibility over conscience and scripture, to determine as he thinks fit; and so, in effect, to give the law to God, scripture, magistrates and conscience. To this protestants have, without scruple, applied that to the Thessalonians,* "Sitting in the temple of God, exalting himself above all that is called God."

To check this exorbitancy the apostle Paul demands,† "Who art thou that judgest another's servant? To his own Lord he stands or falls?" Which showeth with great evidence, that Christians of all sizes, great and small, are but brethren; and, consequently, all superiority, lordship, and imposition are excluded: but if there be a difference, it is in this, that, as Christ taught, "he that is greatest is to be servant to the rest:" but what is more opposite to a servant than a lord; and to service, than injunction and imposition, and that on penalties too? Here it is that Christ is Lord and law-giver, who is only king of this inward kingdom of the soul. And it is to be noted, that the apostle did not write this to a private brother, or in some special case, but to the church, as a general and standing truth; and therefore now as authentic and proper as then. And if this be true, I cannot see how any, or even the most part of the church, that are still but brethren to the rest, of one voluntary communion and profession, can with any show of reason impose upon them, and escape the reproof of this scripture: for all societies are to govern themselves according to their institution, and first principles of union. Where there is violence upon this part, tyranny, and not order, is introduced. Now since persuasion and conviction began all true Christian societies, they must uphold themselves upon the same free bottom, or they turn anti-christians. I beseech you, here, let us examine ourselves faithfully, and I am persuaded that something of this will yet appear among some of us, who show great reverence to that free name.

But to make good their unreasonable conceit of church-authority, they object Christ's words; "Go tell the church;" that is, say they, 'The church is the rule and guide of faith; whatever the church agrees upon, and requireth your assent to and faith in, that you must necessarily believe and

* 2 Thess. ii. 4. † Rom. xiv. 4,

submit to.' But though, as before, it is confessed, in a sense, we must believe as the true church believes; yet not because she so believes, but for the same reasons that she herself did and does so believe; in that none can truly believe as she believes, but must do so upon the same principles and motives, for which they believed that first made up that Christian church. To talk of being the rule and guide in point of faith, is to contradict scripture, and justle Christ out of his office, which is peculiar to him. He is given to his church an head,* that is, a counsellor, a ruler, a judge, and is called a lawgiver; and, says the apostle, "If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his;" and "the children of God are led by the spirit of God." And he was "wisdom and righteousness" to the church apostolic, and is so to his own church all the world over. Besides, it is absurd that the church can be the rule and guide of faith; for, as such, she must be her own rule and guide; the faith of the members being that of the church; which cannot be.

But what then can be the meaning of Christ's words, "Go tell the church?" Very well. I answer, it is not about faith, but injury, that Christ speaks; and the place explains itself, which is this;† "Moreover, if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault, between thee and him alone." Here is wrong, not religion; injustice, not faith or conscience concerned; as some would have it, to maintain their church-power. "If he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother; but if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word may be established; and if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven," &c. The matter and manner of which passage, delivered by Christ, shews that he intended not to set up church power about faith and worship, unto which all must bow, even without, if not against, conviction. The words trespass and fault, prove abundantly that he meant private and personal injuries; and that not only from the common and undeniable signification and use of the words trespass and fault, but from the way Christ directs and commands for accommodation, viz. that the person wronged speak to him that commits an injury alone: if that will not do, that he take one or two with him: but no man can think that if it related to faith

* Isa. ix. 6. Rom. viii. 9. 14. † Mat. xviii. 15, 16, 17, 18.

and worship, I ought to receive the judgment of one, or two, or three, for a sufficient rule. This has not been the practice, at least not the principle, of the most degenerated church since the primitive times; for most, if not all, agree, 'That nothing lower than the church can determine about matters of faith;' and even many, with reason, cannot go so far; I mean as to injunction and imposition. Yet Christ seems to fix a blame upon him that complies not with the person he has offended; and more, if he refuse to give satisfaction, after one or two have also intreated him: but therefore it cannot relate to matters of faith and scruples of conscience, but personal and private injuries. Which is yet clearer from this part of Christ's saying, viz. "That in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established:" which implies a trial and judicial proceeding, as is customary in civil cases, about personal and private trespasses; for it were not so proper to speak of witnesses on any other account. This is interpreted, beyond exception, by the apostle to the Corinthians, where he reproves and forbids them* "to go to law one with another before unbelievers;" arguing thus, "Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world? And if the world shall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the smallest matters?" This shews the meaning of church authority in those days, and is a natural exposition upon Christ's words, in case of trespass and refractoriness, "Tell the church." And it is yet the practice of all sober, just and quiet people, rather to refer their controversies to approved men, than to tear one another to pieces at law.

But it is worth our notice, that as any decision upon an arbitration obliges only the parties to sit down content with that award, be it loss or gain, which the arbitrators think equal, as the next best way to accommodate differences, and not that such award should alter their first thoughts and opinions they had of their right, or force them to declare they are of the arbitrators' mind; so is it most unreasonable, where the church is only an arbitrator about personal trespasses, or umpire at most, from thence to imagine a power to determine and impose faith, and that upon severe penalties, as well of this world, unto which Christ's church has no relation, as of the other world. I say, this very thing, well weighed, breaks all their fallacies to pieces, and decides the business beyond all contradiction, between those that stand upon the spirit within, and the scripture without, on the one hand, and such as merely rest upon the traditions of men, and authority of the church, on the other hand. For if, in

* 1 Cor. i. 1, 2.

an arbitration, I am not bound to be of the arbitrators' mind, though for peace sake I submit to their award, and that the church power, in this place controverted, relates only to external and personal trespasses, injuries or injustices, as the place itself plainly proves, there can be no sense, reason, or modesty in the earth, on the part of those high-churchmen, from hence to wring, and extort the power of defining, resolving, and imposing upon all people, under temporal and eternal punishment, articles of faith, and bonds of Christian communion.

I conclude this of the church, with saying, That it is not identity of opinion, but justice, not religious uniformity, but personal satisfaction, that concerns the text; and therefore reason, sober conscience, and good sense, may at any time lawfully insist upon their claim to be heard in all their scruples or exceptions, without disrespect to that excellent doctrine, when rightly understood, "Go tell the church."

To this let me add something about this great word, church. Some men think they are sure enough, if they can but get within the pale of the church, that have not yet considered what it is. The word church signifies any assembly; so the Greeks used it: and it is by worthy Tindal everywhere translated congregation. It has a twofold sense in scripture. The first and most excellent sense, is that in which she is called the body and bride of Christ. In this respect she takes in all generations, and is made up of the regenerated, be they in heaven or on earth, thus Ephes. i. 22. chap. v. 23. to 33. Col. i. 16, 17, 18. Heb. xii. 22, 23. Rev. xxi. 2. chap. xxii. 17. Here Christ only can be head: this church is washed from all sin; not a spot nor a wrinkle left: ill men have nothing to do with this church, within whose pale only is salvation; nor is this universal and truly catholic church capable of being convened, to be told of wrongs or trespasses. The other use of that word in scripture is always referred to particular assemblies and places; that is the church, which, by Christ's doctrine, is to be told of personal injuries, and whose determination, for peace sake, is to be adhered and submitted to: they must, of necessity, be the adjacent or most contiguous company of Christian believers, those to whom the persons in difference are by external society and communion related: and that such private and distinct assemblies are called, the church, is apparent from the acts and writings of the apostles: the church of Jerusalem, Antioch, Corinth, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, Rome, Galatia, Thessalonica, Crete, &c. peruse these places, Acts v. 11. and ix. 31. and xi. 22, 26. and xiv. 23, 27. Rom. xv.

5. 1 Cor. 1, 2. and iv. 17. and xiv. 4. Rev. ii. and iii. chap. By which it plainly appears that the universal and visible church, so much bragged of, for the rule and judge of faith, &c. is an upstart thing; and, like mean families, or ill-got goods, it uses false heraldry to give it a title.

For the apostolic times, to which all others must veil, and by whom they must be tried, knew no such conceit: and the truth is, it was first started, when the pride of one man made him ambitious, and his power able to bid, for headship, empire, and sovereignty: it was then needful to his being universal head, that he should have an universal body. But suppose such a church there were, it is utterly impossible that such a church could be called together in any one place, or at any one time, to be told, or to determine of, any thing: so that yielding the thing by them desired, it is useless and impracticable to the ends for which they desire it. But alas! who knows not, that loves not to be blind, that the church among them is the priesthood? That a few cunning men govern the majority, and entitle their conceits 'the canons of Christ's church,' to give them entrance and acceptance: and then human power and force, the policy and weapons of this world, must be employed to back their decrees. And all this comes from the ignorance and idleness of the people, that give the pride and industry of the clergy an opportunity to effect their designs upon them. For so mean-spirited are the people, as to take all upon trust for their souls, that would not trust or take from an archbishop a brass shilling or a slit groat.

It is prodigious to think what veneration that priesthood have raised to themselves, by their usurped commission of apostleship, their pretended successions, and their clinkclank of extraordinary ordination. 'A priest! a God on earth, a man that has the keys of heaven and hell: do as he says, or be damned!' What power like to this? The ignorance of the people of their title and pretences, hath prepared them to deliver up themselves into their hands, like a crafty usurer, that hedges in the estate on which he has a mortgage; and thus they make themselves over in fee to the clergy, and become their proper patrimony, instead of being their care, and they the true ministers or servants of the people: so that believing as the church believes, is neither more nor less than rooking men out of their understandings, or doing as ill gamesters are wont to do, get by using false dice. Come, come; it is believing as the priesthood believes, which has made way for the offence wise and good men have taken against the clergy in every age. And did the people examine their bottom, the ground of their religion and faith,

it would not be in the power of their leaders to cause them to err. An implicit veneration of the clergy begun the misery. 'What! doubt my minister, arraign his doctrine, put him to the proof! By no means:' but the consequence of not doing it, has been the introduction of much false doctrine, superstition, and formality, which gave just occasion for schism; for the word has no hurt in itself, and implies only a separation; which may as well be right as wrong.

But that I may not be taxed with partiality, or upbraided with singularity, there are two men, whose worth, good sense, and true learning, I will at any time engage against an entire convocation of another judgment; viz. Jacobus Acontius, and John Hales of Eton, that are of the same mind; who, though they have not writ much, have writ well and much to the purpose. I will begin with Jacobus Acontius at large, and do heartily beseech my readers to be more than ordinarily intent in reading what I cite of him; their care and patience will be requited by his Christian and very acute sense.

'It remains that we speak of such causes of the not perceiving that a change of doctrine is introduced, as consist in the persons that are taught. Now they are chiefly two, carelessness and ignorance. Carelessness for the most part ariseth hence, in that the people trust too much to their pastors; and persuade themselves that they will not slip into any error, and that therefore they have small need to have an eye over them; but that they are bound rather to embrace whatsoever they shall hold forth, without any curious examination. Hereunto may be added many other businesses, whereunto men addict themselves; for that saying is of large extent,' "Where men's treasure is, there is their heart;" 'and that other,' "No man can serve two masters." 'Now how it came to pass, that after a people hath once had a great knowledge of divine truths, the said knowledge may as it were vanish away, besides that cause which hath been even now alleged, we shall in another place make discovery of some other reasons. We shall for the present add only this one, that the people themselves are in a perpetual kind of mutation, some daily dying and departing, others succeeding and growing up in their stead. Whence it comes to pass, that since the change which is made in every age is small, either the people cannot perceive it, or if they do observe it, yet they esteem it not of such moment, as to think fit to move any difference thereabout. This thing also is of very great force to keep the people from taking notice of a change in doctrine, when men shall persuade themselves that they are not able to judge of matters of

religion; as though, 'it is,—it is not,' and other words used in scripture, do not signify the same which they do in common discourse; or as if nothing could be understood without some great knowledge in the tongues, and arts or sciences, and as if the power of the spirit were of no efficacy without these helps. Whereby it cometh to pass, that whilst they think they understand not even those things which in some sort they do understand, being expressed in most clear and evident words, they do at length arrive to that blockishness, that they cannot understand them indeed; so that, though they have before their eyes a sentence of scripture so clear, that nothing can be more evident, yet if they to whose authority they in all things subject themselves, shall say any thing point-blank opposite thereunto, they will give credit unto them, and imagine themselves not to see that which they see as clear as the light. And by these means verily it comes to pass, that when the doctrine of religion is corrupted, the mutation is not discovered. Furthermore, when the doctrine is once begun to be changed, it must needs be that out of one error another should spring and propagate infinitely; and God, for just reasons of his own, blinding them, men bring upon themselves so great darkness, and slip into such foul errors, that if God of his mercy open a man's eyes, and let him see those errors he lives in, he can scarcely believe himself, or be persuaded that he was ever enveloped with such blind errors. Which thing is as true, and as well to be seen, in men of greatest learning and experience. If thou shalt thoroughly peruse the writings of some of the school-men (as they call them) thou shalt in some places meet with so much acuteness, as will make thee admire: thou shalt see them oftentimes cleave a fine thread into many parts, and accurately anatomize a flea, and a little after fall so foully, and avouch such absurdities, that thou canst not sufficiently stand amazed: wherefore we must obey that advice of the poet;

'*Principiis obsta, serò medicina paratur,*
Cum mala per longas invaluere moras.

'Resist betimes; that med'cine stays too long,
Which comes when age has made the grief too strong.

'Now there is need of a double caution, viz. that there be no change made in the doctrine, when it is pure: and if any change be made, that there be notice taken of it. Now look what change is made in this kind, all the blame is laid upon those whose office it is to instruct the people: for though themselves are the authors of the change, yet will the people impute it to the ministers'

sleepiness, and want of care at least. It concerns therefore the pastors and teachers to be eagle-eyed, and to be very well acquainted with those causes whereby the change of doctrine becomes undiscovered, and to have them at their fingers' ends, and to be wary that on no hand they may miscarry. Now it will be an excellent caution for the keeping of doctrine pure, if they shall avoid all curious and vain controversies: if they shall set before their eyes the scope and end of all religious doctrines, and likewise a series or catalogue of all such things as make to the attainment of that end (of which we formerly spake); if they shall affect not only the matter itself, but also the words and phrases, which the Holy Ghost in scripture makes use of, and exceedingly suspect all different forms of speaking. Not that I would have them speak nothing but Hebraisms; for so their language would not be plain nor intelligible; but I wish that they would shun all such expressions as have been invented by over-nice disputants, beyond what was necessary to express the sense of the Hebrew and Greek; and all those tenets which men by their own wits do collect and infer from the scriptures. Now of what concernment this will be, we may gather by this instance: the papists think it one and the same thing to say, the church cannot err; and to say, in the words of our Lord, "Wheresoever two or three shall be gathered together in my name, there will I be in the midst of them." Yet is the difference very great; which may thus appear, forasmuch as in case any one shall conceive the church to be the pope, cardinals, and bishops anointed by the pope; he, hearing the aforesaid sentence, will judge that whatsoever they shall decree, ought to be of force. But if he shall rather mind the words of our Lord, and shall consider that those kind of men do regard nothing but their own commodity, wealth and dominion, he will be so far from so understanding them, that, peradventure, not being able to allow the deeds and practices of these men, he will come to hope from those words, that if himself, with some other good men, loving God with their whole heart, shall come together, and unanimously implore the assistance of God, they shall be better able to determine what it is that ought to be believed and practised for the attainment of salvation, than if they should persist to put their confidence in such pastors. Now this rule, that the words of the scripture ought to be used rather than any other, is then especially to be observed, when any thing is delivered as a certain and tried truth, or as a rule of faith or life, or out of which any other thing is to be inferred. For in expositions and explanations, as there is need haply

of greater liberty, so is there less danger if it be taken. For when-as the word of God, and the exposition thereof, are at one and the same time both together in view, as it were, there no man can be ignorant, that the exposition is the word of man, so that he may reject it, in case it seem impertinent. And look, by what means a man may hinder the doctrine of religion from being changed, by the self-same he may find whether it be changed or no. Now every man ought to compare the doctrine of that age wherein he lives, with no other doctrine than that which was out of question spotless, which is the doctrine of the apostles. Wherefore, notwithstanding that in our age the gospel is as it were revived, yet ought not any man thus to think, that he ought not to examine whether the gospel hath not lost any of that purity whereunto it had at this time arrived; he ought rather to look again and again, whether some corruption do not yet remain, whether it be not in some parts as yet not sufficiently restored to its ancient purity and lustre; and confidently persuade himself, that he cannot be (that I may so speak) sufficiently superstitious in rejecting every word which is not in the scriptures. Forasmuch as man will ever be more wise and wary than the Holy Spirit, and can very hardly forbear to mingle somewhat from his own head: so that whatever comes from man, can never be sufficiently suspected. And because a thing will be so much the better preserved, by how much the greater is the number of those that keep it; the people ought often to be put in mind, that both the reading of the scriptures, and the care of religion, belongs not to the pastors of the church only; but that every one that would be saved ought to make diligent search, whether any corruption be already, or is for the future like to be introduced; and this to do no less carefully, than if he were persuaded that all beside himself were asleep: and whatsoever is wont to take the common people off from such studies, care must be taken that that thing be wholly taken away. Concerning which matter we shall more conveniently discourse anon.

'Now, forasmuch as the profit will be small, if some private man shall observe that an error is introduced, unless he discover the said error, and lay it open; there must of necessity be some way how this may conveniently be done. Now there cannot be a more fitting way, than that which the apostle propounds to the Corinthians.* "Let two or three prophets speak, and let the rest judge; and if any thing be revealed to him that sits by, let the former be silent. For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and

* 1 Cor. xiv.

all may be exhorted." If some one person shall always speak in the church, and no man at any time may contradict him, it will be a very strange thing if that one man be not puffed up, if he do not fall into such a conceit of himself, as to think that he is the only man, that he only hath understanding, he alone is wise; that all the rest are a company of brute animals as it were, who ought to depend only upon him, and to do nothing but learn of him: and if any man shall think that himself likewise hath some ability to teach, he will account that man an heinous offender. But what says the apostle to this? "Did the word of God come from you? or came it unto you only? If any seem to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge what I write unto you to be the commands of the Lord. But if any one be ignorant, let him be ignorant. Wherefore, brethren, labour that ye may prophecy, and forbid not to speak with tongues; let all things be done decently and in order." It is exceedingly to be lamented, that this custom, and the practice of this command of the Lord, is not again restored unto the churches, and brought into use. But some men may say, such is the rashness of this age of ours, such the boldness, such the impudence, that if it were allowed to every one to speak in the congregation, there will be no end of brawls and contention. Why so? Is man another kind of creature now, than what he was of old? Thou wilt say, he is; for mankind hath continually degenerated, grown worse and worse, and seems now to have attained the top of corruption. Is it so indeed? But suppose it to be so; thou art the teacher of the people, art not thou also thyself made of the same mould? Art not thou born in the same age? Inasmuch as this ordinance principally was intended to keep pastors within the bounds of modesty, that they may understand that they are not the authors of the word of God, that they have not alone received the spirit; by how much the more mankind hath degenerated, by so much the greater need is there thereof, for that there is now more rashness, arrogance, and pride, than of old: this is true, as well of the pastors and teachers, as of the rest of the people. Art thou a prophet? Hast thou any portion of the spirit? If thou hast not, so unfitting it is that thou alone shouldest speak in the congregation, that there will hardly be found any that deserves rather to be silenced, than thyself. But if thou art a prophet, if thou hast the spirit, mark what the apostle says, "Acknowledge (quoth he) that those things which I write, are the commandments of the Lord." Go to, then: on the one side we have the judgment of our Lord, willing that prophecy (for this is a word that we are obliged to use)

should be common to all, and that not for the destruction, but the salvation of the church: on the other side we have thy judgment, who fearest lest that may breed contention and confusion: whose judgment now ought we rather to stand to? If thou shalt conceive we must stand to thine, consider what thou assumest unto thyself, and what will become of thy modesty. Our Lord, it should seem, understood not what a kind of creature man was; he wanted thy wisdom, belike, to admonish him of the danger; or haply he thought not upon that corruption which should befal mankind, whereby such a liberty might prove unprofitable. But Paul answers thee, "That God is not the author of contention, but of peace:" who well knowing what might move contentions, what begat peace, and not loving nor willing to have contention, but peace, willed that this liberty of prophecy should be in the church. What canst thou say to the contrary? What hast thou to object against God himself, wilt thou accuse him of indiscretion? No man hath so wicked a tongue, as to dare to do it. Yet if thou shalt diligently search thine heart, thou shalt find there a certain disposition ready to contend even with God himself: which motion of thy heart must by no means be hearkened unto, but sharply repressed, and wholly subjected to the spirit of God. It may seem, peradventure, an absurd thing, that after some very learned person hath spoken, some contemptible person shall be allowed to contradict him. Can such a person so do without great rashness and temerity? Were I to speak according to the judgment of man, verily I could not deny it. But if we be really persuaded, that the knowledge of matters divine ought not to be attributed to our watchings, studies, wits, but to God and to his spirit, wherewith he can in a moment endue the simplest person in the world, and that with no more labour or difficulty than if he were to give it to one that had spent Nestor's age in study; what reason is there for me to judge that this man does rashly and unadvisedly, if he shall arise and contradict? Is not the spirit able to reveal somewhat to him, which he hath hidden from thee? Now, if the spirit have revealed somewhat to him, and to that end revealed it that he might contradict, that by his means the thing may be revealed to the church; shall I say that he hath done rashly in obeying the Holy Ghost? And if thou think otherwise, verily thou art not persuaded that the spirit is the author and teacher of this knowledge, but that all the praise thereof is due to studies, watchings, and the wits of men. And if this be thy judgment, I tell thee again, that thou art not only unworthy to be sole speaker,

but worthy rather to be the only person not permitted to speak, in the congregation.

'And that thou mayest the better understand that the most unlearned ought to be allowed to speak, consider, God will have himself to be acknowledged the author of his own gifts: he will not have his praise attributed unto our studies or wits, but unto himself. But if the man that hath spent all his life in study, speak wisely, it is not attributed to God, but to study: in word, perhaps, it may be attributed to God, yet not without a vehement reluctancy of our judgment; and this is that, which I say God will not abide. But if so be thou shalt hear a wise word come out of the mouth of some unlearned person, thou must needs, whether thou wilt or no, acknowledge God to be the author thereof. So when God was minded to give unto Israel a victory against the Midianites, under the conduct of Gideon, and Gideon had gathered together thirty thousand men; lest the Israelites should boast that they had gotten the victory by their own strength, and not by the assistance of God, (which might have been conceived, if Gideon had fought with so numerous an army) he would not suffer him to have above three hundred, that it might appear that he was the cause of the victory, and not the number or valour of those that fought. Now, besides the glory of God, hereby great profit does accrue to the church. For if the people shall see now one man, now another, endued with the spirit, beyond all expectation, many will thereby be encouraged to hope for the same gift, if they shall ask it; many will learn and profit; and it will thereby come to pass, that when occasion shall be to choose a minister, the church shall not need to call strange and unknown persons to that office, but she may have of her own such as are fit to be chosen; men whose conversation and manners are sufficiently known. And when the number of such as are able to prophecy shall be great, the church will not be forced to use such pastors, as from their very childhood have proposed to themselves such office as the reward of their studies; and addicted themselves to the study of scripture and religion, no otherwise than they would have done to some trade, whereby they meant in time to get their living: so that a man can expect but very few of them to prove other than mercenary or hireling pastors.

'Now, that it was the custom of the jewish church that all might thus prophesy, we may hence conjecture, in that it is upon record,* how our Lord, upon the sabbath-day, according to the custom, came into the synagogue, took a book and expounded a place of Esay; and how, being twelve

* Luke iv.

years of age, he sate at Jerusalem in the temple among the doctors, and did dispute. For he could not so do by virtue of any ordinary office, forasmuch as his age was uncapable, neither did the doctors know who he was. Yea, rather, our Lord in so doing must needs make use of the power which was granted to every one to speak. It remained in the Christians' congregations until the times of Constantine, at the least. Forasmuch as we have these words of Eusebius, the writer of church affairs, to that effect:† "If any man, inspired by the grace of God, should speak unto the people, they all, with great silence, fixing their eyes upon him, gave such attention, as if he had brought them some errand from heaven." So great was the reverence of the hearers, such order was seen among the ministers. One after another, another after him. Neither were there only two or three that prophesied, according to what the apostle said, but to all was given to speak; so that the wish of Moses seems rather to have been fulfilled in them, when he said, "Would God all the people might prophecy." There was no spleen, no envy; the gifts of God were dispensed; every one, according to his ability, contributing his assistance for the confirmation of the church: and all was done with love, in such sort, that they strove mutually to honour each other, and every one to prefer another before himself. But to the end this common prophesying may be profitable to the church, we must diligently mark what the apostle advises. For a sure thing it is, that the pride of man is so great, that whatever hath once fallen from him, he will by any means have it stand for a truth; neither can he suffer that any man should infringe the same. So that if he might be permitted to judge, that last spake, it will be a miracle if a man in his life-time should see any one give way to him that contradicts him: what is Paul's advice therefore in this case? "Let two or three prophets speak, and let the rest judge." He will not therefore have the same persons to be parties and judges. And he adds a little after, "And the spirit of the prophets is subject to the prophets; for God is not the author of dissension, but of peace." So that as soon as any man hath spoken his own mind, he ought to rest himself satisfied with the judgment of the rest, and not obstinately to make no end of contending. If this be not done, a sure thing it is, there will be no end of strife. But what if any man will not be content to submit to the judgment of the rest: verily I would avouch, that being sharply admonished that he disturb not the congregation, and that he go not against the command of the apostle, or rather of our Lord,

* Eccl. Hist. lib. 9.

commanding the spirits of the prophets to be subject to the prophets, he ought to be cast out of the society, though he should hold the prime place in the congregation. The people likewise must frequently be admonished, that liberty for any one to speak in the congregation, is not therefore granted by the apostle, to the end every one should speak what comes to his tongue's end, as if he were in a market; but whereas he gives liberty to him to speak to whom any thing is revealed, he would have all rashness and impudence to be laid aside. He that reverences not the church of God, let that man know he despiseth the spirit of God, who is president there; and shall be sure not to escape unpunished. Before a man propounds any thing to the church, he ought to consider, again and again, how sure a manifestation he hath of that thing; and whatever the matter be, let him be sure not to forget a sober, modest, bashful behaviour; without which virtues, doubtless no good can be effected. But here we must attentively consider, both how far a man ought to submit to the judgment of the congregation, and who may deservedly be accounted a troubler of the church. Verily I conceive a man ought so far to give way, as that, after I have alleged what I had to say for my opinion, if yet the rest shall not allow of my judgment, I ought to give over defending it, and cease to be troublesome to the congregation concerning the same: but I ought not to be compelled to confess that I have erred, nor to deprecate any fault, while I do not yet understand that I have erred, for so I shall sin against God. He therefore is a troubler of the church, that will not, so far as we have expressed, submit to the judgment of the church, but goeth on to be troublesome; but especially that man who would exact of another that which he ought not to do; viz. to recant, being not persuaded that he is in an error. But those men are commonly reputed troublers of the church, who refuse to ratify whatever shall any ways fall out of the pastors' mouths. Again, in this place it may reasonably be demanded, whether, when that a matter hath been once or twice debated, and some man, knowing the judgment of the congregation, would again reduce it into controversy, he ought to be heard, or enjoined silence, and take the matter for determined. But of this we shall in another place more conveniently dispute. That which remains, therefore, is, that we wrestle with God, by daily prayers, to grant that we may have the use of this so sovereign and saving liberty, so profitable to the church, and that thereby we may reap abundance of fruit: and that he would, to that end, break and tame our spirits with his spirit, and render them mild and gentle; and not suffer what he hath ordained for the confirmation and establish-

ment of his church, to be, by the stubbornness and perverseness of our wits and minds, turned to the mischief and destruction thereof.' With much more to the same purpose, too large to be here inserted.

What I have cited, makes an apology, for doing so, needless: his whole book is a most accurate account of Satan's stratagems, to cause and keep up divisions among Christians; deserving a first place with the most Christian writers since the apostolical times. He was an Italian, of excellent natural and supernatural endowments, banished about Luther's time for the gospel.

Let us now inform ourselves of the judgment of that great man of our own country, J. Hales, of Eton, in his treatise of the 'Power of the Keys,'* upon the matter in hand; viz. 'To your second query, Whether the keys were consigned to the apostles only? The answer is in no case hard to give; it may perchance, in some case, be dangerous; for there is a generation of men in the world, the clergy they call them, who impropriate the keys unto themselves, and would be very angry to understand, that others from themselves should claim a right unto them. To your question then; no doubt but originally none received the keys from the mouth of our Saviour, but the apostles only; none did, or ever could, manage them with that authority and splendour, as the apostles did, who were, above all, most amply furnished with all things fitting so great a work. For whereas you seem to intimate, that the preaching mission was communicated to others, as the seventy-two disciples, as well as the apostles, you do but mistake yourself, if you conceive that the keys of the gospel were any way committed to them: for concerning the mystery of Jesus Christ, and him crucified for the sins of the world (wherein, indeed, the opening of the kingdom of heaven did consist) they received it not, they knew it not. To be the prime reporters of this, was an honour imparted only to the apostles: yet were they not so imparted, as that they should be confined to them. Every one that heard and received the light of the saving doctrine from them, so far forth as he had understanding in the ways of life, had now the keys of the kingdom of heaven committed to his power, both for his own and others' use. Every one, of what state or condition soever, that hath any occasion offered him to serve another in the ways of life, clergy or lay, male or female, whatever he be, hath these keys, not only for himself, but for the benefit of others. For if natural goodness teach every man, *Lumen de Lumine, erranti comiter monstrare viam*, &c. then how

* J. Hales, 'Of the Keys,' pages 170, 171, 172, 173.

much more doth Christian goodness require of every one, to his ability, to be a light to those who sit in darkness, and direct their steps who most dangerously mistake their way? To save a soul, every man is a priest. To whom I pray you, is that said in Leviticus, "Thou shalt not see thy brother sin, but shalt reprove, and save thy brother?" And if the law binds a man, when he saw his enemy's cattle to stray, to put them in their way; how much more doth it oblige him to do the like for the man himself? See you not how the whole world conspires with me in the same opinion? Doth not every father teach his son, every master his servant, every man his friend? How many of the laity in this age, and from time to time in all ages, have by writing, for the public good, propagated the gospel of Christ; as if some secret instinct of nature had put into men's minds thus to do,' &c.

To this let me add his sense of the force of the fathers' authority in the decision of controversies; and how far the ancients, whether fathers or councils, ought to be interested in the debates of these times; which may not be improper to the present subject, because not a few build upon their bottom; the clergy to be sure, that pretend to direct the rest.

'You shall find,' says he,* 'that all schisms have crept into the church by one of these three ways; either upon matter of fact, or matter of opinion, or point of ambition. For the first; I call that matter of fact, when something is required to be done by us, which either we know, or strongly suspect, to be unlawful: so the first notable schism, of which we read, in the church, contained in it matter of fact: for it being, upon error, taken for necessary that an Easter must be kept; and upon worse than error, if I may so speak, for it was no less than a point of judaism, forced upon the church, upon worse than error, I say, thought further necessary, that the ground for the time of our keeping that feast, must be the rule left by Moses to the Jews; there arose a stout question, Whether we were to celebrate with the Jews, on the fourteenth moon, or the Sunday following? This matter, though most unnecessary, most vain, yet caused as great a combustion as ever was in the church; the west separating and refusing communion with the east, for many years together. In this fantastical hurry, I cannot see but all the world were schismatics: neither can any thing excuse them from that imputation, excepting only this, that we charitably suppose that all parties, out of conscience, did what they did.

* J. Hales, Tract of Schism, pages 201, 202, 203, 204.

'A thing which befel them through the ignorance of their guides; for I will not say their malice; and that through the just judgment of God; because, through sloth and blind obedience, men examined not the things which they were taught; but, like beasts of burden, patiently couched down, and indifferently underwent whatsoever their superiors laid upon them. By the way, by this you may plainly see the danger of our appeal unto antiquity, for resolution in controverted points of faith, and how small relief we are to expect from thence. For if the discretion of the chiefest guides and directors of the church, did, in a point so trivial, so inconsiderable, so mainly fail them, as not to see the truth in a subject, wherein it is the greatest marvel how they could avoid the sight of it; can we, without imputation of extreme grossness and folly, think so poor-spirited persons competent judges of the questions now on foot betwixt the churches? Pardon me! I know not what temptation drew that note from me.'

How these two worthy men will come off, I cannot tell: they have ventured fairly, and yet I think their case not hazardous at all. You have them in three points plain. First, 'That relying upon the clergy, as guardians of truth to the people, and the people not examining the truth of things from them, is not apostolical, but apostatical. Secondly, That no councils or fathers ought to be the rule or judge of our faith. Thirdly, That to save souls, every man is a priest:' that is, the people are interested in the Christian ministry, which is not tied to times, places, persons, and orders, as under the law; but free to all that have obtained mercy and grace from God. And therefore Peter calls the believers (1 Pet. ii. 5. 9.) "an holy and royal priesthood." So that every believer is a priest to himself under the gospel. But all this I have mentioned with design, if it be possible, to beat men off that superstitious and dangerous veneration they carry to the names of church, priesthood, and fathers; as if they were to be saved by them, and not by Christ, who is the "only Head and Saviour of the true church, and God over all, blessed for ever." And truly, when I consider the wide dependance some people have upon the church, whilst they know not what she is, and make it a principle not to inquire, I am amazed, and often struck with horror, to observe with what confidence they expose their souls. This principle it is, and not inquiry, that makes men careless and unactive about their own salvation. But let none deceive themselves, "as they sow they shall reap," Gal. vi. 5. 7. "Every one must bear his own burden." It is not to be saved, to be within

the pale of any visible church in the world. That is putting an eternal cheat upon ourselves. Ill things are ill things, within or without the pale: that matters not: and as sin cannot be christened, nor impiety reconciled to Christianity, by any arts of men, so "the wages of sin will be death," Rom. vi. 23. eternal death. To be therefore of the church of which Christ is head, the redeemed, regenerated church of Christ, is quite another thing than to be of any visible society whatever; for in all such communions there are but too many that have no true title to Christianity. If, then, that immaculate church, of which Christ is head, be made up only of holy and regenerated souls throughout the societies of Christians, this will administer but little comfort to those, that presume upon their being within the pale of the visible church, that are without the pale of virtue and holiness.

But to proceed to those scriptures that are irreconcileable to implicit faith and blind obedience: "He that believeth, hath the witness in himself," 1 John v. 10. This general rule respects no persons: it is the result of the Holy Ghost to all believers. Such have no need to go to Rome, nor Winifred's Well, to the shrines of saints, the priests, nor the church, for a proof of their faith. They have an evidence nearer home: they have the witness of their faith, and the reason of their hope, in themselves.

It is true, this is a private judge; but (as it happens) it is one of the Holy Ghost's setting up; of all things, I confess, most destructive to papacy, no doubt; for there is a judge in every man, that sincerely believes, to whom he must stand or fall in this and the other world. For, saith the apostle, "If our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things: beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God," 1 John iii. 20, 21. That is, 'The witness in ourselves discharges us.' "The Spirit beareth witness with our spirits, that we are the children of God;" Rom. viii. 16. and sons of the true church: not she that hath fatted herself with the flesh of the saints, and died her garments in the blood of martyrs, who hath merchandized in the souls of men; but of that church which is crowned with stars, and clothed with the sun, and has the moon under her feet. A church of light and knowledge, of understanding and truth, and not of implicit faith and blind obedience: one that tramples upon all sublunary glory; and not she that makes her pretences to religion a decoy to catch the empire of the world.

Of like tendency is that notable passage of the apostle Paul to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. xiii. 5. "Examine your-

selves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves: know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?" Here is not a word of the pope, nor an external judge! no human inquisition or authority. "Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith? Prove your own selves:" but which way shall we do this? By Christ who is the great light, that shines in our hearts, to give us the knowledge of God and ourselves: "He that believes in him, has the witness in himself;" he is no reprobate; his heart condemns him not.

To which I will add another passage to the same purpose, in his epistle to the Galatians, Gal. vi. 4, 5. "But let every man prove his own work; then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another: for every man shall bear his own burden." Here every man is enjoined to turn inquisitor upon himself; and the reason rendered shows the justice of the thing; 'because my rejoicing must be in myself alone, and not in another, I stand and fall to no man; such as I sow, I must reap at the hand of God,' if Paul say true. Men's pardons are vain, and their indulgences fictitious; "for every man shall bear his own burden, in that great day of the Lord." It cannot therefore be reasonably thought that another man should have the keeping of my understanding at my eternal cost and charge; or that I must entirely depend upon the judgment of a man, or men, who erring, (and thereby causing me to err) cannot be damned for me, but I must pay their reckoning at the hazard of my own damnation.

I am not unacquainted with the great objection that is made by Roman catholics, and some protestants too, high churchmen perhaps, that love the treason, but hate the traitor; that like this part of popery, but hate the pope, viz. 'There are doubts in scripture, even about the most important points of faith; somebody must guide the weak; there must be some one ultimate, external, and visible judge to appeal to, who must determine and conclude all persons, as to their doubts and apprehensions concerning the interpretation of scripture; otherwise, so many men, so many minds; the church would be filled with controversy and confusion.'

I answer, That the scriptures are made more doubtful than they are, by such as would fain preserve to themselves the umpirage and judgeship of their meaning. I deny it, in point of fact, that man's duty is not most plainly expressed in all that concerns eternal salvation. But it is very strange, that when God intends nothing more by the scriptures, than to reach the capacities of men as to things on which their

eternal salvation depends, that no book, if such men say true, should be so obscure, or subject to so many various, nay, contradictory, constructions. Name me one author, Heathen, Jew, or Christian, that ever wrote with that obscurity and seeming inconsistency, which some gladly pretend to find in the holy scripture, that they might have the use and keeping of them from the vulgar, and make their own ends by it. Is, then, every body's book to be understood but God's? Was that writ not to be understood? In short, one of these two things must be true; either that God intended not to be understood, or to be understood, in what he commanded to be written. If he resolved not to be understood, it had been better there had been nothing writ; for then there had been no doubts about the meaning of it: but if it was his purpose to be understood of men, it must be supposed that what he caused to be written, was plain enough for men to understand, or he missed his own aim and end, and writ it to no purpose; which were too low and absurd a thought of the infinite goodness and wisdom.

If it should be told me, 'That it is not denied but that the scriptures may be understood by some body, but not by every body; for that the great, visible judge must needs understand them, because it belongs to his office to resolve those doubts, and determine those controversies that may arise about understanding them; but not every one that reads them.'

Answ. I must also say, that this is not true in fact: for it is ridiculous to imagine, that Luke did not make Theophilus his own judge in the reading of what he writ to him; or that the apostles, in writing to the several churches, as Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, &c. to whom they directed their epistles, did not intend that they should understand what they writ; or that they erected any such officer in the church, as an expounder of their epistles to the assembly to be necessarily believed. For we know, in those days, the people made the church; they were the κληρός, the clergy, however it came about that it be now engrossed into fewer hands; as you may see in the Greek of Peter, I Pet. v. 4. Μηδ' ὡς κατακυριευοντες τῶν κλήρων; which κλήρων, is translated heritage in all our bibles. But this is as if the priests only were the Lord's heritage; which cannot be, for a reason obvious to all; namely, that they have long reigned as lords over God's heritage, or clergy, forbid expressly by Peter; therefore not the heritage and clergy over which they so rule like lords; by no means. I will say no more but this, it is no convincing proof to me of their humility. But to shut up this argument about the difficulty of understanding the scripture, and

pretended necessity of a visible judge; I say, Whatsoever may be spoken, may be written: Or thus; Whatsoever a visible judge can now say, the holy penmen, by God's direction, might have written: and what an omniscient and omnipotent God did know, and could do, for man's salvation, an omnibenevolent God, that tells us, "He delights not in the death of one soul, but rather that he should be saved," would certainly have done for man. And because God is as omnibenevolent, as omniscient and omnipotent, we must conclude he has done it: and it is great presumption, and a mean shelter to ignorance or ambition, to raise a credit to human devices, by beating down the true value of the scriptures.

'They are dark:' What follows? 'They must not be read.' What follows then? Why then such teachers may do as they list with the people. But did the Pharisees, with their broad phylacteries, know God's mind better than the prophets? Or could they deliver it clearer? No such matter: it is by the same strange figure that the schoolmen know the mind of Christ better than the apostles; and that the council of Trent can declare faith more clearly than the Holy Ghost in the scripture hath done: and yet this is the English of their doctrine, that hold to us those lights to read the scripture by: and that would have us search their canons and decrees, to find out the mind of the Holy Ghost in scripture.

The confusions that are pretended to follow such an inquiry, are but the wretched arts of selfish men, as much as in them lies, to keep light and truth out of the world. When the net was cast into the sea, there came some good, some bad fish; it was not the fisherman's fault they were no better. Enquiry is not to be blamed, for the ill use weak, or worse men, make of it. The Bereans might not all believe, though they might all search; for men do not enquire with equal wisdom, love, and good desire. "Some seek and find not, some ask and receive not;" James iv. 3. Must none therefore ask or seek after that which is good? Or, because some ask or seek amiss, will it follow that the thing itself is naught? If superstition, error, idolatry, and spiritual tyranny be detected, and truth discovered, will it not more than make amends for all that weakness and folly some men have brought forth by the liberty of such an enquiry? The enemies of light may be as rhetorical as they please upon the excess or presumption of some, bolder than wise, and more zealous than knowing; but if they had nothing to lose by the discovery, they would never be the enemies of a Chris-

tian search. It is to be feared, such get that obedience and subjection by a blind devotion, which no man could yield them upon better information: and is it reasonable that men of that stamp should secure their empire by the ignorance of the people? Ignorance ought to be the mother of devotion with none but those that cannot be devout upon better terms: it is the glory of a man that he is religious upon reason, and that his duty and sacrifice (Lev. xxii. 18. 29.) are not blind or forced, but free and reasonable. Truth upon knowledge, though vexed with schism, wise and good men will choose, before ignorant religion, and all its superstitious effects, with uniformity. Enough of this.

But this notion of an infallible visible judge, is as false in reason as in fact. For, first, it takes away the use of every man's reason; and it is a contradiction to have any, unless he were such an interpreter, and such a judge, as would conclude us by conviction, and not by authority: that would be the most welcome person in the world. But to over-rule my own sight, to give the lie to my own understanding, say, black is white, and that two and three make ten; thus *subjugare intellectum in obsequium fidei*; to yield my understanding to such an in-evident way of faith, nay, which is worse, to believe a lie, (for so it is to them, to whom the thing to be believed appears untrue) is most unreasonable.

If we must be led, it had been easier for us to have been born blind; we might then have better followed the dog and the bell; for we could not mend ourselves: but to see, and to be led; and that in ways we see to be foul or wrong, this is anxious. Here lies the dispute: and truly here the question might fairly end, 'Either put out our eyes, or let us use them.' But if we have eyes for our minds as well as for our bodies, I see no reason why we should trust any man, or men, against the eyes of our understanding, any more than we ought to confide in them against the sense and certainty of the eyes of our bodies.

Where is the poorest mechanic that would be paid for his labour in base coin or silver, by either pope or bishop? And can we be so brutish, as to think our nobler part void of distinction, about that treasure which is of eternal moment? For, though Peter was to feed the sheep, yet the sheep were not to follow Peter, but Christ. "My sheep hear my voice," says he, "and follow me, and a stranger they will not follow," John x. 14. Here is no mediator betwixt Christ and his sheep; nor does any body else hear his voice for them; but they hear his voice themselves.

And though the shepherd may have many servants, yet "he only is their shepherd, and they are only the sheep of his fold."

But there are three places of scripture, that come fresh into my remembrance, that are very pertinent to the present occasion. The first is this, Rom. i. 19. "That which may be known of God, is manifest in men, for God hath shewed it unto them:" that is, "The spirit of man, being the candle of the Lord," Prov. xx. 27. God hath enlightened it, to manifest unto man what is necessary for him to know both of God and himself. Here is no need of wax candles, or tapers, or a visible guide and church; for still, "he that believes, has the witness in himself."

Another passage is this: "Be ye followers of me, even as I am also of Christ." 1 Cor. xi. 1. In which the apostle is so far from setting himself up a judge over the church at Corinth, that he makes his appeal to them concerning his doctrine and conversation, regulating both by that of his Lord Jesus Christ, and making them judges of the truth of his conformity to that example. "Be ye followers of me:" how? After what manner? What! Absolutely, without examination? Must we believe thee without any trial, and take what thou sayest for granted, without any more to do? No such thing. "Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ:" I submit myself to be judged by you according to that rule; and all men and churches are to be thus measured, that lay claim to the name of Christian: the text will bear it.

The third passage is in his second epistle to the same church of Corinth; it is this: 2 Cor. iv. 1, 2. "Therefore seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not; but have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully; but, by manifestation of the truth, commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God." Here is the utmost imposition the apostle makes us of: he requires not men to receive him without evidence, and refers himself to that of their own consciences in the sight of God. This was the way of making Christians then; it must be the way of keeping and making men Christians now.

Conscience, in the best sense of the word, has ever been allowed to be a bond upon men of all religions: but that religion, whoever holds it, which, under pretence of authority, would supersede conscience, and instead of making men better (the end of religion) make them worse, by confounding all sense and distinction betwixt good and evil, and re-

solving all into an implicit faith and blind obedience unto the commands of a visible guide and judge, is false; it cannot be otherwise. For to admire what men do not know, and to make it a principle not to enquire, is the last mark of folly in the believer, and of imposture in the imposer. To be short, a Christian implies a man; and a man implies conscience and understanding: but he that has no conscience nor understanding, (as he has not, that has delivered them up to the will of another man) is no man, and therefore no Christian.

I do beseech you protestants, of all sorts, to consider of the danger of this principle, with respect to religion. Of old it was the fool that said in his heart, "There is no God?" But now, upon this principle, men must be made fools, in order to believe there is one. Shall folly, which is the shame, if not the curse of man, be the perfection of a Christian? Christ, indeed, has advised us to become as "little children," but never to become such fools; for, as the proverb is, this is to be led by the nose, and not by our wits. You know that God hates the "sacrifices of fools;" Eccles. v. 1. "I will pray with the spirit and with the understanding also," saith the apostle. 1 Cor. xiv. Let us commend that testimony, which we believe to be true, to the consciences of men, and let them have the gospel privilege of examination. Error only loses upon trial. If this had been the way to Christianity, (with reverence be it spoken) God had not made our condition better, but worse; for this translates our faith and dependance upon God, to man; and the possibility, if not probability, of man's erring, exposes us to a greater insecurity than before: for where I never trusted, I never could be deceived: but if I must abandon my own sense and judgment, and yield myself up to the faith and authority of another, (to say no more of the blindness and lameness of such belief and devotion) what security can I have, that the man or men whom I trust, may not err, and deceive me? And that deceit is irreparable.

Again; since man is a reasonable creature, and that the more reasonable he is in his religion, the nearer to his own being he comes, and to the wisdom and truth of his Creator, that did so make him; a religion without reason, imposed by an unaccountable authority, against reason, sense, and conviction, cannot be the religion of the God of truth and reason: for it is not to be thought that he requires any thing that carries any violence upon the nature of his creature, or that gives the lie to that reason or sense with which he first endowed him. In short, either convince my understanding by the light of truth and power of reason, or bear down my

infidelity with the force of miracles: for not to give me understanding or faith, and to press a submission that requires both, is most unreasonable.

But if there were no other argument than this, it goes a great way with me; that as to such as have their understanding at liberty, if they are mistaken, there may be hopes of reclaiming them, by informing them: but where the understanding and conscience are enslaved to authority, and where men make it a principal doctrine, to suspect their own sense, and strive against their own convictions; to move only by other men's breath, and fall down to their conclusions; nothing seems to be left for the soundest arguments, and clearest truths, to work upon. They had almost need to be recreated, in order to be converted; for who can reasonably endeavour to make him a Christian, that is not a man; which he cannot be truly said to be, who has no understanding, or resolves not to use it, but reject it, which is yet worse: for he that has no understanding, has no prejudice against it; but he that purposely denies and abuses it, is so much worse, as that he turns enemy to him that has and uses his understanding. He, therefore, can never be convinced of his error, who is prejudiced against the necessary means of conviction, which is the use of his understanding; without which it is impossible he should ever be convinced.

To conclude, I have reserved, till last, one argument, which is *ad hominem*, unanswerable by us protestants; and without yielding to which, we cannot be consistent with ourselves, or be thought to do unto others what we would have others do unto us; and that is this. The translation of the scripture was the painful work of our ancestors; and this I call their most solemn appeal to the people, against the pope and traditions of Rome, in the business of their separation. For when the question arose of the divine authority of this or the other practice in the doctrine or worship of the Roman church, presently they recurred to the scriptures, and therefore made them speak English, that they might witness for them to the people. This appeal to the people, in defence of their separation, by making them judges of their proceeding against the church, according to the testimony of the Holy Scripture, puts every man in possession of them. 'Search the scriptures,' say the first protestants; 'prove all things; see if what we say against the pope and church of Rome be not true.' And in case any difficulty did arise, they exhorted all to wait upon God, for the divine aid of his spirit, to illuminate their understandings, that one should not impose upon the other, but commend them to God: 'Be

brotherly, patient, long-suffering, ready to help the weak, inform the ignorant, show tenderness to the mistaken, and with reason and moderation to gain the obstinate.' In short, protestancy is a restoring to every man his just right of inquiry and choice: and, to its honour be it ever spoken, there is a greater likelihood of finding truth, where all have liberty to seek after it, than where it is denied to all, but a few grandees, and those too as short-sighted as their neighbours. But now let us protestants examine, if we have not departed from this sobriety, this Christian temperance? How comes it that we, who have been forgiven much, have ourselves fallen upon our fellow-servants, who yet owe us nothing? Have not we refused them this reasonable choice? Have we not threatened, beaten and imprisoned them? Pray consider, have you not made creeds, framed faiths, formed and regulated a worship; and strictly enjoined all men's obedience, by the help of the civil power, upon pain of great sufferings, which have not been spared upon dissenters; though they have been, in common, renouncers and protesters with you, against the pope and church of Rome. For this the land mourns, heaven is displeased, and all is out of due course.

To give us the scriptures, and knock our fingers for taking them; to translate them that we may read them, and punish us for endeavouring to understand and use them as well as we can, both with respect to God and our neighbour, is very unreasonable upon our protestant principles. I wish we could see the mischief we draw upon ourselves, and, which is worse, upon our cause; for the papist, in this case, acts according to his principle, but we against our principle; which shews, indeed, that we profess the better religion, but that we also are more condemnable. If we will consider it seriously, we shall find it not much more injurious to scripture, truth and good conscience, that we believe as the church believes, than that we believe as the church says the scripture would have us believe. For where is the difference, since I am not allowed to use my understanding about the sense of scripture, any more than about the faith of the church? And if I must not receive any thing for faith or worship from scripture, but what is handed to me through the meanings of the church, or her clergy, I see myself in as ill terms, as if I had sat down with the old doctrine of believing as the church believes. And had the controversy been only for the word scripture, without the use and application of it, (for, at this rate, that is all that is left us) truly the enterprise of our fathers had been weak and unadvised: but because nothing less was intended by them,

and that the translation of the scripture was both the appeal and legacy of those protestant ancestors; for the reasons before-mentioned, I must conclude we are degenerated from the simplicity of primitive protestancy, and need to be admonished of our backslidings: and I heartily pray to Almighty God, that he would quicken us, by his repeated mercies and providences, to return to our first love, to the light and spirit of his Son, that we may become sons indeed; the ground of true Christianity, and from whence the true ministry hath its spring, which is open and free to those that are proficients in that holy school.

Let the scriptures be free, sober opinion tolerated, good life cherished, vice punished: away with imposition, nicknames, animosities, for the Lord's sake; and let the scripture be our common creed, and pious living the test of Christianity, that God may please to perfect his good work of grace he has begun, and deliver us from all our enemies, both within and without.

Sect. VI.

Of the Propagation of Faith by force.

I am now come to the last point, and that is, propagation of faith by force: in which I shall, with the ecclesiastic's, consider the civil magistrate's share herein: for though the churchmen are principally guilty; who being professed ministers of a religion which renounces and condemns force, excite the civil magistrate to use it, both to impose their own belief, and suppress that of other men; yet the civil magistrate, in running upon their errands, and turning executioner of their cruelty upon such as dissent from them, involves himself in their guilt.

That in this protestant country laws have been made to prosecute men for their dissent from the national worship, and that those laws have been executed, I presume will not be denied: for not only our own histories since the reformation will furnish us with instances unbecoming our pretences, as the case of Barrow, Penry, &c. in queen Elizabeth's time, and others in the reign of king James and Charles the first, but our own age abounds with proofs. 'Thousands have been excommunicated and imprisoned; whole families undone; not a bed left in the house, not a cow left in the field, nor any corn in the barn: widows and orphans stripped without pity, no regard being had to age or sex: and what for? Only because of their meeting to worship God after another manner than according to the form of the church of England; but yet in a very peaceable way.'

Nor have they only suffered this by laws intended against them, but, after an excessive rate, by laws known to have been never designed against them, and only intended against the papists: and in these cases four times the value hath not served their turn. We can prove sixty pounds taken for thirteen, and not one penny returned, as we made appear before a committee of the late parliament, which is the penalty of four offences for one; to say nothing of the gross abuses that have been committed against our names and persons, by men of ill fame and life, that have taken the advantage of our tenderness, and the present posture of the law against us, to have their revengeful and covetous ends upon us. And though we are yet unredressed, not a session of parliament has passed these seventeen years, in which we have not humbly remonstrated our suffering condition: we have done our part, which has been patiently to suffer, and modestly to complain: it is yours now to hear our groans, and, if ever you expect mercy from God, to deliver us. The late parliament, just before its dissolution, was preparing some relief for us, if that parliament could think of it, yea, begin it, we hope you will finish and secure it.

The better to remove all scruples or objections, that politically or ecclesiastically, on the part of the state or the church, may be advanced against us in this request, I shall divide this discourse into two parts: first, Cæsar's authority; next, the church's power in things that relate to faith and conscience; with my considerations upon both.

* Our blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, did long since distinguish the things of Cæsar from the things of God, in his plain and notable answer unto that insnaring question of the Jews, "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar, or not? Render," says he, "unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's:"‡ that is, divine worship, and all things relating to it, belong unto God; civil obedience to Cæsar. God only can be the author of right acts of worship in the mind: this is granted by all; therefore it is not in the power of any man or men in the world, to compel the mind rightly to worship God. Where this is but attempted, God's prerogative is invaded, and Cæsar (by which word I understand the civil government) engrosseth all. For he doth not only take his own things as much as he can, but the things appertaining to God also; since if God hath not conscience for his share, he hath nothing. "My

* Note, The greatest part of what follows in this section, was first printed by way of appendix to the 'Continued Cry of the Oppressed for Justice,' anno 1675.

† Mat. xxii. 17. 21.

kingdom," says Christ, "is not of this world;" nor is the magistrate's kingdom of the other world; therefore he exceeds his province and commission whenever he meddles with the rights of it. Let Christ have his kingdom, he is sufficient for it; and let Cæsar have his, it is his due. "Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." Then there are things that belong not to Cæsar, and we are not to give those to him which belong not to him; and such are God's things, divine things, things of an eternal reference: but those that belong to Cæsar and his earthly kingdom, must be, of duty, rendered to him.

If any shall ask me, 'What are the things properly belonging to Cæsar?' I answer, in scripture language, "To love justice, do judgment, relieve the oppressed, right the fatherless, and in general be a terror unto evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well:" for this is the great end of magistracy; and in these things they are to be obeyed, of conscience as well as interest.

But perhaps my answer will be reckoned too general and ambiguous, and a fresh question started, 'Who are the evil-doers, to whom the civil authority ought to be terrible?' But this ought, in my judgment, to be no question with men that understand the nature of civil authority; for those are the evil-doers that violate those laws which are necessary to the preservation of civil society; as thieves, murderers, adulterers, traitors, plotters, drunkards, cheats, vagabonds, and the like mischievous and dissolute persons; men void of virtue, truth, and sincerity; the foundation of all good government, and only firm bond of human society. Whoever denies me this, must at the same time say, that virtue is less necessary to government than opinion, and that the most vitiated men, professing but Cæsar's religion, are the best subjects to Cæsar's authority; consequently, that other men, living ever so honestly and industriously, and having else as good a claim to civil protection and preferment, shall, merely for their dissent from that religion, (a thing they cannot help, for "Faith is the gift of God,") be reputed the worst of evil-doers; which is followed with exposing their names to obloquy, their estates to ruin, and their persons to gaols, exiles, and abundance of other cruelties. What is this, but to confound the things of Cæsar with the things of God, divine worship with civil obedience, the church with the state, and perplex human societies with endless debates about religious differences? Nay, is not this to erect new measures to try the members of worldly societies by, and

* John xi. 38.

give an accession to another power, than that which is necessary to the constitution of civil government? But that which ought to deter wise rulers from assuming and exercising such an authority, is the consideration of the pernicious consequences of doing so. For,

I. It makes property, which is the first and most fixed part of English government, floating and uncertain; for, it seems, no conformity to the church, no property in the state: and, doubtless, the insecurity of property can be no security to the government: pray think of that.

II. It makes me owe more to the church than to the state: for in this case, the anchor I ride by, is not my obedience to the laws relating to the preservation of civil society, but conformity to certain things belonging to the doctrine and discipline of the church: so that though I may be an honest, industrious Englishman, a great lover of my country, and an admirer of the government I live under, yet if I refuse to profess the religion that either now is, or hereafter may be imposed, be it ever so false, that is all one, I must neither enjoy the liberty of my person, nor the quiet possession of my estate.

III. This not only alters the government, by sacrificing men's properties for that which cannot be called a sin against property, nor an offence to the nature of civil government, if any transgression at all; but it narrows the interest and power of the governors: for look what number they cut off from their protection, they cut off from themselves and the government; not only rendering thereby a great body of people useless, but provoking them to be dangerous: to be sure it clogs the civil magistrate in his administration of government, making that necessary which is not at all necessary to him as Cæsar.

It is a sort of duumvirateship in power, by which the civil monarchy is broken: for as that was a plurality of men, so this is a plurality of powers. And, to speak freely, the civil power is made to act the lacquey, to run of all the unpleasant errands the froward zeal of the other sends it upon; and the best preferment it receives for its pains, is to be informer, constable, or hangman to some of the best livers, and therefore the best subjects, in the kingdom.

O! What greater injustice to Cæsar, than to make his government vary by such modes of religion; and oblige him to hold his obedience from his people, not so much by their conformity to him, as to the church; a mere relative of the other world.

IV. This is so far from resembling the universal goodness of God, who dispenses his light, air, showers, and com-

fortable seasons to all, and whom Cæsar ought always to imitate, and so remote from increasing the trade, populousness, and wealth of this kingdom, as that it evidently tends to the utter ruin of thousands of traders, artificers, and husbandmen, and their families; and, by increasing the charges, it must needs increase the poor of the nation.

V. This must needs be a great discouragement to strangers from coming in, and settling themselves amongst us, when they have reason to apprehend that they, and their children after them, can be no longer secured in the enjoyment of their properties, than they shall be able to prevail with their consciences to believe, that the religion which our laws do now, or shall at any time hereafter, approve and impose, is undoubtedly true; and that the way of worshipping God, which shall be at any time by our laws enjoined, is, and shall be, more agreeable to the will of God, than any other way in which God is worshipped in the world.

VI. That way of worship we are commanded conformity to, doth not make better livers, that is a demonstration; nor better artists; for it cannot be thought that going to church, hearing common-prayer, or believing in the present episcopacy, teach men to build ships or houses; to make clothes, shoes, dials, or watches; buy, sell, trade, or commerce, better than any that are of another persuasion. And since these things are useful, if not requisite, in civil society, is not prohibiting, nay ruining, such men, because they will not come to hear common-prayer, &c. destructive of civil society? Pray show me better subjects. If any object, 'Dissenters have not always been so;' the answer is ready, 'Do not expose them; protect them in their lives, liberties, and estates; for in this present posture they think they can call nothing their own, and that all the comforts they have in this world, are hourly liable to forfeiture, for their faith, hope, and practice concerning the other world.' Is not this to destroy nature and civil government, when people are ruined in their natural and civil capacity, not for things relating to either, but which are of a supernatural import?

VII. This deprives them of protection, who protect the government. Dissenters have a great share in the trade, which is the greatness of this kingdom; and they make a large proportion of the taxes that maintain the government. And is it reasonable, or can it be Christian, when they pay tribute to Cæsar, to be preserved in an undisturbed possession of the rest, that the rest should be continually exposed for the peaceable exercise of their consciences to God?

VIII. Neither is it a conformity to true and solid religion, such as is necessary to eternal salvation, wherein most parties verbally agree, but for a modification of religion; some peculiar way of worship and discipline. 'All confess One God, One Christ, One Holy Ghost, and that it is indispensably requisite to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present evil world.' 2 Tit. xi. 12. yet is one prosecuting the other for his conscience, seizing corn, driving away cattle, breaking open doors, taking away and spoiling of goods; in some places not leaving a cow to give poor orphans milk, nor a bed to lie on; in other places houses have been swept so clean, that a stool hath not been left to sit on, nor so much as working tools to labour for bread. To say nothing of the opprobrious speeches, bloody blows, and tedious imprisonments, even to death itself, through nastiness of dungeons, that many innocent people have suffered only for their peaceable conscience.

IX. But this way of proceeding for maintenance of the national religion, is of an ill consequence upon this account, that heaven is barred, as much as in men lies, from all farther illuminations. Let God send what light he pleases into the world, it must not be received by Cæsar's people, without Cæsar's license; and if it happen that Cæsar be not presently convinced, as well as I, that it is of God, I must either renounce my convictions, and lose my soul to please Cæsar, or profess and persevere in my persuasion, and to lose my life, liberty, or estate, to please God. This hath frequently occurred, and may again. Therefore I would intreat Cæsar to consider the sad consequence of imposition, and remember both that God did never ask man leave to introduce truth, or make farther discoveries of his mind to the world; and that it hath been a woful snare to those governments that have been drawn to employ their power against his work and people.

X. This way of procedure endeavours to stifle, or else to punish, sincerity; for fear or hopes, frowns or favour, prevail only with base minds; souls degenerated from true nobleness. Every spark of integrity must be extinguished, where conscience is sacrificed to worldly safety and preferment. This net holds no temporizers: honest men are all the fish it catches: but one would think they should make but an ill treat to such as reckon themselves generous men, and, what is more, Christians too. That which renders the matter more unjustifiable, is the temptation such severity puts men upon, not hardy enough to suffer for conscience, yet strongly persuaded they have truth on their side, to desert their principles, and smother their convictions; which, in

plain terms, is to make of sincere men, hypocrites: whereas it is one great end of government, by all laudable means, to preserve sincerity; for without it there can be no faith or truth in civil society. Nor is this all; for it is a maxim worthy of Cæsar's notice, 'Never to think him true to Cæsar, that is false to his own conscience:' besides, raped consciences treasure up revenge; and such persons are not likely to be longer friends to Cæsar, than he hath preferments to allure them, or power to deter them from being his most implacable enemies.

XI. There is not so ready a way to Atheism, as this of extinguishing the sense of conscience for worldly ends: destroy that internal rule of faith, worship, and practice towards God, and the reason of my religion will be civil injunctions, and not divine convictions; consequently, I am to be of as many religions as the civil authority shall impose, however untrue and contradictory. This sacred tie of conscience thus broken, farewell to all heavenly obligations in the soul, scripture authority, and ancient protestant principles. Christ may at this rate become what the Jews would have had him and his apostles to be reputed, to wit, "Turners of the world upside down," as their enemies represented them; and the godly martyrs of all ages, so many self-murderers; for they might justly be esteemed resisters of worldly authority, so far as that authority concerned itself with the imposition of religion, because they refused the conformity commanded by it, even to death.

And it may not be unworthy of Cæsar's consideration, that from these proceedings people are tempted to infer, there is nothing in religion but worldly aims and ends; because so much worldly power is abused, under the name of religion, to vex and destroy men for being of another religion; and that he hazards the best hold and obligation he hath to obedience, which is conscience. For where they are taught only to obey for interest, duty and conviction are out of doors. By all means let conscience be sacred, and virtue, and integrity (though under dissenting principles) cherished: charity is more powerful than severity, and persuasion than all the penal laws in the world.

Lastly, to the reproach of this course with wise men, it hath never yet obtained the end desired; since, instead of compliance, the difference is thereby widened, and the sufferers are pitied by spectators, which only helps to increase the number of dissenters; for whoever is in the wrong, few think the persecutor in the right. This, in all ages, having been the issue of severe prosecution of dissenters for mat-

ters of religion, what a cruel, troublesome, thankless, successless office is it for Cæsar to be employed in? May he take better measures of his authority and interest, and use his power to the encouragement of all the virtuous and industrious, and just punishment of the lazy and vicious in all persuasions; so shall the kingdom flourish, and the government prosper.

Church power supposeth a church first. It will not be improper therefore to examine; first, 'What a scripture New-Testament-church is;' and next, 'What is the scripture power belonging to such a church.' A scripture-church, as she may be called visible, is a company or society of people, believing, professing, and practising according to the doctrine and example of Christ Jesus and his apostles; and not according to the scribes and pharisees, that "taught for doctrine the traditions of men." They are such as are meek in heart, lowly in spirit, chaste in life,* virtuous in all conversation,† full of self-denial,‡ long-suffering and patient,‖ not only forgiving,§ but loving their very enemies;¶ which answers Christ's own character of himself, religion, and kingdom, which is the most apt distinction that ever can be given of the nature of his church and her authority, viz. "My kingdom is not of this world."** Which well connects with "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.

It was an answer to a very suspicious question; for it was familiarly bruited that he was a king, and came to possess his kingdom, and was, by some, called the king of the Jews.

The Jews being then subjected to the Roman empire, it concerned Pilate, Cæsar's deputy, to understand his pretensions; which, upon better information, be found to centre in this, "My kingdom is not of this world, else would my subjects fight for me." As if he had said, 'These reports are a mere perversion of my peaceable and self-denying intentions; an infamy invented by malicious scribes and pharisees, that they might the better prevail with Cæsar to sacrifice me to their hatred and revenge.'

'I am Cæsar's friend; I seek none of these kingdoms from him; nor will I sow sedition, plot or conspire his ruin; no, let all men render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's: that is my doctrine; for I am come to erect a kingdom of another nature than that of this world, to wit, a spiritual kingdom, to be set up in the heart; and conscience

* Mat. xi. 1o. † 1 Pet. iii. 2. 2 Cor. xi. 2 ‡ Phil. iv. 8. 1 Pet. iv. 15
‖ Mat. xvi. 24. § 2 Cor. iv. 6. ¶ Luke vi. 37. ** John xviii. 30.

is my throne, upon that will I sit, and rule the children of men in righteousness; and whoever live soberly, righteously, and godly in this world,* shall be my good and loving subjects. And they will certainly make no ill ones for Cæsar, since such virtue is the end of government, and renders his charge both more easy and safe than before. Had I any other design than this, would I suffer myself to be reproached, traduced, and persecuted by a conquered people? Were it not more my nature to suffer than revenge, would not their many provocations have drawn from me some instance of another kind than the forbearance and forgiveness I teach? Certainly, were I animated by another principle than the perfection of meekness and divine sweetness, I should not have forbidden Peter fighting, saying, "Put up thy sword,"† or instruct my followers to bear wrongs; but have revenged all affronts, and, by plots and other stratagems, have attempted ruin to my enemies, and the acquisition of worldly empire; and no doubt but they would have fought for me. Nay, I am not only patiently, and with pity to enemies, sensible of their cruel carriage towards me for my good-will to them, whose eternal happiness I only seek; but I foresee what they farther intend against me: they design to crucify me: and, to do it, will rather free a murderer, than spare their Saviour.‡ They will perform that cruelty with all the aggravation and contempt they can; deriding me themselves, and exposing me to the derision of others: they will mock my divine kingship with a crown of thorns, and in mine agonies of soul and body, for a cordial, give me gall and vinegar to drink. But, notwithstanding all this, to satisfy the world that my religion is above wrath and revenge, I can forgive them.'‖

'And to secure Cæsar and his people from all fears of imposition, notwithstanding my authority, and the many legions of angels I might command, both to my deliverance, and the enforcement of my message upon mankind, I resolve to promote neither with worldly power; for it is not of the nature of my religion and kingdom. And as I neither assume nor practise any such thing myself, that am the great author, promoter, and example of this holy way; so have I not only never taught my disciples to live or act otherwise, or given them a power I refuse to use myself, but expressly forbad them, and warned them, in my instructions, of exercising any the least revenge, imposition or coercion towards any. This is evident in my sermon preached upon the mount, where I freely, publicly, and with much plainness, not only

* Titus ii. 12. † Mat. xxvi. 52. ‡ Mat. xxvii. 20, 27, 29, 43
‖ John xxiii. 34. Mat. xxvi. 53.

prohibited revenge, but enjoined love to enemies,* making it to be a great token of true discipleship to suffer wrongs, and conquer cruelty by patience and forgiveness; which is certainly very far from imposition or compulsion upon other men.

'Furthermore, when I was strongly bent for Jerusalem, and sent messengers before to prepare some entertainment for me and my company, in a village belonging to the Samaritans,† and the people refused, because they apprehended I was going to Jerusalem, though some of my disciples, particularly James and John, were provoked to that degree, that they asked me, if I were willing that they should command fire from heaven to destroy those Samaritans, as Elias in another case had done; I turned about, and rebuked them, saying, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of; for I am not come into the world to destroy men's lives, but," by my peaceable doctrine, example, and life, "to save them."‡

'At another time, one of my disciples relating to me some passages of their travels, told me of a certain man they saw, that cast out devils in my name; and because he was not of their company, nor followed them, said he, we forbade him; as if they thereby served and pleased me; but I presently testified my dislike of the ignorance and narrowness of their zeal, and, to inform them better, told them, they should not have forbid him; for he that is not against us is for us.'

'My drift is not opinion, but piety: they that cast out devils, convert sinners, and turn men to righteousness, are not against me, nor the nature and religion of my kingdom, and therefore ought to be cherished rather than forbid. That I might sufficiently declare and inculcate my mind in this matter, I did at another time, and upon a different occasion, preach against all coercion and persecution for matters of faith and practice towards God, in my parable of the sower, as my words manifest, which are these: "The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field; but while men slept, his enemy came, and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way: but when the blade sprung up, and brought forth fruit, there appeared the tares also; so the servants of the housholder came and said, Didst thou not sow good seed in thy field? From whence then hath it tares? He answered, An enemy hath done this: the servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up?‖ But he said, Nay, lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them?

* Mat. v. 44, 45, 46, 47. † Luke ix. 53, 54, 55, 56.
‡ Luke ix. 49, 50. ‖ Mat. xiii. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30.

let both grow together till the harvest, and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them, but gather the wheat into my barn."

'And that I might not leave so necessary a truth misapprehended of my dear followers, or liable to any misconstructions, my disciples, when together, desiring an explanation, I interpreted my words thus:

"He that soweth the good seed is the Son of Man; the field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked one; the enemy that sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels."

'This patience, this long-suffering, and great forbearance belonging to my kingdom and the subjects of it, my doctrine speaks it, and mine example confirms it; and this can have no possible agreement with imposition and persecution for conscience. It is true I once whipped out the profaners of my Father's temple; but I never whipped any in. I called, I cried to every one that thirsted to come, and freely offered my assistance to the weary and heavy-laden; but I never imposed my help, or forced any to receive me; for I take not my kingdom by violence, but by suffering. And that I might sufficiently deter my followers from any such thing, as I profess myself to be their Lord and Master,* so have I commanded them to love one another in a more especial manner. But if, instead thereof, any shall grow proud, high-minded, and beat or abuse their fellow-servants in my religious family, when I come to take an account of my houshold, he shall be cut asunder, and appointed his portion among the unbelievers. Behold the recompense I appoint to imposing lordly persons, such as count others infidels; and, to make them such believers as themselves, will exercise violence towards them, and if they prevail not, will call for fire from heaven to devour them; and if heaven refuse to gratify their rage, will fall a beating and killing, and think, it may be, they do God good service too; but their lot shall be with unbelievers for ever.

'Nay, I have so effectually provided against all mastery, that I expressly charged them, not to be many masters; for one was their master: I told them, the greatest amongst them was to be servant to the rest, not to impose upon the rest: nay, that to be great in my kingdom, they must become as gentle and harmless as little children, and such cannot force and punish in matters of religion. In fine, I strictly commanded them to love one another, as I have loved

* Mat. xiii. 37, 38, 39. † John xv. 12.

them, who am ready to lay down my life for the ungodly, instead of taking away godly men's lives for opinions. And this is the great maxim of my holy religion, "He that would be my disciple, must (not crucify other men) but take up his cross and follow me, who am meek and lowly;" and such as endure to the end, shall find eternal rest to their souls: this is the power I use, and this is the power I give.'

How much this agrees with the language, doctrine, and example of Jesus Christ, the Son and Lamb of God, I shall leave them to consider that read and believe scripture. But some, affected to present church-power, and desiring their ruin that conform not to her worship and discipline, will object, 'that Christ did give his church power to bind and loose, and bid any persons aggrieved tell the church.'

I grant it; but what binding was that? Was it, I pray, with outward chains and fetters, in nasty holes and dungeons? Nothing less? or was it that his church had that true discerning in her, and power with him, that what she bound, that is, condemned, or loosed, that is remitted, should stand so in God's sight, and Christ's account?

But tell the church; and what then? Observe Christ's extent in the punishment of the offender: "If the offender will neither receive private admonition, nor hear the church, then," says Christ, "let him be to thee as an heathen," &c. Here is not one word of fines, whips, stocks, pillories, gaols, and the like instruments of cruelty, to punish the heretic: for the purport of his words seems to be no more than this; 'If any member of the church refuse thy private exhortation, and the church's admonition, look upon such a person as obstinate and perverse; have no more to do with him; let him take his course; thou hast done well, and the church is clear of him.'

Well, but say the church-fighters of our age, 'Did not St. Paul wish them cut off that troubled the church in his time?' Yes: but with what sword think you? Such as Christ bid Peter put up,* or the "sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God?" Give him leave to explain his own words; "For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing every thought into obedience to Christ."

What think you of this? Here are warfares, weapons, oppositions and conformity, and not only no external force about matters of religion used or countenanced, but the

* Mat. xxvi. 52. Eph. vi. 12—18 2 Cor. x. 3, 4, 5. 1 Tim. i. 18.

most express and pathetical exclusion and disclaiming of any such thing that can be given.

It was this great apostle that asked that question, "Who art thou that judgest the servant of another? To his own lord he standeth or falleth: but he shall stand; for God is able to make him stand."* Can we think that imposition or persecution is able to answer him this question in the day of judgment? Do we with reason deny it to the papacy? with what reason then can we assume it to ourselves? Let us remember who said, "Not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy." Helpers, then not imposers nor persecutors. What joy can there be in that to the persecuted? But if Paul had no such commission or power over conscience, I would fain know by what authority more inferior ministers and Christians do claim and use it.

The apostle Peter is of the same mind;† "Feed" says he, "the flock of God, not by constraint, &c. neither as being lords over God's heritage." The heritage of God is free; they have but one Lord in and of their religion, Christ Jesus, and they are brethren.

The apostle Paul says,‡ "that where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty;" but where coercion, fines, and gaols are, there is no liberty. Is it to be supposed that men in these days are instructed by the Spirit of the Lord to destroy people in this world for their faith about the other world? That cannot possibly be; such mock at it. Again, says that apostle to the Christians of his time, "You are called to liberty;"‖ from what, I pray? "Sin and the ceremonies of the law?" And shall the end of that call be the enthralling of conscience to human edicts in religion, yea, about mere ceremonies of religion, under the gospel? This would make our case worse than the Jews', for their worship stood on divine authority; and if Christ came to make men free from them, and that those very ordinances are by the apostle called beggarly elements and a burdensome yoke, is it reasonable that we must be subject to the injunctions of men in the worship of God, that are not of equal authority with them?

The apostle yet informs us, "For this end," says he, "Christ both died and rose again, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living: but why dost thou judge thy brother?"§ Than which nothing can more expressly oppose the imposition, excommunication, and persecution that are among us: it is as if he had said, 'Christ is Lord of Christians; by what authority dost thou pretend to judge

* Rom. xiv. 4. † 1 Pet. v. 2, 3. Mat. xxiii. 8. ‡ 2 Cor. iii. 7.
‖ Gal. v. 13. § Rom. xiv. 9, 10.

his servants? Thou also art but one of them: a brother at most. Thou hast no dominion over their faith, nor hast thou commission to be lord over their consciences; it is Christ's right, his purchase, he has paid for it:' "for this end he both died and rose again, that he might be Lord of dead and living;" 'that he might rescue them from the jaws of oppression, from those that usurp over their consciences, and make a prey of their souls.' "But why dost thou judge thy brother?" If not judge, then not persecute, plunder, beat, imprison to death, our brethren; that must needs follow. Come, let us protestants look at home, and view our actions, if we are not the men.

In short, "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind; and if any thing be short, God will reveal it,"* let us but be patient. It was not flesh and blood that revealed Christ to Peter; they are Christ's words; therefore let us leave off the consultation and weapons of flesh and blood, and trust Christ with his own kingdom: he hath said, that the "gates of hell shall not prevail against it;" and we cannot think that he would have us seek to hell's gates to maintain it: and if it is not of this world, then not to be maintained by force and policy, which are the props of the kingdoms of this world. "God," the apostle tells us, "has chosen the weak things of this world, to confound the mighty:" therefore he has not chosen the strength and power of this world, to suppress conscientious people, that, as to human force, are justly accounted weakest and most destitute, in all ages, of defence.

I will here conclude my scripture-proofs with this exhortation, or injunction rather, of the apostle, "Ye are bought with a price; be not ye the servants of men."† The subject here is not human, wherein human ordinances are to be obeyed; that is not the question; but divine; and those that for fear or favour of men desert their principles, and betray their consciences, they renounce their Lord, deny him that bought them, and tread his blood, the price of their souls, under their feet: "Ye are bought with a price;" Christ has purchased you; you are not your own, but his that bought you; therefore be not the servants of men, about God's things or Christ's kingdom; vail to no man's judgment, neither make man's determinations your rule of faith and worship. "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith he has made you free, and be not entangled again into bondage;‡ for we are not come to that mountain that we cannot touch, to Sinai:"‖ we are not now to be kept under, like school-boys or minors: that imposition might be useful then, which is a bondage now. Moses was God's servant, and faithful; he saw, heard, and went

* Rom. xiv. 5. † 1 Cor. vii. 23. ‡ Gal. v. ‖ Heb. xii.

up to the mount for the people; but Christians are come to mount Zion, to Jerusalem, the mother of peace and freedom. Much then depended upon the integrity of Moses; and yet God sent for the people near the mount, that they might see his glory; and wrought wonders and miracles to engage their faith, and vindicate the integrity of Moses his servant (as the 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16th chapters of Numbers declare) and which none now can pretend to vouch the exercise of their authority: I say it pleased God then to appear by those ways; but now the law is brought home to every man's heart, and every one shall know God for himself, from the least to the greatest. "My sheep," says Christ, "hear my voice." And let us remember that there is no possibility of deception there, where there is no necessity of trusting. In fine, "Ye are bought with a price, be not ye the servants of men. One is Lord, even Christ, and ye are brethren."*

But methinks I hear a stout objection, and it is this: 'at this rate you will overthrow all church-discipline, all censure of errors, if no man or men can determine.' My answer is ready and short: no scripture church-discipline is hereby oppugned or weakened: let not the sentence end in violence upon the conscience unconvinced: let who will expound or determine, so it be according to true church-discipline, which can be exercised on them only, who have willingly joined themselves in that covenant of union; and which proceeds only to a separation from the rest, a disavowing or disowning, and that only in case of falling from principles or practices once received, or about known trespasses: but never to any corporal or pecuniary punishment; the two arms of antichrist, or rather of the great beast which carries the whore.

But let us observe what sort of church-government the apostle recommends. "Avoid foolish questions, and genealogies, and contentions, and striving about the law; for they are unprofitable and vain: a man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject, knowing that he that is such, is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of (or in) himself;"† or self-condemned.

It is very remarkable, first, that this great apostle, instead of exhorting Titus to stand upon niceties, and sacrifice men's natural comforts and enjoyments for opinions of religion, injoins him to shun disputes about them; leaving the people to their own thoughts and apprehensions in those matters, as reputing the loss of peace, in striving, greater than the

* Heb. 8. John x. Mark xvi.
† 1 Tim. iv. 5, 6. 2 Tim. ii. 23. Tit. iii. 9.

gain that could arise from such an unity and conformity: which exactly agrees with another passage of his: "Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you."* He did not say, you shall be fined, pillaged, excommunicated, and flung into prison, if ye be not of our mind.

Secondly, That in the apostle's definition, an heretic is a self-condemned person, one conscious to himself of error, and obstinacy in it; but that are not conscientious dissenters; for many ten thousands in this nation act as they believe, and dissent from the national religion purely upon a principle of conscience to Almighty God; and would heartily conform, if they could do it upon conviction, or with any satisfaction to their own minds: and with men of any tenderness, or common sense, their continual great sufferings in person and estate, and their patience under them, are a demonstration, or there can be none in the world, that conscience, and not humour or interest, is at bottom.

Nor can their persecutors disprove them, unless they could search hearts; and that is a little too far for a fallible spirit to reach, and an infallible one they deny. So that the apostle makes not the heretic to lie upon the side of misbelieving, or not coming up to his degree of faith and knowledge, but upon the side of wilfully, turbulently, obstinately, and self-condemnedly, maintaining things inconsistent with the faith, peace, and prosperity of the church.

Granting us then not to be obstinate and self-condemned dissenters, (and you cannot reasonably refuse it us) how do you prove us erroneous in the other part? All parties plead scripture, and that for the most opposite principles. 'The scripture,' you say, 'cannot determine the sense of itself; it must have an interpreter:' if so, he must either be fallible, or infallible: if the first, we are worse than before; for men are apt to be no less confident, and yet are still upon as uncertain grounds: if the last, this must either be an external, or an internal judge: if an external, you know where you are, without pointing; for there stands nothing between you and popery in that principle: if an internal judge, either it is ourselves, or the Spirit of Christ dwelling in us: not ourselves, for then the rule would be the thing ruled, which cannot be: and if it be the Spirit of Christ Jesus, (and the apostle tells us, "That unless we have the Spirit, we are none of Christ's,"†) then is the neck of imposition broken: and what hast thou to do to judge me? Let me stand or fall to my own Master: and upon this foot went

* Phil. iii. 15. † Rom. viii.

Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Melancthon, Beza, Bullinger, Zanchius, abroad; and Tindal, Barns, Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Jewel, Bradford, Philpot, Sanders, Rogers, &c. at home; and as good men, and constant martyrs, in ages before them.

But suppose conscientious dissenters as ill men as the apostle describes an heretic to be; what is the punishment? This is close to the point; stand it.

Thirdly, "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject;" that is, deny his communion; declare he is none of you, condemn his proceedings by a public censure from among yourselves. What more can be strained, by the fiercest prosecutors of men for religion, out of these words?

But will we be governed by the rules of holy writ? Have we any true veneration for the exhortations and injunctions therein? Then let us soberly consider, what the apostle Paul advises and recommends to his beloved Timothy upon the present occasion, and I dare promise an end to contest and persecution for religion. "Flee youthful lusts; but follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart: but foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing that they do gender strifes. And the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth."—2 Tim. ii. 22, 23, 24, 25.

There is such a depth of wisdom lodged in this one passage, that I find difficulty to express myself upon it, and yet I shall with pleasure endeavour it. Here is both faith and government, religion and duty, all that becomes us towards God, our brethren, our neighbour, ourselves, yea, our opposers and enemies.

"Flee youthful lusts:" that is, avoid sin, turn away from every appearance of evil, flee the temptation as soon as thou seest it, lest it ensnare thee; but follow righteousness, charity, and peace; seek and love holiness, and there will be charity and peace to thyself, and in thee, to all men. Rom. xiv. 17. 1 Cor. iv. 20. "For the kingdom of God stands in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;" not in contest about words, nor in maintaining foolish and unlearned questions, which reach not the soul, nor carry any force upon our affections, nor learn men to be better, to have more piety, virtue, goodness; but are mere notions and speculations, that have noinfluence upon holy living, or tendency to the regimen of our passions: such questions as the

curiosity or wantonness of men's wit or restless fancy are apt to start, under pretence of divine truth, and sublime mysteries: these niceties, conceits, and imaginations of men, (not bottomed on the revelation of the Eternal Spirit, but human apprehension and tradition) such questions avoid, meddle not with them; but, next to youthful lusts, flee them by all means; for they draw to strife, to heats, animosities, envy, hatred, and persecution, which unbecome the man of God; for says this apostle, "He must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient:" let his rank, notion, opinion, or faith be what it will, he must not be fierce, nor censorious, much less should he persecute, or excite Cæsar to do it for him; no such matter: "he must be apt to teach," and inform the ignorant; and in case it succeed not, he ought not to be outrageous, or go about to whip and club it into him: "he must be patient;" that is, he must not think to force and bend things to his own will or time, but commit his honest endeavours to God's blessing, "that can raise, of the stones of the streets, children unto Abraham." This sort of man will serve God against his will, instead of submitting his will to God's. There is no evil he will stick at to serve God his way; he will plunder and kill for God's sake, and meritoriously send all his passions upon the errands of his ignorant zeal; and the trophies that it loves, are the spoils and havock it makes upon mankind; the most unnatural and dangerous temper in the world. Our blessed Lord, who knew what was in man, has left us his remark upon it, Luke ix. 55. The want of this patience has been the undoing of all.

But some will object, 'O! but it is not ignorance! it is obstinacy and opposition.' Hardly judged, my friend! But admit it were so, here is a receipt for the malady, and that of the apostle's prescribing. Observe the following words: "In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them repentance, to the acknowledging of the truth." Then not fining, plundering, beating, stocking, imprisoning, banishing, and killing, even opposers themselves, for religion; unless there be a way of doing these things with gentleness, patience, and meekness; which I confess I think nobody ever heard of.

But as the apostle gives Timothy another method than is now used by the sons of violence for reclaiming opposers, so the reason of the counsel makes all other ways unlawful, viz. "If God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth." I would hereupon enter the lists with a persecutor: is repentance in my own power, or is it in thine to give me? The apostle says neither: it

is God's gift alone; "If God peradventure will give them repentance," &c. Since repentance then is in the case, and that God alone can give it, of what use are violent courses, which never beget repentance? On the contrary, they have rarely failed to raise prejudice, and beget hardness in the sufferer, and pity in the beholder.

But was this the evangelical rule and practice? Yes, that it was. O then! whence come imposition, force, cruelty, spoil of goods, imprisonments, knockings, beatings, bruisings, stockings, whippings, and spilling of blood for religion? What church is that whose officers are so far from clothing the naked, that they strip the clothed; from feeding the hungry, that they take their bread from them; and those, some of them, poor widows and helpless orphans? And so remote are they from visiting the sick and imprisoned, that they drag away their beds from under them, and cast their persons into prison, for conscience sake. Nay, some have been so unnatural, that they haled away an honest man from a meeting to gaol at Reading, a while since, not permitting him to take leave of his poor wife, newly delivered, and in a dying condition, though she much desired it, and lived but just by the meeting from whence they took him; with an hundred more things, that I forbear being particular in, because I would not be thought to provoke, when I aim only at Christian reproof and amendment. In fine, What are they that for no other cause pass such dreadful excommunications, as render the excommunicants little better than outlawed persons, subjecting their civil and natural rights to their pride, passion, interest, or revenge, unless they will purchase their enjoyment at the dear rate of giving their own consciences the lie? For what else can be the consequence of conforming to that I do not believe? Is not this to destroy sincere men, and make and save hypocrites? When it is but too palpable that vice reigns without controul, and few of these busy men, these conscience-hunters, give themselves the thought of correcting manners, defending virtue, or suppressing vice.

O that such as are concerned would soberly consider if any thing be so scandalous to true religion as force! who can think that evidence good that is extorted? And what a church is that which is made up of such proselytes, or that employs such means to make them? It is base coin that needs imposition to make it current, but true metal passeth for its own intrinsic value. O where is that Christian meekness, patience, and forbearance! how many have been ruined, that were never exhorted, and excommunicated before they were once admonished? This is not to serve God,

but worldly interest: it is quite contrary to Christ's counsel and his followers' practice. He came to save, and not to destroy nature, to magnify his grace. You pretend, most of you, to dislike J. Calvin's unconditional reprobation, yet practise it: if you say, 'No conformity is your condition;' I answer, it is as unreasonable to require an impossibility, as cruel to damn men for not doing it: for, as you say, his doctrine makes God to command them to repent, that cannot repent; and yet damn them if they repent not: so you enjoin men to relinquish their present faith and worship, and conform to yours, which is not in their power to do, yet damn them, in a temporal respect, if they refuse it: for you make such an unavoidable dissent punishable with the destruction of men's liberties and estates. You had better leave off valuing yourselves upon the mercy and well-naturedness of that tenet of the universal love of God to mankind, till you love more than yourselves, and abominate that the church of England should be the elect to the civil government, and all others as reprobates, since you pretend to detest the like injustice in John Calvin's notion of election and reprobation.

And the truth of it is, this helps on atheism, as much as any enormity in the land; when witty men are not willing to take pains to examine after the truth and excellency in religion, so that people, that call themselves Christ's ministers and the apostles' successors and followers, affect and seek government, and yet twice deny it, when they go to receive it; that some others grow lordly, live voluptuously, and watch after the biggest preferments, not being excited by most service for God, but earthly power and wealth for themselves; and that, at the same time, they persecute men of more self-denial, for matters of opinion about faith and worship towards God; so that no conformity to the church, no protection from the state. Which, among protestants, is so much the more unreasonable; first, because they, by these courses, implicitly own and assume the highest infallibility and perfection, and yet deny any such thing. For it supposes that nothing is truer, nothing perfecter; or else they both persecute men to embrace a fallible and imperfect religion, and with cruel penalties provide against any thing more true or infallible; which is the greatest injury to the world that can be, inasmuch as it is a plain endeavour to frustrate all those excellent prophecies and gracious promises God hath given, and the holy scriptures declare of the latter days. But, Secondly, It exposes protestants to the lash and scorn of the papist unavoidably; for, at this rate, you that, with reason, think it ignorance and irreligion in the papist to

imagine himself discharged in God's account, by believing only as the church believes, conceive yourselves, at the same time, justified by believing only as a few of your own doctors, or else as the state believes. But if the church cannot use force in religion, because she cannot infallibly determine to the conscience with convincement, much less ought a few doctors, or the civil authority, to use force where they can much less judge. Unless you would make them the civil executioners of your displeasure, who have no civil power to give them such commission; and, to be sure, no ecclesiastical authority to exercise any force or violence about religion. For the papist, judging by his principles, punishes them that believe not as the church believes, though against scripture; but the protestant, who teaches every one to believe the scripture, though against church-authority, persecutes, against his own principles, even them that in any particular so believe, as he, in general, teaches them to believe, This is hard, but true, upon the protestant; for what is plainer than that he afflicts those, that, according to his own doctrine, believe and honour holy scripture, but against it will receive no human interpretation. Them, I say, who interpret scripture to themselves, which, by his position, none but they to themselves can interpret; them, that use the scripture no otherwise, by his own doctrine, to their edification, than he himself uses it to their punishing; and so those whom his doctrine acknowledges true believers, his discipline persecutes as heretics.

To sum up all at this time; if we must believe as Cæsar appoints, why not then as the church believes? But if not as either, without convincement, pray how can force be lawful? Let me recommend one book to you, that of right claims a place with you, and that is, 'Bishop Taylor's, of Liberty of Prophecy;' never answered, that I have heard of, and I have reason to believe never will be attempted; for indeed it is unanswerable. That was the judgment of a doctor under persecution; I could be glad if it might be the practice of bishops in their power: I might say the same of J. Tillotson's sober and seasonable discourse before the Commons on the fifth of November. And, the truth is, I am the more earnest with you at this time, because I find that God daily shows us he has great good-will to poor England. O why should we drive him from us, by our disobedience to him, and our severities to one another! he has lately put a prize into our hands, and continues to pour his favours upon us: all depends upon a sincere reformation, and our perseverance therein.

To give testimony of this, let us with our whole hearts turn to God, and keep his holy law; and let us but be jealous of his glory, by punishing vice, and cherishing virtue, and we may assure ourselves he will interest himself in our safety. Of this we cannot doubt; for he who has begun to do it under our disobedience, will not desert us in our sincere repentance. And as this is our duty to God, without which we vainly hope for deliverance, so is there a duty we owe to one another, that is the next requisite to our preservation.

Let, therefore, all asperities be avoided, nick-names forbidden, and the oppressed protestant delivered. Revive the noble principle of liberty of conscience, on which the reformation rose: for in vain do we hope to be delivered from papists, till we deliver ourselves from popery. This coercion upon conscience, and persecution for religion, are that part of popery which is most justly hated and feared: and if we either fear or hate popery for its cruelty, shall we practise the cruelty we fear or hate it for? God forbid! no, not on those that have used it to us. This were the way to be deserted of God, and left to their cruelty. The same sins will ever fix the same odium, and find the same punishment, wherever they are; yea greater, by how much protestants pretend to better things: if they burnt your ancestors, do not you strip and starve your brethren: remember the many thousands now persecuted in this kingdom, for the sake of their tender and very peaceable consciences; husbands are unlawfully separated from their wives, and parents from their children; their corn, cattle, and houshold stuff swept away, perhaps at the instigation of some lewd and indigent informer, or to please the malice of an ill-disposed neighbour. In the mean time, many, once sufficient, are exposed to charity; the fruits of their honest labour and bread of their poor helpless children being now made the forfeiture of their conscience.

Friends and countrymen, there is a deep doctrine in this providence; examine it well, that you may reap the benefit of it: and, among the rest, let me tell you, this is not the least part of it, that God is shewing you mercy, that you may show mercy, and has awakened you at the brink of the pit, that you may help your brethren out of it; aye, your enemies. Be wise and considerate: it will be much your own fault if you are not happy. And truly I have no manner of scruple but God will preserve us, if we will not cast away ourselves. For our own sins and folly can only direct the hand that seeks to hit and hurt us; and shall we make it successful to our own ruin? Let us therefore turn away

from all impiety; let the magistracy discourage and punish it; let us forbear and love one another. If we begin with God, we shall end with God, and that is with success: else, be assured, we shall only inherit the wind of our own invention, and be deserted of him then, when we shall most want him.

In short, reverence the present providence; and though your lives have not deserved it, let them now be grateful, and not abuse it. Pursue your advantages thoroughly, but wisely; be as temperate as zealous; and to your enemies as generous as just. Insult not over ill men for the sake of their ill principles, but pity their unhappiness, whilst you abhor the cause of it: let them see, that you had rather inform than destroy them, and that you take more pleasure in their conversion, than your own revenge. This will be the greatest confutation upon them, that they be taught the goodness of your religion by the mildness of it; and, by its mercy, the cruelty of their own. The Indian Atabaliba rejected the Romish baptism, because of the Spanish tyranny; whence it was usual with those poor Americans to desire they might not go to heaven if the Spaniards went thither. I know there are little arts used to prevent protestant union, and that in a protestant guise: and it is a trick, not of yesterday, to put one party of protestants upon devouring four or five, that both the protestant church may have the odium of eating or devouring her own children, and that another interest, behind the hangings, may find the more easy and creditable accession to the chair: it is the men of this strain, though under disguise, that now seek to distract you; and to effect it the better, old stories must be had up, acts of oblivion violated, the dead disturbed, their tombs rifled, and they haled out of their graves to receive a new sentence: that condemning the living of that interest by the dead, they might be deserted of those, that, to say true, cannot be long safe without them.

If any thing sober and judicious be proposed for allaying asperities, accommodating differences, and securing to prince and people a just and legal union of interest, as our government requires, we must presently be told of 41, and 42; as if there were a sort of necromancy in the numbers, or that the naming of those figures (long since made cyphers, by an act of oblivion) had power enough to lay the active and generous spirits of our times: but they find themselves mistaken in their black art, and that things, as well as times, are changed; the mask is off, and he that runs may read, *res nolunt malè administrari.*

Men, in their pleas and endeavours for truth, justice, and

sincere religion, will not be overborne or staggered by such stale and trifling reflections, rarely used of late, but to palliate wretched designs, or discredit good ones with men of weak judgment, though perhaps of loyal principles.

I beseech you let us not be unskilful in these tricks, that we may not be mistaken or abused by them: I cannot tell a time in which the minds of all sorts of protestants have been more powerfully and unanimously engaged to endeavour a good understanding between the king and people. And as I am sure it was never more needed, so let me say, no age hath put a richer prize into the hands of men, or yielded a fairer occasion, to fix an happy and lasting union upon: in order to which, let me prevail with you that we may study to improve this great principle as the necessary means to it, viz. 'That God's providence, and our own constitution, have made the interest of prince and people one; and that their peace and greatness lie in a most industrious and impartial prosecution of it.'

Those that teach other doctrine, as that the prince hath an interest apart from the good and safety of the people, are the sole men that get by it; and therefore find themselves obliged to study their misunderstanding, because they only are disappointed and insecured by their union.

Experience truly tells us, that such persons have another interest than that which leads to a common good, and are often but too artificial in interesting princes in the success of it: but prudent and generous princes have ever seen that it is neither safe nor just; and that no kingdom can be governed with true glory and success, but there where the interest of the governor is one with that of the governed, and where there is the strictest care to steer all transactions of state by the fundamentals, or the first and great principles, of their own constitution: especially since swerving from them hath always made way for confusion and misery in government. Our own stories are almost everywhere vexed by this neglect; and those of our neighbours must submit to the same truth.

To conclude, and sum up the whole discourse: if you will both cure present, and prevent future grievances, it will greatly behove you to take a most deliberate and unbiassed view of the present state of things, with their proper causes and tendencies. Let us confront our ecclesiastical matters with the plain text and letter of holy scripture: this is protestant: and let us compare our civil transactions with the ancient laws and statutes of the realm: this is English. And I do humbly and heartily beseech Almighty God, that he would so dispose the hearts of prince and people, as that

firm foundations may be now laid for a just and lasting tranquillity to these nations: and, believe me if you please, unless they are just and equal, they cannot last. Time will prove it, because it always has; and that God is unchangeable in the order and justice of his providence. And since righteousness exalts a nation, and that sin is the shame of any people; therefore will I close with David's prayer, Psal. vii. 9. "O let the wickedness of the wicked come to an end, but establish the just: for the righteous God trieth the hearts and the reins."

AN

APPENDIX

OF THE

CAUSES AND CURE OF PERSECUTION.

I IMPUTE all persecution for religion to these seven ensuing causes; though, properly speaking, there is but one original cause of this evil, and that is the devil; as there is but one original cause of good, and that is God.

I. The first cause of persecution is this, 'That the authors and users of it have little or no religion at heart: they are not subject to the ground and first cause of true religion in their own souls; for it is the part of true religion to humble the mind, break the heart, and soften the affection. It was God himself that said,* "Unto this man will I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembles at my word:" not one that breaks heads, and plunders goods, for religion. "Blessed are they that mourn," said Christ, "they shall be comforted:" but not those that sell Joseph, and make merry. "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of God:" those that are low in their own eyes; not such as devour and damn all but themselves. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth:" such as are gentle, and ready to help, and not tyrannize over neighbours. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy:" what then shall become of those that are cruel, under pretence of doing it for God's sake? "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God:" then disturbers and destroyers of their peaceable neighbours shall not be called so. "Blessed are

*Isa. lxvi. 2.

they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled :" but not those that hunger and thirst after our corn and cattle, houses and land, for conscience sake. "And blessed are you," says Christ, " when men shall revile and persecute you," &c. Then not those that revile and persecute others that are sober and harmless: not one blessing to the conscience-hunting doctrine and practice of him, that devours the widows and orphans for religion. Were men inwardly and truly religious, they would have so low an opinion of themselves, so tender a regard to mankind, so great an awe of Almighty God, as that none of these froward passions would have any sway with them. But the mischief is, unmortified passions pretend to religion; a proud, impatient, arrogant mind would promote it; than which, nothing of man is more remote from it; mistaking the very nature and end of Christ's peaceable religion; which, if the apostle James says true,* is " to visit the fatherless and widow, and keep ourselves unspotted of the world." But, on the contrary, they turn widow and fatherless out of house and home, and spot themselves with the cruelty and injustice of usurping their poor patrimony, the bread of their lives, and sustenance of their natures: such men as these are void of natural affection; their religion has no bowels, or they are without mercy in the profession of it; which is the reverse of true religion, that makes us " love enemies, do good to them that hate us, and pray for them that despitefully use us;"† and so much stronger, in souls truly religious, is the power of love to mankind than any self-revenging passion, that, from an humble and serious reflection upon the mercies and goodness of God to them, they do not only suppress any rising of heart against their persecutors (much more against peaceable dissenters) but, with much softness and charity, commiserate their ignorance and anger; offering to inform them, and praying that they may be forgiven. This is to be religious; and therefore those that persecute for religion any ways, are irreligious.

II. The next cause of persecution, is the gross but general mistake which people are under concerning the nature of the church and kingdom of Christ: for the lamentable worldliness of men's minds hath put them upon those carnal constructions which have made way for all the external coercion and violence, used by bad and suffered by good men, on the score of religion, from the beginning. And no wonder if ordinary persons stumble upon this construction, when the disciples of Jesus showed themselves so ill-read in the mysteries of his kingdom, that after all the intimacy they

* James i. 27. † Mat. v. 44.

had had with him, they refrained not to ask, "When shall the kingdom be restored to Israel?" They looked abroad, had a worldly idea in their minds; Jews-like, they waited for external deliverance from the power of the Romans, rather than an internal salvation from the dominion of Satan; and interpreted those words to worldly loss and freedom, which did relate to the loss and redemption of the soul: but Jesus taught them better things; yet so, as not to deny or flatly discourage and rebuke them; for that, though true, might have been more at that time, than they could have borne; therefore he winds off with them upon the time and the season of the thing; knowing that the time was at hand, that they should be better taught and satisfied of the nature of his kingdom, unto which he referred them. "When the Spirit of Truth comes, it shall lead you into all truth,"* &c.

That the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, has been before observed; and the reason is so great, that all men of common sense must allow it, upon Christ's principle and argument; "for," says he, "then would my servants fight for me:"* truly implying, because the kingdoms of this world are evidently set up and maintained by worldly force, and that he will have no worldly force used in the business of his kingdom, that therefore it is not of this world. Consequently, those that attempt to set up his kingdom by worldly force, or make that their pretence to use it, are none of his servants: they are truly but men of this world; such as seek an earthly, and not an heavenly crown and kingdom: themselves, and not Christ Jesus. Where, by the way, let me observe, that though the Jews, to engage Pilate the more easily to their side, impeached Christ of being an enemy to Cæsar, they were enemies, and he appeared a friend to Cæsar; for he came to reform the lives of men, to make them better subjects; to obey Cæsar, not for fear, but for conscience-sake: a way to make Cæsar's province both easy and safe. But the Jews would have had him Cæsar's enemy; one that should have forcibly rescued them from Cæsar's power: that was what they waited for; a captain-general to head the revolt; and, with an high hand, to overbear and captive Cæsar, as he had done them: and it is more than probable, that this appearance being after quite another manner, and to another end, than they expected, they therefore rejected him; their hearts being set upon the desire of worldly empire.

But to return: Christ told his disciples, that he had "chosen them out of the world:" how, pray? Not to con-

* John xvi. 13. † John xviii. 36.

verse, or live bodily in it? No such matter: but he had chosen or singled them from the nature, spirit, glory, policy, and pomp of this world. How persons, so qualified, can make a worldly church or kingdom, unless they desert Christ's doctrine, is past my skill to tell. So that the capacity that Christians stand in to Christ is spiritual, and not worldly or carnal: and for that reason, not carnal or worldly, but spiritual methods and weapons only, are to be used to inform or reclaim such as are ignorant or disobedient. And if we will give ancient story credit, we shall find that worldly weapons were never employed by the Christian church till she became worldly, and so ceased to be truly Christian.

But why should I say the church? The most abused word in the world! It is her leaders have taught her to err; and that of believing as the church believes, is so far from being true in point of fact, as well as reason, that the church herself has long believed as the clergy, that is, the priest, believed, ever since that sort of men have practised a distinction from, and superiority upon, the laity. He that will peruse the ecclesiastical story, delivered us by Eusebius Pamphilus, Socrates Scholasticus, Evagrius, Ruffinus, Sozomen, and more especially the councils, B. Usher, aye, and Baronius himself, will find but too many and sad instances of the truth of this.

In short, people apprehending the church and kingdom of Christ to be visible and worldly, like other societies and governments, have thought it not only to be lawful, but necessary, to use the arts and force of this world to support his church and kingdom; especially since the interest of religion hath been incorporated with that of the civil magistrate: for from that time he hath been made *custos utriusque tabulæ*; and such as offend, though about church-matters, have been reputed transgresssors against the state, and consequently the state interested in punishing the offence. Whereas had Christians remained in their primitive simplicity and purity, in the self-denying, patient, and suffering doctrine of Christ: Christianity had stood in holy living, and not in worldly regiment; and its compulsion would have been love, its arms reason and truth, and its utmost rigour, even to obstinate enemies or apostates, but renouncing of their communion, and that not till much forbearance and many Christian endeavours had been used to reclaim them.

To sum up all: the kingdoms of this world stand in outward, bodily and civil matters; and here the laws and power of men reach and are effectual. But the kingdom and church of Christ, that is chosen out of the world, stands not in

"bodily exercise," (which the apostle says, "profits little") nor in times nor places, but in faith, and that worship which Christ tells us is "in spirit and in truth."* To this no worldly compulsion can bring or force men; it is only the power of that King of righteousness whose kingdom is in the minds and souls of the just; and he rules by the law of his own free Spirit, which, like the wind, "bloweth where it listeth."† And as without this Spirit of regeneration, no man can be made a member of Christ's church or kingdom, and less a minister, so neither is it in the power of man to command or give it; and consequently all worldly force, employed to make men members of Christ's church and kingdom, is as ineffectual as unnatural. I could be very large upon this point: for it is very fruitful, and so much the cause of persecution, that if there were never another to be asssigned, this were enough; and upon due consideration it must needs meet with every man's judgment and experience. I will here add the sense of memorable Hales of Eton upon this subject.

'When our Saviour, in the Acts, after his resurrection, was discoursing to his disciples concerning the kingdom of God, they presently brake forth into this question, "Wilt thou now restore the kingdom unto Israel?" 'Certainly this question betrays their ignorance: their thoughts still ran upon a kingdom, like unto the kingdoms of the world, notwithstanding they had so long and so often heard our Saviour to the contrary. Our Saviour therefore shortly takes them up, *Non est vestrum*; your question is nothing to the purpose; the kingdom that I have spoken of is another manner of kingdom than you conceive. Sixteen hundred years, *et quod excurrit*, hath the gospel been preached unto the world, and is this stain spunged out yet? I doubt it. Whence arise those novel and late disputes, *de notis ecclesiæ*, of the notes and visibility of the church? Is it not from hence, they of Rome take the world and the church to be like Mercury and Sosia in Plautus, his comedies, so like one another, that one of them must wear a toy in his cap, that so the spectators might distinguish them. Whence comes it, that they stand so much upon state and ceremony in the church? Is it not from hence, that they think that the church must come in like Agrippa and Bernice in the Acts, μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας, as St. Luke speaks, with a great deal of pomp, and train, and show, and vanity? And that the service of God doth necessarily require this noise and tumult of outward state and ceremony? Whence comes it, that we are at our wits end, when we see persecution, and sword, and fire, to

* 1 Tim. iv. 8. John iv. 23, 24. † John iii. 8.

rage against the true professors of the gospel? Is it not because, as these bring ruin and desolation upon the kingdoms of the world, so we suppose they work no other effect in the kingdom of Christ? All these conceits, and many more of the like nature, spring out of no other fountain than that old inveterate error, which is so hardly wiped out of our hearts, that the state of the church and kingdom of Christ, doth hold some proportion, some likeness, with the state and managing of temporal kingdoms. Wherefore to pluck out of our hearts, *opinionem tam insitam, tam vetustam*, a conceit so ancient, so deeply rooted in us, our Saviour spake most excellently, and most pertinently, and most fully, when he tells us that his church, that his kingdom is not of this world.*

'In which words of his, there is contained the true art of discovering and knowing the true nature and essence of the church. For as they which make statues, cut and pare away all superfluities of the matter upon which they work; so our Saviour, to show us the true proportion and features of the church, prunes away the world, and all superfluous excrescences, and sends her to be seen, as he did our first parents in paradise, stark-naked: as those elders in the apocryphal story of Susanna, when they would see her beauty, commanded to take off her mask; so he that longs to see the beauty of the church, must pull off that mask of the world, and outward show. For as Juda, in the book of Genesis, when Thamar sat veiled by the way-side, knew not his daughter from an whore; so whilst the church, the daughter and spouse of Christ, sits veiled with the world, and pomp and show, it will be an hard matter to discern her from an harlot. But yet farther, to make the difference betwixt these kingdoms the more plainly to appear, and so better to fix in your memories, I will briefly touch some of those heads, in which they are most notoriously differenced.

'The first head wherein the difference is seen, are the persons and subjects of this kingdom: for as the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, so the subjects of this kingdom are men of another world, and not of this. Every one of us bears a double person, and accordingly is the subject of a double kingdom: the Holy Ghost, by the Psalmist, divides heaven and earth betwixt God and man, and tells us, as for God, "He is in heaven; but the earth has he given to the children of men:" 'so hath the same Spirit, by the apostle St. Paul, divided every one of our persons into heaven and earth, into an outward and earthly man, and into an inward and heavenly man: this earth, that is, this body of

* John xviii. 36.

clay, hath he given to the sons of men, to the princes under whose government we live; but heaven, that is, the inward and spiritual man, hath he reserved unto himself: they can restrain the outward man, and moderate our outward actions, by edicts and laws; they can tie our hands and our tongues; *illâ se jactet in aulâ Æolus*: thus far they can go; and when they are gone thus far, they can go no farther: but to rule the inward man in our hearts and souls, to set up an impartial throne in our understandings and wills, this part of our government belongs to God and to Christ,: these are the subjects, this the government, of his kingdom. Men may be kings of earth and bodies; but Christ alone is the King of spirits and souls. Yet this inward government hath influence upon our outward actions: for the authority of kings over our outward man is not so absolute, but that it suffers a great restraint; it must stretch no farther than the Prince of our inward man pleases: for if secular princes stretch out the skirts of their authority to command aught by which our souls are prejudiced, the King of souls hath in this case given us a greater command, "That we rather obey God than men."

III. A third great cause of persecution for religion is this, 'That men make too many things necessary to be believed to salvation and communion.' Persecution entered with creed-making: for it so falls out, that those who distinguish the tree in the bulk, cannot with the like ease discern every branch or leaf that grows upon it: and to run out the necessary articles of faith to every good or true thing that the wit of man may deduce from the text, and so too, as that I ought to have a distinct idea or apprehension of every one of them, and must run them over in my mind, as a child would con a lesson by heart, of which I must not miss a tittle upon my salvation; this I think to be a temptation upon men to fall into dispute and division: and then we are taught, by long experience, that he that has most power will oppress his opinion that is weaker; whence comes persecution. This certainly puts unity and peace too much upon the hazard. Mary's choice therefore was not of many things, but the one thing necessary, as Christ, the Lord of the true divinity, terms it, Luke x. 42. And pray what was this one needful thing, but Christ Jesus himself, and her faith, love and obedience in and to him? Here is no perplexed creed to subscribe, no system of divinity to charge the head with: this one needful thing was Mary's choice and blessing: may it be ours! and then I should hope a quick end to controversies, and consequently to persecutions.

IV. Another cause of persecution, is 'The prejudice of

education, and that bias tradition gives to those men, who have not made their religion the religion of their judgment:' for such will forbid all the inquiry which might question the weakness or falsehood of their religion, and had rather be deceived in an honourable descent, than be so uncivil to the memory of their ancestors as to seek the truth; which found, must reprove the ignorance of their ages: of this, the vainest of all honours! they are extremely careful; and at the very mention of any thing, to them new, though as old as truth, and older than this world, are easily urged into a tempest, and are not appeased but by a sacrifice. This ignorance, and want of inquiry, helps on persecution.

V. Another reason, and that no small one, is 'self-love, and impatience of men under contradiction,' be it of ignorance, that they are angry with what they cannot refute, or out of private interest, it matters not: their opinion must reign alone; they are tenacious of their own sense, and cannot endure to have it questioned, be there never so much reason for it. Men of their passions are yet to learn that they are ignorant of religion, by the want they have of mortification; such persons can easily let go their hold on charity, to lay violent hands upon their opposers: if they have power, they rarely fail to use it so; not remembering, that when they absolved themselves from the tie of love, meekness, and patience, they abandoned true religion, and contended not for the faith once delivered to the saints, which stood therein, but for mere words.

It is here that proud flesh, and a capricious head, disputes for religion, and not an humble heart and a divine frame of spirit. Men that are angry for God, passionate for Christ, that can call names for religion, and fling stones for faith, may tell us they are Christians if they will, but nobody would know them to be such by their fruits; to be sure they are no Christians of Christ's making.

I would to God that the disputants of our time did but calmly weigh the irreligiousness of their own heats for religion, and see if what they contend for will quit the cost, will countervail the charge of departing from charity, and making a sacrifice of peace, to gain their point. Upon so seasonable a reflection I am confident they would find that they rather show their love to opinion than truth, and seek victory more than concord.

Could men be contented, as he whom they call their Lord was, to declare their message, and not to strive for proselytes, nor vex for conquest, they would recommend all to the conscience; and, if it must be so, patiently endure

contradiction too, and so lay their religion, as he did his, not in violence, but suffering: but I must freely profess, and in duty and conscience I do it, that I cannot call that religion, which is introduced against the laws of love, meekness, and friendship: superstition, interest, or faction, I may.

There is a zeal without knowledge; that is superstition: there is a zeal against knowledge; that is interest or faction, the true heresy: there is a zeal with knowledge; that is religion: therefore blind obedience may be superstition, it cannot be religion; and if you will view the countries of cruelty, you shall find them superstitious rather than religious. Religion is gentle, it makes men better, more friendly, loving, and patient, than before. And the success which followed Christianity, whilst the ancient professors of it betook themselves to no other defence, plainly proves both the force of those passive arguments above all corporal punishments, and that we must never hope for the same prosperity, till we fall into the same methods, Gal. v. 22. James iii. 17. Are men impatient of having their conceits owned? They are then most to be suspected. Error and superstition, liked cracked titles, only fear to be searched, and run and cry for authority and number. Truth is plain and stedfast, without arts or tricks: will you receive her? well; if not, there is no compulsion. But pray tell me, what is that desired uniformity that has not unity, and that unity, which has not love, meekness, and patience in it? I beseech you hear me; for those men depart from the spirit of Christianity that seek with anger and frowardness to promote it. Let us not put so miserable a cheat upon ourselves, nor such an affront upon Christianity, as to think that a most gentle and patient religion can be advanced by most ungentle and impatient ways. I should sooner submit to an humble opposition, than to the greatest zealot in the world; and rather deliver up myself to him that would modestly drop a controverted truth, than to such as seek tempestuously to carry it: for even error, bashfully and patiently defended, endangers truth, in the management of imprudent and hasty zeal; and gives to it that lustre, which only good eyes can see from gold. Alas! it is for want of considering that men do not see, that to disorder the mind in controversy is a greater mischief, than to carry the point can be a benefit; inasmuch as it is not to be religious to apprehend rightly, but to do well: the latter can scarcely be without the former, but the former often is without the latter; which brings me to my sixth cause of persecution.

VI. Another, and that no small cause of persecution, is a

'misapprehension of the word religion.' For when once the ignorance or prejudice of men has persuaded them to lay more weight upon their own opinion, or dissent of their neighbours, than in truth the thing will bear, to excuse their zeal, or justify their spleen or credit, they presently heighten the difference to a new religion; whence we so frequently hear of such reflections as these, new gospels and faiths, upstart religions and lights, and with the like scarecrows they amuse the vulgar, and render their own design of ruining honest men the more practicable. But I would obviate this mischief; for a new religion has a new foundation, and consequently where there is the same foundation, there cannot be a new religion. Now the foundation of the Christian religion is Christ; and that only is another religion than the Christian which professes another foundation, or corruptly adds to that foundation; by adding of other mediators, and introducing a new way of remission of sin: which, at least, cannot be said of the several sorts of protestants. For protestants therefore to reproach each other with new religions and gospels; and by their indecent and unchristian behaviour to inflame their own reckoning, and draw into more discord, is a sin against God, an injury to the common cause of protestancy, and to the security of the civil interest of that country, where the inhabitants are of that religion, as well as a real injustice to one another: for protestants do not only agree in the same fundamentals of Christianity, but of protestancy too; that is, in the reasons of separation from Rome, which was also Christian. Let not every circumstantial difference or variety of cult be nicknamed a new religion; neither suffer so ill an use to be made of such dissents, as to carry them beyond their true bounds: for the meaning of those arts of ill men, is to set the people farther off from one another than they really are, and so aggravate differences in judgment to contrariety in affection: and when they have once inflamed them to variance and strife, nothing can hinder persecution but want of power; which being never wanted by the strongest side, the weakest, though truest, is oppressed, not by argument, but worldly weapons.

VII. The seventh and last cause I shall now assign for persecution is this, 'That holy living is become no test among us, unless against the liver.' The tree was once known by its fruits: it is not so now: the better liver, the more dangerous, if not a conformist, and so the more in danger; and this has made way for persecution. There was a time, when virtue was venerable, and good men admired; but that is too much derided, and opinion carries it.

He that can persuade his conscience to comply with the times, be he vicious, knavish, cowardly, any thing, he is protected, perhaps preferred. A man of wisdom, sobriety and ability to serve his king and country, if a dissenter, must be blown upon for a fanatic, a man of faction, of disloyal principles, and what not?

Rewards and punishments are the magistrate's duty, and the government's interest and support. Rewards are due to virtue, punishments to vice. Let us not mistake nor miscall things; let virtue be what it always was in government; good manners, sober and just living; and vice, ill manners and dishonest living. Reduce all to this: let such good men have the smiles and rewards, and such ill men the frowns and punishments of the government: this ends persecution, and lays opinion to sleep. Ill men will make no more advantages by such conformity, nor good men no more suffer for want of it.

In short, as that religious society deserves not the protection of the civil government, which is inconsistent with the safety of it; so those societies of Christians that are not only not destructive of the civil government, but lovers of it, ought, by the civil government, to be secured from ruin.

God Almighty open our understandings and hearts, and pour out the spirit of thorough reformation upon us; for it is in the spirit, and not in the words of reformation, that the life and prosperity of reformation stands; that so we may be all conscientiously disposed to seek and pursue those things which make for love, peace, and godliness, that it may be well with us and ours, both here and for ever.

> "For yet a little while and the wicked shall not be; yea, thou shalt diligently consider his place, and it shall not be: but the meek shall inherit the earth, and shall delight themselves in abundance of peace. The wicked plotteth against the just, and gnasheth upon him with his teeth; the Lord shall laugh at him; for he seeth that his day is coming." Psal. xxxvii. 10, 11, 12, 13.

The Judgment of King James and King Charles the First, about Persecution for Religion.

We find it asserted by king James, in his speech to the parliament in the year 1609, 'That it is a pure rule in divinity, that God never loves to plant his church with violence and blood.' And he furthermore said, 'It was usu-

ally the condition of Christians to be persecuted, but not to persecute.'

And we find the same things in substance asserted again by his son, king Charles the first, in his book known by the name of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, printed for R. Royston, as followeth:

Page 67. In his prayer to God, he said, 'Thou seest how much cruelty, amongst Christians, is acted under the colour of religion; as if we could not be Christians, unless we crucify one another.'

Page 28. 'Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religion.'

Page 70. 'Nor is it so proper to hew out religious reformations by the sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations, among those that are most concerned in the differences; whom not force, but reason ought to convince.'

'Sure, in matters of religion, those truths gain most upon men's judgments and consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens truth with prejudices.'

Page 115. 'It being an office not only of humanity, rather to use reason than force; but also of Christianity, to seek peace and ensue it.'

Some Words of Advice from King Charles the First, to the then Prince of Wales, now King of England, &c.

Page 165. 'My counsel and charge to you is, that you seriously consider the former real or objected miscarriages, which might occasion my troubles, that you may avoid them,' &c.

'Beware of exasperating any faction, by the crossness and asperity of some men's passions, humours, and private opinions, employed by you, grounded only upon differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of religion, wherein a charitable connivance, and Christian toleration, often dissipates their strength, when rougher opposition fortifies, and puts the despised and oppressed party into such combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their persecutors.'

Page 166. 'Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of religion devour not all.'

Saul Smitten to the Ground:

BEING

A BRIEF BUT FAITHFUL NARRATIVE

OF

The Dying Remorse of a late living Enemy to the People called Quakers, and their Faith and Worship,

MATTHEW HIDE.

Attested by Eye and Ear Witnesses, whereof his Widow is one.

Published, in Honour to God, for a Warning to Gainsayers, and a confirmation to the Honest-hearted.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

both to Foes and Friends, on this Occasion.

BY WILLIAM PENN.

"Surely after that I was turned, I repented; and after that I was instructed, I smote upon my thigh; I was ashamed, yea, even confounded."—Jer. xxxi.

Published in the Year 1675.

WHEREAS after near twenty years public opposition, made by Matthew Hide, against the people called Quakers, and their principle of the light within, in their public assemblies, chiefly in and about London, it hath pleased the Lord immediately and secretly to smite and awaken him in his conscience, and to bring the burden of his iniquity upon him a few days before his death (though he was not the worst of open opposers and disturbers) so that he was necessitated to make a solemn confession thereof, and unto the truth, in the presence of Almighty God, and several of the said people, his wife, and some others, before he could quietly or with satisfaction depart this life: this is given out as a true and faithful narrative of his last and dying words, as a testimony for God's truth and people, against all apostates, gainsayers and opposers thereof, that such may take warning, for whom there yet remains a place of repentance.

THE NARRATIVE.

On the 19th of the 12th month, 1675, Cotton Oades, hearing that Matthew Hide was willing to speak to some of our friends, called Quakers, went to him, and told him, if he had any thing to say, to clear himself, he might speak; seeing he had opposed friends in their declarations and prayers.

M. Hide signified thus much, 'That he was sorry for what he had done; for they were the people of God.'

C. Oades asked him, if he had any thing in his mind to any particular friends; nominating G. Whitehead, and W. Gibson, or any other; and whether he would be willing any of them should be sent for?

M. Hide replied, 'As many as please may come.'

Whereupon Cotton Oades presently sent for George Whitehead, who accordingly went with the messenger to visit Matthew Hide after the ninth hour in the night. So the said George Whitehead, Cotton Oades, and John Ball, near the tenth hour in the night, visited Matthew Hide on his sick bed, though so weak, that it was very hard for him to utter words, yet these were understood from him, when spoken to, as followeth: C. O. told him, 'Here is George Whitehead come to see thee, Matthew.'

G. W. 'I am come in love and tenderness to see thee.'

M, Hide. I am glad to see you.

G. W. 'If thou hast any thing on thy conscience to speak, I would have thee to clear thy conscience.'

M. Hide. What I have to say, I speak in the presence of God: as Paul was a persecutor of the people of the Lord, so have I been a persecutor of you, his people, as the world are, who persecute the children of God; (with more words, which then could not be understood.)

G. W. 'Thy understanding being darkened, when darkness was over thee, thou hast gainsayed the truth and people of the Lord; and I knew that that Light, which thou opposedst, would rise up in judgment against thee: I have often, with others, laboured with thee, to bring thee to a right understanding.'

M. Hide. This I declare, in the presence of God, and of you here, I have done evil in persecuting you, who are the children of God, and I am sorry for it: the Lord Jesus Christ show mercy unto me, and the Lord increase your number, and be with you!

G. W. (after some pause) 'I would have thee, if thou art able to speak, to ease thy conscience as fully as thou

canst: my soul is affected to hear thee thus confess thy evil, as the Lord hath given thee a sense of it. In repentance, there is mercy and forgiveness; in confessing and forsaking sin, there is mercy to be found with the Lord; who in the midst of judgment remembers mercy, that he may be feared.' (The said M. H. being then much oppressed, striving for breath, and lying on his back, so that it was very hard for him to speak, G. W. got John Ball to turn him on one side, that he might the better speak.)

M. Hide. I have done evil in opposing you in your prayers: the Lord be merciful unto me! and as I have been an instrument to turn many from God, the Lord raise up many instruments to turn many to him!

G. W. (after some silence) 'I desire thou mayst find mercy and forgiveness at the hand of the Lord. How is it with thy soul? Dost not thou find some ease?'

M. Hide. I hope I do: and if the Lord should lengthen my days, I should be willing to bear a testimony for you, as publicly as I have appeared against you.

(His wife then said, 'It is enough; what can be desired more?')

G. W. 'If the Lord should not lengthen out thy days, dost thou desire what thou sayest should be signified to others?'

M. Hide. Yes, I do; you may; I have said as much as I can say.

G. W. (after some silence) 'If this company be wearisome unto thee, I think we may withdraw.'

M. H. You may use your freedom.

G. W. 'I shall leave thee to the Lord, desiring he may show mercy and forgiveness unto thee, as I hope he will.'

M. Hide. The Lord be with your spirits.

These things were expressed about two hours before his death, in the presence of George Whitehead, John Ball, Cotton Oades, George Browne, and the wife of Matthew Hide, and some others.

It is to be observed, before some of the people called Quakers came to him, I, perceiving him to be much troubled in his mind, asked him, 'If he would speak with any of those people?' He smote his hand upon his breast, and said, 'With all my heart.' I asked him again, 'If he would speak with some of the Quakers.' And he smote his hand upon his breast, and said 'with all my soul;' so some were invited to come. Again, after they had been with him, he did oftentimes desire, 'that he might live till morning; it being the first-day of the week; and that he might bear, on that day, a

testimony for the truth, he had on that day so often opposed.' He also said, 'He had since found some ease to his spirit.' And I being a silver-spinster, and he understanding that I wrought to people that were great in the world, he took me by the hand, and did press it much upon me, that I should use the plain language, as thee, and thou; and if they would not receive it, I should let my trade go.' And after some more words to this purpose spoken by him, in a good understanding, he stretched himself out, and died very quietly.

To the substance of this relation concerning my husband's expressions, on his death-bed, concerning the people called Quakers, I was an ear-witness, and Mary Fooks too.

Elizabeth Hide.
Mary Fooks.

To all atheistical, persecuting, and contentious opposers of the universal light of Jesus in the conscience, and particularly those that are disturbers and vilifiers of them that believe in him, at their public meetings to worship God, according to the illumination and motion of that blessed principle.

To you all a warning, in the name and fear of God, that you leave off your vain thoughts, your chaffy, loose, and unsavoury words, and rebellious practices, against the light of Jesus in your own consciences; and that you dread any more to revile, backbite, disturb, or slander his poor people, that have believed in him, and that follow him according to the shinings of his blessed light in their hearts: speak not evilly of that you do not know; much less go you on to kick against those pricks in your own consciences, as Saul did, lest you become entirely hardened in your gainsayings, and the Lord God cut you off in his sore displeasure. O that you would consider your latter end, and repent, you vain mortal men! for you know not how soon that dismal trump may overtake any of you, 'Are ye ready? Are ye prepared? Have you the wedding garment? Are you of them that have suffered with him, being dead and buried to self-will, pride, envy, revenge, and the lusts of this ungodly world, and risen with him in the life, glory, and raiment of the resurrection?' If so, where are your fruits? If you are not, (as ye are not, I affirm in God's name) then where is your authority for these evil fruits you bring forth, scoffing, mocking, jangling, disturbing and bawling against us, stirring up the scum of the multitude to abuse us? Consider, before it be too late, who is your master in all these things, and whose servants you are, in whose name and errand you

go, and what spirit sets you thus to work against so glorious a principle, and so harmless a people, who not being contented with lifeless worships, human faiths, and mere traditional religions, cry to the God of heaven to appear and operate in their hearts, and teach them, by his own Holy Spirit, to be his disciples and children, according to his promise, yea, though it cross the world's life, spirit, customs and fashions; and therefore cannot longer serve God in the oldness of the letter, by mere imitation, or, after the manner of the loose Christians of this world, only with outside performances, but "in the newness of the spirit, in the immediate leading and guidings of the Holy Ghost," according to Rom. viii. 14. though they were never so much made a reproach and by-word, and be encompassed about with loss and danger. I say, have a care of resisting, reviling and disturbing these poor people, these believers, these asserters, these followers and children, of the light of Jesus, begotten again of the everlasting day of righteousness, lest you treasure up wrath against the day of wrath, and the revelation of the righteous fierce judgments of God, and your portion be appointed you in that day with the workers of iniquity for ever.

And as I warn you to forsake your vain, frothy, envious, and contentious courses, so do I exhort you, in God's fear, to unfeigned repentance; and invite you, in love, to the true peace of conscience, even that conscience which is sprinkled from unbelief, hatred, malice, and all ungodliness, which is only obtained by an humble and sincere walking in the light of the Son of God, as I John i. taking heed to, and not despising, this holy and spiritual appearance of Christ within, to dethrone Satan, and destroy sin, and to bring in his own everlasting righteousness, as the Jews did Jesus, whom they only knew after the flesh, crying out, "Is not this the carpenter's son? this fellow; and if thou art the Christ, or Son of God, show us a sign, and tell who smites thee, and come off from the cross, and save thyself." I say, cavil not thus at the light of Christ in your consciences; despise not his sufficiency with your carnal mind, neither turn his grace, mercy, and forbearance into a profane presumption, and bold tempting of the living God; for then very woful will your end be. Behold, read, ponder, and meditate on the latter end of this poor man! let his case be both a warning and visitation, to all that oppose the light of Christ within, and the children of it, that you may consider your latter end, find mercy, and be saved. When I read the narrative of his dying condition, O my heart was much broken before the Lord; and I could not but reverently magnify his glorious power, mercy, and truth, that had

wrought so strange, so great, and so blessed a work for his name's defence, his people's vindication, and, I hope, for the poor man's soul too! O let him have the glory for ever; for who is like unto him, in heaven or in earth, whose goings are in the deep, and whose ways are past finding out, but in his own time!

And truly, pity rose in my soul towards all you whose day is not over, and a secret strong groan to God, that you might all see your folly, and repent, before you go hence, and be no more seen.

This man I have known many years, being one whom he hath often opposed in public meetings. His main stroke was against the doctrine of "Christ, the true light, enlightening every man that comes into the world, with a divine and saving light:" the sufficiency and universality of this to salvation, he constantly and resolutely withstood; not furiously, madly, and frothily, like outrageous mockers; as some still too evidently and frequently show themselves against us; but with great external sobriety and gravity, as as well as zeal; reasoning, after his manner, and not bawling against us. Nor was his conversation scandalous, but honest and exemplary in worldly things towards men, for aught that I ever heard upon inquiry. So that his present convictions, as they were not the effect of any affrighting discourse, insinuations, or besetments of ours in his sickness, neither could they be interpreted to be any trouble for a dissolute life, in which he might be thought to condemn himself generally and confusedly: nor yet did his remorse only arise from the way of his opposing us, as if he still retained his judgment; but the very ground of the whole trouble and exercise of spirit, for which he was willing to see any of us, and utter the foregoing pathetical expressions, 'was his gainsaying us, the people called Quakers, in the way of our faith and worship;' and so much his own words testify. Let all take heed of the reviling thief's state upon the cross, lest they enter not into the paradise of God for ever.

And now, my dearly beloved friends and brethren, who have hearkened to the holy reproofs of this instructing light of Jesus in the conscience, and by it been redeemed from the wickedness of this world, and taught in deep and heavenly things, and made, through your cheerful obedience, to partake in measure of the great salvation of God, though it hath been through very many bitter exercises, and deep tribulations of body and spirit; O! what cause have you to keep covenant with the Lord, to abide in your heavenly habitation, in a living faith, stedfast hope, and constant

patience to the end; casting your care upon him, and committing your cause and concerns to him, who is not only able, but willing and ready, to succour you, and maintain the glory of his own famous and honourable name, deeply concerned in you. O! let us dwell with him for ever, that his Holy Spirit may more and more enliven us, his power strengthen us, and his great wisdom conduct us through the work of our day: it is true, "that many are the troubles of the righteous," but, blessed be our God for ever, "he will as certainly deliver out of them all."

And though we want not the evidence of his Holy Spirit, that his own right arm gathered us, and that we are his people, bought by his blood, redeemed by his power, and made partakers of his divine life; yet it ought to be no small evidence of the Lord's goodness, and therefore both matter of comfort and confirmation to us, that he hath constrained a testimony to his own blessed light within, and us his poor despised people, (that have believed in it, and, above all the families of the earth, contended and suffered for it) out of the mouth of an old and constant opposer of both, and that upon his dying-bed too, when no fears nor flatteries, no gains nor temptations from men, justly can be thought to have prevailed upon him, but the powerful workings only of that very light he had so long resisted: this smote him in secret; this made his dying-bed uneasy, and proved its own sufficiency upon him, awakening his conscience, opening his understanding, breaking his heart, and drawing a very plain, tender, and sincere confession from his mouth! O blessed be the name of our God for ever, who is a God glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, working wonders for them that commit their cause to him.

And whatever were his provocations to us, I can say it, in the fear of God, my heart was much more filled with pity than displeasure towards him; and this very repentance is both an effectual answer of my prayers, and a plain accomplishment of my prophecy, with some more of my brethren: for as I often earnestly, and more than ordinarily of late, desired of the Lord this poor man's convincement and repentance, and that with an unusual tenderness of spirit, even when he was strong in his gainsayings; so have I frequently told him, in the name of God, and presence of many people, at our meetings, (when he came on purpose to withstand us) 'That God would plead with him, by his righteous judgments; and that the time would come, wherein he should be forced to confess to the sufficiency of that light he then opposed; and to acknowledge that God was with us, of a truth:' all which, blessed be the name of the Lord, is ful-

filled, by the foregoing narrative; where he confesseth himself a Saul, desires forgiveness, testifies to us that we are the Lord's people, and prays for our increase. Thus hath our God vindicated his glorious name.

Nor do I insist on this so much, as if we had been hitherto barren of the like instances that might encourage us; for a great volume would not contain what we could say, of the living and dying testimonies given by great and harsh opposers to this blessed way of God we are turned unto: but forasmuch as this man was so lately, and so publicly, a gainsayer, and so generally known of those that frequent our meetings to have been such; and for that it was his own desire, as well as that the case is extraordinary, and that the Lord's honour, and many men's souls, are concerned, therefore is this published. And I pray God, with my whole soul and spirit, that it may be a warning to all opposers, of what sort soever, that they gainsay not themselves into eternal destruction (for none of their weapons shall ever prosper; the Lord hath said it;) but that they may turn unto the light of Jesus in their own hearts, and follow the reproofs and instructions of it, "whose ways are ways of purity, and all his paths are peace;" for he visits the creatures to lead out of sin, which is the only cause of trouble: and my desire farther is, that we who have believed therein, may keep covenant, stand our ground, and not again turn unto folly. O! have a care of a slothful mind; that which can sit at home and censure, but is not diligent in the work of the Lord: let us go on, and press forward, towards the glorious recompense. This keeps in the universal spirit, out of murmurings and grudgings, and herein shall we prosper, and be preserved for ever: and let this be the godly use we make of this great obligation which the Lord hath now eminently laid upon us, to watch and persevere, that we may hold out to the end, and give no just occasion to any to speak evil of this blessed way of the Lord, that hath so signally been borne witness to, (even by such as have spoken evil of it) when they came to die; as this narrative (though briefly, yet fully) proves.

And as to the persecution that now threatens, you know this, it comes all from the same root; and he that drew a testimony from this opposer (and persecutor, as he confesseth he was), will, in due time, give witness to his holy way, and you his people, from the consciences of your persecutors, as you know full well he hath frequently done in divers places of this nation. Therefore never heed it, neither be ye moved at it, but be of good cheer; for the shout of an immortal king is amongst us, who is the only Sacred Majesty,

Dread Sovereign, King, Prince, and Lord of conscience, and no mortal man whatever: for he only can be Lord of conscience, who is greater than conscience, and author of conscience; but that no man is, because conscience is the chiefest part that constitutes that man; therefore no man can be Lord of conscience. And be it known to all powers on earth, it is this great Lord that hath reached to your souls, even Israel's God: wherefore keep you with him, hearken to his holy voice, and obey it diligently unto all holiness, and all shall go well with you in the end: "say unto the righteous, it shall go well with them; but say unto the wicked, it shall go ill with them:" this God gave his prophet in charge of old, and it stands true to our day, and shall while a good and a bad man live upon the earth.

You know, my brethren, in whom you have believed, and have good experience of his power and faithfulness: call to mind his noble acts, and valiant deeds, his great salvation in all ages; how sure, how ready, how willing, and how able he hath been to deliver our ancestors; and you know he is the same now at this day: trust there for ever; for "he is greater that is in you, than he that is in the world;" and I know assuredly that all these things shall work together for good, to them that keep in the faith, the royal faith, the victorious faith, that faith that stands all trials, and surmounts all temptations, and, through patient sufferings, triumphs over rage, darkness, and the grave: it is this exceeding precious faith, that makes the good Christian, the good man, the good subject, and keeps man's conscience void of offence towards God and all men; and as we keep it, of right may we say, "The Lord is our light, whom should we fear? The Lord is the strength of our life, of whom should we be afraid?" O! those that flee before informers, and run at the sight of persecutors (yea, though an army of them) either never had, or have parted from, this noble faith, which is pure confidence in God, and intire resignation to his divine will, come what will come. Christ will not have one coward in his spiritual army: "Fear not what man can do unto you," was a great part of his instruction to his disciples, the pilgrim preachers of his holy gospel to the world: but consulters with flesh and blood, those that use base stratagems to save themselves, that will not abide the day, but slink from the shock of sufferings, and hide in stormy times, they betray God's prerogative, conscience's liberty, fling up the cause, and bring a spot upon conscientious separation; such shall become an abhorrence, and utter detestation, in the sight of the pure jealous God, and all good people.

My brethren, I hope that few or none of these will be found amongst us: howbeit, these things may be permitted for a winnowing, that many may be proved, that so their integrity may be the better manifested; for a sincere, holy, and self-denying people, God will have to delight himself in: "Blessed are they whose God is the Lord, and whose trust is in him for ever, for they shall never be moved."

Into his blessed care and protection, with myself, do I commit you all; and the Lord of heaven and earth preserve us all in his holy fear, love, and patience, to the end. Amen.

WILLIAM PENN.

TO THE

CHILDREN OF LIGHT

IN THIS

GENERATION,

Called of God to be Partakers of Eternal Life in Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God, and Light of the World.

Published in the Year 1678.

My endeared Friends and Brethren,

MANY days and weeks, yea, some months, hath my heart been heavy, and my soul unusually sad, for the sake of this nation, the land of our nativity! For I have not only long beheld with a grieved eye, the many abominations and gross impieties that reign therein, the lusts, pleasures, wantonness, drunkenness, whoredoms, oaths, blasphemies, envy, treachery, and persecution of the just, but for some time I have had a deep sense that the overflowing scourge of God's wrath and indignation was just ready to break out upon the people, confusion, amazement, and misery! The weight of which has caused me to cry within myself, 'Who shall save us? who shall deliver us? Are there none to stay the stroke? To blunt the edge? To stop the fury, and intercede for the people, and mediate for this poor land, that the Lord may not utterly depart, and take his glory and his name from it, and make it a desolation for the wild beasts of the field, and fowls of the air; a land of judgment, and not of promise; of curses, and not of blessings.'

My friends, whilst the sense of this distress, that is coming as a dreadful visitation from the hand of the displeased God, upon this ungodly land, to stain its glory, bring down its pride, and punish its forgetfulness of the Lord, and his many deliverances, lay so heavy upon my spirit, the Lord presented before me all the truly conscientious and well-inclined people in these nations; and more especially you, his despised, but chosen generation, for whose sake he would yet

have mercy. And, in the midst of his judgments, this I recived for you from the Lord, as his holy will and counsel; and it often sprung in my heart, with a fresh and strong life,

To thy Tents, O Israel!
To thy Tents, O Israel!
God is thy Tent; to thy God, O Israel!

Prepare, O friends, to stand in this day before the Lord (that is in the first place) for ye also shall have your exercise: yea, great is that work which ye have to do for the Lord, by his powerful but very peaceable Spirit; for God will, by all these hurries, confusions, and vexations that are at the door, drive people from their false gods, and bring them home to himself. He will throw down wickedness, and establish righteousness: he will waste sin, but truth shall grow. He will debase the mountain of empty profession, but the "mountain of his holiness shall be exalted." He hath determined to raise up, and renown, the seed of light, life, and truth, in the hearts of people: holy patience, meekness, wisdom, love, faith, purity, and perseverance (so much wanting in the world) shall be seen to dwell in it, and only to come from it. And my witness is, That ye are the people, through whom this heavenly seed of righteousness must clearly and stedfastly so shine unto others in these uneven and rough times that are come, and coming, as that your heavenly Father may be glorified by you.

Wherefore, in the name of the Lord, be ye all disencumbered of the world, and discharged of the cares of it: fly, as for your lives, from the snares therein, and get you into your watch tower, the name of the Lord! Which is not a dead name, or a mere literal name, but a living, spiritual, and very powerful name; a strong tower indeed, yea, an invincible fortress; where dwell ye with God, and in him who speaketh peace to his children, and ordains quietness for them that trust in him. He will make you to lie down safely, even then when darkness and confusion shall be thick about you; yea, ye shall live in the fire, that will consume the stubble of the world, and your garments shall not be so much as singed; for the Son of God, whom the flames, as well as winds and seas, obey, will be in the midst of you.

Next, friends, this know; we are the people, above all others, that must stand in the gap, and pray for the putting away of the wrath, so as that this land be not made an utter desolation; and God expects it at our hands. Prepare ye therefore to meet and sanctify the Lord in his coming and

judgments! Why stand any of you gazing? Let none gaze or look out, I beseech you; that is the enemy's work, to weaken you within; but be ye retired, be ye centered in the Eternal One: and meditate upon the Lord, and his living pure law, that ye may be wise in heart, and travail in spirit for this poor land, and that for enemies as well as friends. The Lord is ready to hear you for this people, when you are ready to intercede: and I testify, Abraham is amongst you, God's friend, and his just Lot too; yea, Jacob that prevailed; and one that is greater than all, Jesus, the Lamb of God, whose blood speaketh better things than that of Abel, in whom is the mediation and atonement. Be therefore encouraged to wait upon the Lord, and to bow before him, and humbly to mediate, in the life of Jesus, with him: I know he will put it in your hearts so to do, if ye wait upon him; for he will not cast off this land, as he did Sodom; he hath a right seed, a noble people in it, that he hath and yet will gather: many sheep there be, not yet of our fold, whom he will bring in; and the foul weather and the storms will but help to drive them home to Jesus, the living and true witness, and light within; that he, whom God hath ordained to reign, may be great in them.

And lastly, my dear friends and brethren, by how much this day draws nigh, by so much the more do ye stand loose in your affections to the world, but fast in the faith; and assemble yourselves together, and let God arise in you, and his power and spirit of life among you, that ye may not only wrestle, but in the end prevail, that it may be seen that "salvation is of the Jews," the Jews inward, in spirit and in truth: and truly the time hastens, that "ten shall take hold of the skirt of such a Jew; and they shall be saved." But wo to the hypocrite in that day, the formalist, the Jew outward, the circumcision in the flesh, and fleshly Christian, that cannot resist the temptations of this world; the temporiser; one that runs with the tide; he will be divided: for there will be more tides, more interests on foot at once, than one: wherefore perplexity will take hold on him, his policy will be confounded; he will not know what to do to be safe, nor what to join with; this "double-minded man" will be unstable in his counsels and in his actions, his sandy foundation will be shaken. Therefore, as I said, Wo to the hypocrite, and to the covetous man too, for his god will fail him; the thief, the moth and rust will invade his bags, and surprize his treasure: his anguish will be great in this day: but, my dear brethren, as the power and spirit of our Lord God will preserve and establish us, if we sincerely and entirely confide therein, and that above our solicitation, or

need of carnal consultation or contrivances, which we have therefore laid aside; so shall it vindicate us, in due time, in the eyes of all nations, and present us a people owned, beloved, and protected of God, in whom we have firmly believed. Nor is this presumption, as some may think: who being not so well acquainted with that entire resignation, and supreme faith (of which Jesus is the Author) that removes mountains into the sea, conclude, from mere natural and human considerations, against us; yet we know him in whom we have believed; and the same that hath cured us of our diseases, the same said unto us, "Arise, and walk in this way of faith; trust in me, and not in another." And truly, this is much of that wonder which men shall have in their minds and mouths about us in those latter days; 'In troubles not to be dejected, and in jeopardies not to be concerned to make to ourselves defences:' as the lilies, that neither toil nor spin, yet feed and grow, so we may both be preserved, and become victorious, without worldly force or projections: for we must show ourselves to be that little city and hill of God, that hath only his salvation for our walls and bulwarks; by whom he will renown his arm, and magnify his power, above the arts and contrivances of men. Our weapons and our armour is spiritual; it hath prevailed, and it will prevail, if we keep in the "faith which was first delivered to us:" a blessed shield, by which the just live.

And therefore, my dear friends, let us be careful not to mingle with the crowd, lest their spirit enter us, instead of our spirit entering them, and we thereby come to fall into the same temptations they are liable to, of fear, and flying to the hills and mountains to protect them, confiding in the arm of flesh to deliver them: no, no; they must come to us, we must not go to them. Yet can we not be insensible of their infirmities, as well as we shall not be free from some of their sufferings; we must make their case as our own, and travail alike in spirit for them as for ourselves. Let us stand in the counsel of our God, and he will make us preachers forth to them of the works of his divine power, and the virtue of that faith which comes from heaven; yea, he will make us as saviours to the people, that they may come to know the holy law and word of the Lord, their Creator, in their hearts, and have their minds and souls turned to him, and stayed upon him, that iniquity may no more abound, nor ungodliness find a place; but that in truth, righteousness, and peace, they may be established, and the land keep its sabbath to the Lord for ever! Then shall God lift up the "light of his countenance upon us,"

and water us from heaven, and bless us with all temporal and spiritual blessings; and we shall be yet called, "The island saved by the Lord." Amen, Amen.

This was upon my soul from God to you: I could not visit you all with a distinct message upon many accounts: besides, the time is short, and the confusion appears to me to be at hand: therefore have I sent it by way of epistle, with the brotherly salutation of unfeigned and unalterable love to you all, in your respective meetings and families. And the Lord God of our visitation and redemption, stir you up to these things, and keep us all in his holy fear, wisdom, love and patience, through all those travails and exercises, to the end of our days; that having finished our testimonies, our heads may go down to the grave in peace, and our souls be received into the rest which is reserved for the righteous with God, and with his blessed Lamb for ever.

I am,

Your brother and companion through the many tribulations of our day and testimony,

W. PENN.

Worminghurst in Sussex, the 4th of the 9th month, 1678.

I desire that this epistle may be read, in the fear of the Lord, in your several meetings.

ENGLAND'S GREAT INTEREST

IN THE

CHOICE

OF THIS

NEW PARLIAMENT.

Dedicated to all her Freeholders and Electors.

Published in the Year 1679.

Since it hath pleased God and the king to begin to revive and restore to us our ancient right of frequent parliaments, it will greatly concern us, as to our present interest, and therein the future happiness of our posterity, to act at this time with all the wisdom, caution, and integrity we can. For besides that it is our own business, and that if, by a neglect of this singular opportunity, we desert ourselves, and forsake our own mercies, we must expect to be left of God, and good men too. It may be there has never happened, not only in the memory of the living, but in the records of the dead, so odd and so strange a conjuncture as this we are under. It is made up of so many unusual and important circumstances (all affecting us to the very heart) that whether we regard the long sitting of the late parliament, or its abrupt and most unexpected dissolution, or the prorogation of the last, and its surprising dissolution, or the strong jealousies of the people, and that universal agitation that is now upon the spirit of the nation, and the reasons and motives thereof (so far as we can reach them) there seems never to have been a time, wherein this kingdom ought to show itself more serious and diligent in the business of its own safety.

To be plain with you, all is at stake: and therefore I must tell you, that the work of this parliament is,

First, To pursue the discovery and punishment of the plot: for that has been the old snake in the grass, the Trojan horse, with an army in the belly of it.

Secondly, To remove, and bring to justice, those evil counsellors, and corrupt and arbitrary ministers of state,

that have been so industrious to give the king wrong measures, to turn things out of their ancient and legal channel of administration, and alienate his affections from his people.

Thirdly, To detect and punish the pensioners of the former parliament, in the face of the kingdom: this breach of trust being treason against the fundamental constitution of our government.

Fourthly, To secure to us the execution of our ancient laws by new ones; and, among the rest, such as relate to frequent parliaments, the only true check upon arbitrary ministers, and therefore feared, hated, and opposed by them.

Fifthly, That we be secured from popery and slavery, and that protestant dissenters be eased.

Sixthly, That, in case this be done, the king be released from his burdensome debts to the nation, and eased in the business of his revenue. And let me be free with you, if you intend to save poor England, you must take this general measure, viz. 'To guide and fix your choice upon men, that you have reason to believe are well-affected, able, and bold, to serve the country in these respects.'

The words of the writ, (at least the import of them) are, 'To choose wise men, fearing God, and hating covetousness:' and what to do? says the same writ, 'To advise the king of the weighty matters of the kingdom.' Let us not then play the fools or knaves, to neglect or betray the common interest of our country by a base election: let neither fear, flattery, nor gain bias us. We must not make our public choice the recompense of private favours from our neighbours; they must excuse us for that: the weight of the matter will very well bear it. This is our inheritance, all depends upon it: men do not use to lend their wives, or give their children, to satisfy personal kindnesses; nor must we make a swop of our birth-right, (and that of our posterity too) for a mess of pottage, a feast, or a drinking-bout; there can be no proportion here: and therefore none must take it ill, that we use our freedom about that, which, in its constitution, is the great bulwark of all our ancient English liberties. Truly, our not considering what it is to choose a parliament, and how much all is upon the hazard in it, may, at last, lose us fatally by our own choice. For I must needs tell you, if we miscarry, it will be our own fault; we have nobody else to blame: for such is the happiness of our constitution, that we cannot well be destroyed, but by ourselves: and what man in his wits would sacrifice his throat to his own hands?

We, the commons of England, are a great part of the fundamental government of it; and three rights are so peculiar and inherent to us, that if we will not throw them away for fear or favour, for meat and drink, or those other little present profits that ill men offer to tempt us with, they cannot be altered or abrogated. And this I was willing to give you a brief hint of, that you may know what sort of creatures you are, and what your power is; lest, through ignorance of your own strength and authority, you turn slaves to the humours of those, that properly and truly are but your servants, and ought to be used so.

The first of these three fundamentals is property, that is, 'right and title to your own lives, liberties, and estates:' in this, every man is a sort of little sovereign to himself: no man has power over his person, to imprison or hurt it, or over his estate, to invade or usurp it: only your own transgression of the laws, (and those of your own making too) lays you open to loss; which is but the punishment due to your offences, and this but in proportion to the fault committed. So that the power of England is a legal power, which truly merits the name of government. That which is not legal, is a tyranny, and not properly a government. Now the law is umpire between king, lords, and commons, and the right and property is one in kind through all degrees and qualities in the kingdom: mark that.

The second fundamental, that is your birthright and inheritance, is legislation, or the power of making laws: 'No law can be made or abrogated in England without you.' Before Henry the Third's time, your ancestors, the freemen of England, met in their own persons; but their numbers much increasing, the vastness of them, and the confusion that must needs attend them, making such assemblies not practicable for business, this way of representatives was first pitched upon as an expedient, both to maintain the common right, and to avoid the confusion of those mighty numbers. So that now, as well as then, 'No law can be made, no money levied, nor a penny legally demanded (even to defray the charges of the government) without your own consent;' than which, tell me, what can be freer, or what more secure to any people?

Your third great fundamental right and privilege is executive, and holds proportion with the other two, in order to complete both your freedom and security, and that is, 'Your share in the judicatory power, in the execution and application of those laws that you agree to be made.' Insomuch as no man, according to the ancient laws of this realm, can be

adjudged in matter of life, liberty, or estate, but it must be by the judgment of his peers, that is, twelve men of the neighbourhood, commonly called a jury; though this have been infringed by two acts, made in the late long parliament, one against the Quakers in particular, and the other against dissenters in general, called, 'An act against seditious conventicles,' where persons are adjudged offenders, and punishable without a jury; which it is hoped, this ensuing parliament will think fit in their wisdom to repeal; though with less severity, than one of the same nature (as to punishing men without juries) was by Henry the Eighth, who, for executing of it, hanged Empson and Dudley.

Consider with yourselves, that there is nothing more your interest, than for you to understand your right in the government, and to be constantly jealous over it; for your well-being depends upon its preservation.

In all ages there have been ill men; and we, to be sure, are not without them now; such as, being conscious to themselves of ill things, and dare not stand a parliament, would put a final dissolution upon the very constitution itself, to be safe, that so we might never see one another.

But this being a task too hard for them to compass, their next expedient is, to make them for their turn, by directing and governing the elections; and herein they are very artificial, and too often successful: which indeed is worse for us than if we had none. For thus the constitution of parliaments may be destroyed by parliaments, and we, who by law are free, may hereby come to be made slaves by law. If then you are free, and resolve to be so, if you have any regard to God's providence, in giving you a claim to so excellent a constitution, if you would not void your own rights, nor lay a foundation of vassalage to your unborn followers, the poor posterity of your loins, for whom God and nature, and the constitution of the government, have made you trustees, then seriously weigh these following particulars.

I. In your present election, receive no man's gift, or bribe, to choose him; but be assured, that he will be false to you, that basely tempts you to be false to your country, yourselves, and your children. How can you hope to see God with peace, that turn mercenaries in a matter, on which depends the well-being of an whole kingdom, for present and future times? Since, at a pinch, one good man gains a vote, and saves a kingdom: and what does any county, or burgess-town in England know, but all may depend upon their making a good choice? But then to sell the providence of

God, and the dear-bought purchase of your painful ancestors, for a little money, (that after you have got it, you know not how little a while you may be suffered to keep it) is the mark of a wretched mind. Truly, such ought not to have the power of a freeman, that would so abuse his own, and hazard other men's freedom by it: he deserves to be cast over-board, that would sink the vessel, and thereby drown the company embarked with him.

Honest gentlemen will think they give enough for the choice, that pay their electors in a constant, painful, and chargeable attendance: but such as give money to be chosen, would get money by being chosen; they design not to serve you, but themselves of you; and then fare you well. As you will answer it to Almighty God, I intreat you to show your abhorrence of this infamous practice: it renders the very constitution contemptible, that any should say, 'I can be chosen, if I will spend money, or give them drink enough:' and this is said not without reason; elections, that ought to be serious things, and gravely and reasonably performed, being generally made the occasions of more rudeness and drunkenness, than any of the wild may-games in use among us.

Thus by making men law-breakers, they are, it seems, made fit to choose law-makers, their choice being the purchase of excess. But must we always owe our parliaments to rioting and drunkenness? And must men be made uncapable of all choice before they choose their legislators? I would know of any of you all, if in a difference about a private property, an horse or a cow, or any other thing, you would be as easy, indifferent, and careless in choosing your arbitrators? Certainly you would not: with what reason then can you be unconcerned in the qualifications of men, upon whose fitness and integrity depends all you and your posterity may enjoy? Which leads me to the other particulars.

II. Choose no man that has been a reputed pensioner; it is not only against your interest, but it is disgraceful to you, and the parliament you choose. The representatives of a nation ought to consist of the most wise, sober, and valiant of the people; not men of mean spirits, or sordid passions, that would sell the interest of the people that choose them, to advance their own, or be at the beck of some great man, in hopes of a lift to a good employ: pray beware of these. You need not be straitened; the country is wide, and the gentry numerous.

III. By no means choose a man that is an officer at court, or whose employment is *durante bene placito*, that is, at will and pleasure. Nor is this any reflection upon the king; who being one part of the government, should leave the

other free, and without the least awe or influence, to bar or hinder its proceedings. Besides, an officer is under a temptation to be biassed; and, to say true, an office in a parliament man, is but a softer and safer word for a pension: the pretence it has above the other, is the danger of it.

IV. In the next place, choose no indigent person; for those may be under a temptation of abusing their trust, to gain their own ends: for such do not prefer you, which should be the end of their choice, but raise themselves by you.

V. Have a care of ambitious men and non-residents, such as live about town, and not with their estates; who seek honours and preferments above, and little, or never, embetter the country with their expenses or hospitality, for they intend themselves, and not the advantage of the country.

VI. Choose no prodigal or voluptuous persons; for besides that they are not regular enough to be law-makers, they are commonly idle; and though they may wish well to your interest, yet they will lose it, rather than their pleasures; they will scarcely give their attendance, they must not be relied on. So that such persons are only to be preferred before those that are sober, to do mischief; whose debauchery is of the mind; men of unjust, mercenary, and sinister principles; who, the soberer they be to themselves, the worse they are to you.

VII. Review the members of the last parliaments, and their inclinations and votes, as near as you can learn them, and the conversation of the gentlemen of your own country, that were not members, and take your measures of both, by that which is your true and just interest, at this critical time of the day, and you need not be divided or distracted in your choice.

VIII. Rather take a stranger, if recommended by an unquestionable hand, than a neighbour ill-affected to your interest. It is not pleasing a neighbour, because rich and powerful, but saving England, that you are to eye: neither pay nor return private obligations at the cost of the nation; let not such engagements put you upon dangerous elections, as you love your country.

IX. Be sure to have your eye upon men of industry and improvement. For those that are ingenious, and laborious to propagate the growth of the country, will be very tender of weakening or impoverishing it: you may trust such.

X. Let not your choice be flung upon men of fearful dispositions, that will let good sense, truth, and your real interest in any point sink, rather than displease some one or

other great man. If you are but sensible of your own real great power, you will wisely choose those, that will, by all just and legal ways, firmly keep, and zealously promote it.

XI. Pray see that you choose sincere protestants; men that do not play the protestant in design, and are indeed disguised papists, ready to pull off their mask, when time serves: you will know such by their laughing at the plot, disgracing the evidence, admiring the traitors' constancy, that were forced to it, or their religion and party were gone beyond an excuse or an equivocation. The contrary, are men that thank God for this discovery, and in their conversation zealously direct themselves in an opposition to the papal interest, which indeed is a combination against good sense, reason, and conscience, and to introduce a blind obedience without (if not against) conviction. And that principle which introduces implicit faith and blind obedience in religion, will also introduce implicit faith and blind obedience in government. So that it is no more the law in the one than in the other, but the will and power of the superior, that shall be the rule and bond of our subjection. This is that fatal mischief popery brings with it to civil society, and for which such societies ought to beware of it, and all those that are friends to it.

XII. Lastly, Among these, be sure to find out, and cast your favour upon, men of large principles, such as will not sacrifice their neighbour's property to the frowardness of their own party in religion: pick out such men, as will inviolably maintain civil rights, for all that will live soberly and civilly under the government.

Christ did not revile those that reviled him, much less did he persecute those that did not revile him. He rebuked his disciples, that would have destroyed those that did not follow and conform to them, saying, "Ye know not what spirit ye are of: I came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Which made the apostle to say, "That the weapons of their warfare were not carnal, but spiritual." This was the ancient protestant principle, and where protestants persecute for religion, they are false to their own profession, and turn papists even in the worse sense, against whom their ancestors did so stoutly exclaim. Read the book of martyrs of all countries in Europe, and you will find I say true: therefore beware also of that popery. Consider, that such partial men do not love England, but a sect; and prefer imposed uniformity, before virtuous and neighbourly unity. This is that disturber of kingdoms and states; and until the good man, and not the opinionative man, be the Christian in the eye of the government, to be sure, while force is used

to propagate or destroy faith, and the outward comforts of the widow and fatherless are made a forfeit for the peaceable exercise of their consciences to God, He that sits in heaven, and judgeth righteously, whose eye pities the oppressed and poor of the earth, will with-hold his blessings from us.

O lay to heart the grievous spoils and ruins that have been made upon your harmless neighbours, for near these twenty years, who have only desired to enjoy their consciences to God, according to the best of their understandings, and to eat the bread of honest labour, and to have but a penny for a penny's-worth amongst you. Whose ox or ass have they taken? Whom have they wronged? Or when did any of them offer you violence? Yet sixty pounds have been distrained for twelve; two hundred pounds for sixty pounds. The flocks have been taken out of the fold, the herd from the stall; not a cow left to give milk to the orphan, nor a bed for the widow to lie on; whole barns of corn swept away, and not a penny returned; and thus bitterly prosecuted even by laws made against papists. And what is all this for, unless their worshipping of God according to their conscience? For they injure no man, nor have they offered the least molestation to the government.

Truly, I must take the liberty to tell you, if you will not endeavour to redress these evils in your choice, I fear God will suffer you to fall into great calamity by those you hate. You are afraid of popery, and yet many of you practise it; for why do you fear it, but for its compulsion and persecution? And will you compel or persecute yourselves, or choose such as do? If you will, pray let me say, you hate the papists, but not popery. But God defend you from so doing, and direct you to do as you would be done by; that choosing such as love England, her people, and the civil rights, foundations may be laid for that security and tranquillity, which the children unborn may have cause to rise up and bless your names and memories for. Take it in good part; I mean nothing but justice and peace to all; and so conclude myself,

Your honest monitor, and old England's true friend,

PHILANGLUS.

ONE PROJECT

FOR THE

GOOD OF ENGLAND;

THAT IS,

OUR CIVIL UNION IS OUR CIVIL SAFETY.

HUMBLY DEDICATED TO

The Great Council, the Parliament of England.

Published in the Year 1679.

Religion, as it is the noblest end of man's life, so it were the best bond of human society, provided men did not err in the meaning of that excellent word. Scripture interprets it to be "loving God above all, and our neighbours as ourselves;" but practice teacheth us, that too many merely resolve it into opinion and form; in which, not the text, but the comment, too often prevails: whence it comes to pass, that those bodies of men, who have but one common civil interest, are miserably distracted in favour of their adopted notions, upon which they are impatient to bestow an earthly crown. And this is the reason of that mischief and uncertainty that attend government. No sooner one opinion prevails upon another, (though all hold the text to be sacred) but human society is shaken, and the civil government must receive and suffer a revolution; insomuch, that when we consider the fury and unnaturalness of some people for religion, (which shows they have none that is true, religion making men most natural as well as divine) we have reason to bewail the misunderstanding, as well as misliving of that venerable word.

But since it is so hard to disabuse men of their wrong apprehensions of religion, and the true nature and life of it, and consequently as yet too early in the day to fix such a religion upon which mankind will readily agree as a common basis for civil society, we must recur to some lower, but true principle, for the present, and I think there will be no difficulty of succeeding.

It is this, 'That civil interest is the foundation and end of civil government; and where it is not maintained intire, the government must needs decline.' The word interest has

a good and bad acceptation: when it is taken in an ill sense, it signifies a pursuit of advantage without regard to truth or justice; which I mean not: the good signification of the word, and which I mean, is 'a legal endeavour to keep rights, or augment honest profits,' whether it be in a private person or a society. By government, I understand a 'just and equal constitution,' where might is not right, but laws rule, and not the wills or power of men; for that were plain tyranny.

This government must have a supreme authority in itself to determine, and not be superseded or controuled by any other power; for then it would not be a government, but a subjection; which is a plain contradiction.

Having thus explained the terms of the principle I have laid down, I repeat it, viz. 'That civil interest is the foundation and end of civil government,' and prove it thus: the good of the whole is the rise and end of government: but the good of the whole must needs be the interest of the whole, and consequently the interest of the whole is the reason and end of government. None can stumble at the word good; for every man may easily and safely interpret that to himself, since he must needs believe, it is good for him to be preserved in an undisturbed possession of his civil rights, according to the free and just laws of the land; and the construction he makes for himself will serve his neighbour, and so the whole society.

But as the good of the people is properly the civil interest of the people, and that the reason and end of government; so is the maintenance of that civil interest intire, the preservation of government. For where people are sure of their own, and are protected from violence or injury, they cheerfully yield their obedience, and pay their contribution to the support of that government. But, on the contrary, where men are insecure of their civil rights, nay, where they are daily violated, and themselves in danger of ruin, and that for no sin committed against the nature of civil interest, (to preserve which, government was instituted) we ought to suppose their affections will flag, that they will grow dead-hearted, and that what they pay or do, may go against the grain: and, to say true, such unkindness is ready to tempt them to believe they should not of right contribute to the maintenance of such governments, as yield them no security or civil protection. Which unhappy flaw in the civil interest, proves an untoward crack in the government; men not being cordially devoted to the prosperity of that government that is exercised in their destruction; and how far that fraction upon the common interest of the people may affect

the government I cannot tell, but to be sure it is insecure to any government, to have the people (its strength) divided, as they will be, where their interest is so disjointed by the government; one protected, the other exposed. Wherefore, wise governments have ever taken care to preserve their people, as knowing they do thereby preserve their own interest, and that how numerous their people, so large their interest. For not only Solomon has told us, "that the honour of a prince is in the multitude of his people," but experience teaches, that plenty of people is the riches and strength of a wise and good government; as that is, where vice is corrected, and virtue encouraged, and all taken in and secured in civils, that have the same civil interest with the government.

But as the good and interest of the whole is the rise and end of government, so must it suppose that the whole (which takes in all parties) concurs in seeking the good of the government; for the reason of the government will not suffer it to protect those that are enemies to its constitution and safety; for so it would admit of something dangerous to the society; for the security of which, government was at first instituted.

It will follow, that those that own another temporal power superior to the government they properly belong to, make themselves subjects not of the government they are born under, but to that authority which they avow to be superior to the government of their own country, and consequently men of another interest; because it is their interest to pursue the advantages of that power they acknowledge to be sovereign: but those that own, embrace and obey the government of their own country as their temporal supreme authority, and whose interest is one and the same with that of their own proper government, ought to be valued and protected by that government.

The principle thus far lies general: I will now bring it to our own case:

England is a country populous and protestant; and though under some dissents within itself, yet the civil interest is the same, and in some sense the religious too. For, first, all English protestants, whether conformists or nonconformists, agree in this, that they only owe allegiance and subjection unto the civil government of England, and offer any security in their power to give of their truth in this matter. And, in the next place, they do not only consequentially disclaim the pope's supremacy, and all adhesion to foreign authority under any pretence, but therewith deny and oppose the Romish religion, as it stands degenerated

from scripture, and the first and purest ages of the church; which makes up a great negative union.

And it cannot be unknown to men read in the reasons of the reformation, that a protestation made by the German reformers against the imperial edicts of Charles the Fifth, imposing Romish traditions, gave beginning to the word Protestant.

In short, it is the interest of the ruling or church-protestants of England, that the pope should have no claim or power in England. It is also the interest of the dissenting-protestants, that the pope should have no claim or power here in England, because they are subject to the same mischiefs and sufferings in their civil and religious rights that the church-protestants are liable to: if then both are like to lose by pope and foreign authority, their interest must needs be one against pope and foreign authority; and if they have but one interest, it will follow, that the church-protestant cannot prejudice the dissenting-protestant, but he must weaken and destroy his own interest.

The civil-interest of English protestants being thus the same, and their religious interest too, so far as concerns a negative to the usurpation and error of Rome; I do humbly ask, if it be the interest of the government to expose those to misery, that have no other civil interest than that of the government? or if it be just or equal, that the weaker should be prosecuted by the more powerful protestants, whose interest is postively the same in civils, and in religion negatively? One would think it were reasonable that they should not suffer by protestants, who, if popery have a day, are likely to suffer with them, and that upon the same principles. Experience tells us, that the wisest architects lay their foundations broad and strong, and raise their squares and structure by the most exact rules of art, that the fabrick may be secure against the violence of storms; but if people must be destroyed by those of the same interest, truly that interest will stand but totteringly, and every breath of opposition will be ready to shake it.

It was the inconfutable answer Christ made to the blasphemers of that power by which he wrought miracles; "A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand:" what he said then, let me on another occasion say now, 'An interest divided against itself must fall.'

I know some men will take fire at this, and by crying 'The church! the church!' hope to silence all arguments of this nature; but they must excuse me, if I pay no manner of regard to their zeal, and hold their devotion both ignorant and dangerous at this time. It is not the way to fill the

church, to destroy the people. A church without people is a contradiction; especially when the scripture tells us, that it is the people that make the church.

And it is not without an appearance of reason that some good and wise men are apprehensive, that the greatest sticklers for persecuting protestant dissenters, in favour of the church of England, are men addicted and devoted to the church of Rome, or at least animated by such as are; who, despairing of doing any great feats, if known, hide themselves under these pretences; but the meaning of it is to debilitate the protestant cause in general, by exciting the church of England to destroy all other protestant interests in these kingdoms, that so nothing may remain for popery to conflict with, but the few zealous abettors of that church.

And that this may not look disingenuous, or like a trick of mine, I will enforce it by a demonstration. It is plain fact, that the church of Rome hath, ever since the reformation, practised the restoration of her religion and power in these kingdoms. It is as evident, that religion is with her a word for civil interest; that is, that she may have the rule over men, both body and soul. For it is government she aims at, to have the reins of power in her hand, to give law, and wield the sceptre.

To do this, she must either have a greater interest than the protestants, that are now in possession, or else divide their interest, and so weaken them by themselves, and make them instruments to her ends. That her own force is inconsiderable, is clear: she has nothing within doors to give her hope, but the discord of protestants. It follows then, that she must of necessity bestir herself, and use her arts to inflame the reckoning among protestants, and carry their dissents about religious matters to a division in the civil interest. And it is the more to be feared, because whatever she has been to others, she has been ever true to herself.

If this then be the only domestic expedient left her, we are sure she will use it; and if so, it must needs be of great importance with all protestants to let fall their private animosities, and take all possible care that their dissents about faith or worship, (which regard the other world) divide not their affection and judgment about the common and civil interest of their country; because if that be kept intire, it equally frustrates the designs of Rome, as if you were of one religion. For since, as I said before, religion, with the great men of that church, is nothing else but a softer word for civil empire, preserve you but your civil interest from fraction, and you are, in that sense, of one religion too;

and that such an one, as you need not fear the temptation of Smithfield, if you will but be true to it.

This being the case, I would take leave to ask the zealous gentlemen of the English church, if conformity to the fashion of their worship be dearer to them than England's interest and the cause of protestancy?' If their love to church-government be greater, than to the church and her religion, and to their country and her laws? or, lastly, whether, in case they are sincere in their allegations for the church, (which, I confess ingenuously, I am apt to suspect) it is to be supposed that the present churchmen (conformists I mean) are better able of themselves to secure protestancy, and our civil interest, against the attempts of Rome, than in conjunction with the civil interest of all protestant dissenters? If they say, 'Yes;' I would have them at the same time, for the same reason, to give it under their hands, that it is a standing rule in arithmetic, that ONE is more than SIX, and that hitherto we have been all mistaken in the art of numbers.

Being brought to this pitch, I conceive they must say, that they had rather deliver up their church to the power and designs of popery, than suffer dissenters to live freely among them, though protestants, of one negative religion, and of the same civil interest; or else hasten to break those bonds that are laid upon dissenters of truly tender (and by experience) of peaceable consciences; and by law establish the free exercise of their worship to Almighty God, that the fears, jealousies, disaffection, and distraction, that now affect the one common interest of protestants, may be removed; for it seems impossible to preserve a distinct interest from both. But to which of these they may incline, I must not determine; and yet, I hope, they will not be of the mind of a late monk of Cullen, who in his public exercise exhorted the civil magistrates to choose to have their city poor and catholic, that is popish, rather than great and opulent by the admission of trading heretics: but if they should, may our magistrates have at least their prudence; for the Culleners gave him the hearing, but were as true to their interest, as the monk to his superstition.

Under favour, the civil government is greatly concerned to discountenance such bigotry; for it thins the people, lessens trade, creates jealousies, and endangers the peace and wealth of the whole. And, with submission, of what should the civil magistrate be more tender, than of suffering the civil interest of a great people to be disturbed and narrowed for the humour of any one party of them For since

the civil interest lies as large, as the people of that interest, the people must be preserved, in order to preserve that common interest. Other notions ever did divide and weaken empire, and in the end they have rarely missed to pull the old house about their ears, who have governed themselves by such disproportionable measures: by all means, interest the affections of the people in the prosperity of the government, by making the government a security to their particular rights and properties.

I ask, 'If more custom comes not to the king, and more trade to the kingdom, by encouraging the labour and traffic of an episcopalian, presbyterian, independent, quaker, and anabaptist, than by an episcopalian only?' If this be true, why should the rest be rendered incapable of trade, yea, of living? What schism or heresy is there in the labour and commerce of the anabaptist, quaker, independent, and presbyterian, more than in the labour and traffic of the episcopalian?

I beseech you give me leave: is there ever a churchman in England, that in distress would refuse the courtesy of one of these dissenters? If one of them should happen to fall into a pond or ditch, would he deny to be helped out by a dissenter's hand? Is it to be supposed, he would in such a pickle be stomachful, and choose to lie there, and be smothered or drowned, rather than owe aid to the good-will of a poor fanatic? Or if his house were on fire, may we think that he would have it rather burnt to the ground, than acknowledge its preservation to a nonconformist? Would not the act be orthodox, whatever were the man? So, in case of being sick, imprisoned, beset, benighted, out of the way, far from kindred or acquaintance, with an hundred other cases that may happen daily, can we think that such men would ask questions for conscience sake, or charge schism upon the relief given them? No, no; self will always be true to its interest, let superstition mutter what it will.

But since the industry, rents, and taxes of the dissenters are as current as their neighbours', who loses by such narrowness more than England, than the government and the magistracy? for till it be the interest of the farmer to destroy his flock, to starve the horse he rides, and the cow that gives him milk, it cannot be the interest of England to let a great part of her sober and useful inhabitants be destroyed about things that concern another world. And it is to be hoped, that the wisdom and charity of our governors will better guide them, both to their own real interest, and their people's preservation, which are inseparable; that so they may not

starve them for religion, that are as willing as able to work for the good of king and country.

I beseech you, let nature speak; who is so much a better friend to human society, than false or froward opinion, that she often rectifies the mistakes of a prejudiced education; so that we may say, how kind, how gentle, how helpful does she teach us to be to each other, till that make-bate, opinion (falsly called religion) begins the jangle, and foments to hatred.

All the productions of nature are by love; and shall religion propagate by force? If we consider the poor hen, she will teach us humanity. Nature does not only learn her to hatch, but to be tender over, her feeble chickens, that they may not be a prey to the kite. All the seed and plants that grow for the use and nourishment of man, are produced by the kind and warm influences of the sun. Nothing but kindness keeps up the human race: men and women do not beget children in spite, but affection. It is wonderful to think by what friendly and gentle ways nature produces and matures the creatures of the world; and that religion should teach us to be froward and cruel, is lamentable: this were to make her the enemy, instead of the restorer, of nature. But, I think, we may without offence say, that since true religion gives men greater mildness and goodness than they had before, that religion which teaches them less, must needs be false. What shall we say then, but that even nature is a truer guide to peace, and better informs us to preserve civil interest, than false religion, and consequently, that we ought to be true to the natural and just principles of society, and not suffer one of them to be violated for humour or opinion.

Let us go together as far as our way lies, and preserve our unity in those principles which maintain our civil society. This is our common and our just interest; all protestant dissenters agree in this; and it is both wise and righteous to admit no fraction upon this pact, no violence upon this concord. For the consequence of permitting any thing to break in upon the principles of human society, that is foreign to the nature of it, will distract and weaken that society.

We know, that in all plantations the wisdom of planters is well aware of this: and let us but consider, that the same ways that plant countries, must be kept to for preserving the plantation, else it will quickly be depopulated.

That country which is false to its first principles of government, and mistakes or divides its common and popular

interest, must unavoidably decay. And let me say, that had there been this freedom granted eighteen years ago, protestancy had been too potent for the enemies of it; nor had there been those divisions for popery to make its advantage by; at least, not in the civil interest of the nation. And where that has been preserved intire, it has been never able to prevail: witness the careful government of Holland, where the preservation of their civil interest from fraction hath secured them against the growth of popery, though it be almost tolerated by them: so powerful are the effects of an united civil interest in government. Now because the civil interest of this nation is the preservation of the free and legal government of it from all subjection to foreign claim, and that the several sorts of protestants are united, as in the common protestancy, that is, a general renunciation of Rome, so in the maintenance of this civil government as a common security, (for it strikes at both their rights, civil and sacred; their conscience, religion and law, to admit any foreign jurisdiction here) it must follow, that had these several, as well English as protestant parties, been timely encouraged to this united civil interest, they had secured the government from this danger, by rendering it too formidable for the attempt.

But there is a twofold mistake that I think fit to remove. First, that the difference betwixt protestants and their dissenters is generally managed as if it were civil. Secondly, the difference betwixt papist and protestant is carried on as if it were chiefly religious.

To the first, I say, it is plausible, but false; it is an artifice of ill men to inflame the government against good people, to make base ends by other men's ruin: whereas they that dissent, are at a *ne plus ultra* on the behalf of the English government, as well as themselves. They neither acknowledge, nor submit to any other authority. They hold the one common civil head; and not only acquiesce in the distribution of justice by law, but embrace it as the best part of their patrimony. So that the difference between protestants and their dissenters is purely religious, and mostly about church-government, and some forms of worship apprehended to be not so pure and apostolical as could be desired: and here it is, that tenderness should be exercised, if in any case in the world, or St. Paul is mistaken.

But as to the second, under correction, the case is altered; for though it be mostly managed on the side of religion, the great point is merely civil, and should never be otherwise admitted or understood. For want of this caution, protes-

tants suffer themselves to be drawn into tedious controversies about religion, and give occasion to the professors and favourers of that way to exclaim against them, as persecutors for religion, who had reprobated such severity in the papists to their ancestors (a most plausible, and very often a successful, plea); when, in reality, the difference is not so much religious as civil. Not but that there is a vast contrariety in doctrine and worship too: but this, barely, should not be the cause of our so great distance, and that provision the law makes against them; but rather that fundamental inconsistency they carry with them to the security of the English government and constitution unto which they belong, by acknowledging a foreign jurisdiction in these kingdoms. So that drawing into question and danger the constitution and government, to which scripture, and nature, and civil pact, oblige their fidelity and obedience, there seems a discharge upon the civil government from any farther care of their protection, who make it a piece of conscience to seek its ruin, and which is worse, a principle, not to be informed of better things; for even here not reason or law, but the pope, must be judge.

This being the brief and modest state of the case, I must return to my first great principle, 'That civil interest is the foundation and end of civil government:' and that how much men desert the interest of a kingdom, so much they wound and subvert the government of it. I appeal to all wise and considerate men of the truth of this, by the present posture of affairs and their proper cause.

To come then to our point: Shall Englishmen by Englishmen, and protestants by protestants, be free or oppressed? That is, 'Whether shall we receive as Englishmen and protestants, those that have no other civil interest than that which is purely English, and who sincerely profess and embrace the same protestation, for which the ancient reformers were styled protestants; or for the sake of humour or base ends, disown them, and expose them and their families to utter misery?'

I would hope better of our great church-men's charity and prudence: but if they should be so unhappy as to keep to their old measures, and still play the gaudy, but empty, name of church against the civil interest and religion of the nation, they will show themselves deserted of God; and then how long it will be before they will be seen and left of all sober men, let them judge. For to speak freely, after all this light that is now in the world, no ignorance can excuse such zeal; nor will wise men believe it to be any thing

more than a trick to weaken protestancy, that her declared enemy may with less hazard gain the chair. And there is not so much reason to fear professed Roman Catholics, as those gentlemen, who valuing themselves by their respects to the church, and tenderness of its independent honour, have the opportunity, with less suspicion, of letting in popery at the back-door. These are men that pay off the fanatic in the name of the church, but for the good of the pope, to whose account those endeavours must be placed.

But it will go a great way to our deliverance, if we are not careless to observe the secret workings of those that have vowed our misery; and, of them, such as are in masquerade, and wear the guise of friends, are most dangerous. But some men are purblind, they can see danger as near as their nose; but in a difficulty that is not a foot from them, they are presumptive, restive, and not to be governed. Could some church-men but see the irreparable mischiefs that will attend them (if sincere to their present profession) unless prevented by a modest and Christian condescension to dissenting protestant Christians, they would never suffer themselves to be misguided by stiff and rigid principles at this time of day.

If Christianity, that most meek and self-denying religion, cannot prevail upon them, methinks the power of interest, and that self-interest too, should have some success; for in those cases they use not to be obstinate.

But I expect it should be told me, 'That this is the way to ruin the church, and let in an anarchy in religion:' *Cujus contrarium verum.* I am glad to obviate this, before I leave you, seeing the contrary is most true; for it leaves the church and church-men as they are, with this distinction, that whereas now conformity is coercive, which is popish, it will be then persuasive, which is Christian. And there may be some hopes, when the parsons, destitute of the magistrate's sword, shall of necessity inforce their religion by good doctrine and holy living: nor ought they to murmur, for that which satisfied Christ and his apostles, should satisfy them: his kingdom is not of this world; therefore they should not fight for him, if they would be his servants, and the children of his kingdom. Christ, and not civil force, is the rock his church is built upon. Nor indeed has any thing so tarnished the cause of protestancy, as the professors of it betaking themselves to worldly arms to propagate their religion. David could not wear Saul's armour; and true protestants cannot use popish weapons, imposition and persecution. In short; it is the very interest of the church of

England, to preserve the civil interest entire, or else popery will endanger all: but that cannot be, unless all of that civil interest be preserved; therefore protestant dissenters should be indulged.

But some will say, 'There is a difference, even among dissenters: some will give a security to the civil government by taking the oaths; others will not: and be it through tenderness, how do we know but papists will shelter themselves under the wings of such dissenters? And so, in tolerating protestant dissenters to fortify protestancy, in reality popery will be hereby sheltered *incognito*.'

I answer, first, That such oaths are little or no security to any government; and though they may give some allay to the jealousy of governors, they never had the effect desired. For neither in private cases, nor yet in public transactions, have men adhered to their oaths, but their interest. He that is a knave, was never made honest by an oath: nor is it an oath, but honesty, that keeps honest men such. Read story, and consult our modern times; tell me what government stood the firmer or longer for them? Men may take them for their own advantage, or to avoid loss and punishment: but the question is, what real benefit or security comes thereby to the government? It is certain they have often insnared a good man, but never caught one knave yet: we ought not to put so great a value upon oaths, as to render the security of our government so low and hazardous.

God's providence, and the wisdom of our ancestors, have found out a better test for us to rest upon, and that is, our common interest, and the laws of the land duly executed: these are the security of our government.

For example: A man swears he will not plot, yet plots: pray what security is this oath to the government? But though it is evident that this be no security, that law which hangs him for plotting, is an unquestionable one. So that it is not for wise governors, by swearing men to the government, to think to secure it; but all having agreed to the laws by which they are to be governed, let any man break them at his peril. Wherefore good laws, and a just execution of them, and not oaths, are the natural and real security of a government.

But next: Though some may scruple the oaths, it is not for the sake of the matter so much as form; which, you know, is not the case of Roman Catholics; (pray distinguish); and those very persons, whoever they be, of protestant dissenters, I dare say they will very cheerfully promise their allegiance on the same penalties, and subscribe any renun-

ciation of pope and foreign authority, which the art of man can pen: nor should it be hard for you to believe they should subscribe what they have always lived.

To that part of the objection which mentions the danger of papists concealing themselves under the character of protestant dissenters; under favour I say it is most reasonable to believe, that those who will deny their faith upon record, (as those that subscribe your declaration do) will swallow the oaths too: for the declaration flatly denies the religion, but the oaths only the pope's supremacy, which even some of themselves pretend to reject. Therefore those that can sincerely subscribe the declaration cannot be papists.

If it be yet objected, 'That papists may have dispensations to subscribe the test, or a pardon, when they have done it;' I answer, they may as well have dispensations to take the oaths, or pardons when they have taken them; and these last six months prove as much. There is no fence against this flail. At this rate they may as well be protestants, as protestant dissenters; ministers or bishops in churches, as speakers or preachers in meeting-houses: this objection only shows the weakness of both oaths and declarations for the purpose intended; and not that they can hide themselves more under one people than another. For they that can have a dispensation or pardon for one act, can have it for another; especially when the matter of the declaration is of a more general weight to them, than that of the oath: all which confirms my former judgment of the insecurity of such oaths to any government.

Give me leave then upon this to ask you, if you will bring a certain ruin upon any protestant dissenters for the sake of such an uncertain security to yourselves? For this is the question: I beseech you to weigh it as becomes wise and good men: shall they be reprobated for tenderly refusing, what, being performed, cannot save or secure you?

Consider, you have no reason to believe, but those that are allowed to subscribe the declaration, or that will be pardoned when they have done it, may be allowed to take the oaths, or will be pardoned or absolved when they have taken them: but you are certain, on the other side, that the imposing of the oaths will be a great snare to many protestant dissenters, that love the government, and renounce both pope and popery: they will be ruined; which, to me, is of the nature of an argument for those people: for their not taking the oaths proves plainly, they have no dispensations,

nor hopes of absolution, and therefore no papists: shall they then lie under the severities intended against papists, who have none of their dispensations or absolutions to deliver them from them? This is (with submission, but in plain terms) to make the case of the kingdom worse: for it destroys those who are not guilty, and whom, I believe, you would not destroy.

Having brought the matter to this, I shall first offer you a new test: next, the ways of taking it, with most aggravation against the party rejecting or breaking it: and lastly, how you may secure yourselves from the papists disguising themselves among protestant dissenters; that so nothing may remain a *remora* in the way, that shall not be removed, to leave you a plain and even path to peace and safety.

THE NEW TEST.

I A. B. do solemnly and in good conscience, in the sight of God and men, acknowledge and declare, that king Charles the Second is lawful king of this realm, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. And that neither the pope nor see of Rome, nor any else by their authority, have right in any case to depose the king, or dispose of his kingdom, or upon any score whatever to absolve his subjects of their obedience, or to give leave to any of them to plot or conspire the hurt of the king's person, his state or people; and that all such pretences and power are false, pernicious, and damnable.

And I do farther sincerely profess, and in good conscience declare, that I do not believe that the pope is Christ's vicar, or Peter's lawful successor, or that he or the see of Rome, severally or jointly, are the rule of faith or judge of controversy, or that they can absolve sins: nor do I believe that there is a purgatory after death; or that saints should be prayed to, or images in any sense be worshipped. Nor do I believe, that there is any transubstantiation in the Lord's supper, or elements of bread and wine, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever. But I do firmly believe, that the present communion of the Roman Catholic church is both superstitious and idolatrous. And all this I do acknowledge, intend, profess, and declare without any equivocation, or reserved or other sense, than the plain

and usual signification of these words, according to the real intention of the law-makers, and the common acceptation of all true protestants.

This is the test I offer; large in matter, because comprehensive of oaths and test too, yet brief in words.

The next thing is the ways of taking it with most aggravation upon the refusers or violaters of it.

1. That in all cities and great towns, notice be given by the magistrates thereof to the inhabitants of every ward or parish to appear on such a day, be it New-year's-day, or Ash-Wednesday rather (when the pope curses all protestants) at their public hall, or other places of commerce, where the magistrates shall first openly read, subscribe, and seal the test. Then that it be read again by the proper officer of the place to the people, and that those that take it, do audibly pronounce the words after him that reads it; and when they have so done, that they subscribe and seal it. That such subscriptions be registered, and copies of each parish subscription transmitted to the parish, and affixed upon some public place for all that will to see.

2. That in the countries, the parishes of each hundred or rape may be likewise summoned to appear upon the day aforesaid, at the head market-town in the said hundred or rape; and that the justices of the peace within that part of the county shall first read, subscribe, and seal the said test, in view of the people; and then that the people say, subscribe, and seal the test, as is before expressed. Which being done, let the said subscriptions be collected into one volume, and kept in the county-court as a book of record: and that to each parish be transmitted a copy of the said parish subscription, to be affixed upon some public place within the said parish, for all to see.

Lastly, Let this be done annually, that is, upon every New-year's-day, or Ash-Wednesday, as a perpetual testimony of the people's affection to the king and government, and their abhorrence of the practices of Rome.

The abuse of this discrimination should be very penal: for it is a great lie upon a man's own conscience, and a cheat put upon the government: your wisdom can best proportion and direct the punishment; but it can scarcely be too severe, as our business stands.

But as, in case of such hypocrisy, a severe penalty should

be inflicted, so pray let provision be made, that if any person so subscribing, should be afterwards called by the name of jesuit or papist, without very good proof, it should be deemed and punished in open sessions, for a slander and breach of peace; yet so as that the penalty may be remitted at the request of the abused party.

I should think that this business, carefully done, might render needless my answer to the last objection, viz. 'Which way shall we be able to prevent papists from passing for protestant dissenters, that so the security propounded to the government be not baffled by disguise?' For no papist can subscribe this, but he will lie in the face of the government and country, and that yearly, and upon record too; which is ten times more than a transient oath, muttered with one word spoken, and another dropt. However, that we may carry it as far as human prudence can go,—I yet offer two expedients:

First, That upon jealousy of any person's being a papist, or popishly inclined, who is known to frequent the assemblies of protestant dissenters, four of that party, of most note and integrity, unto which he pretends to adhere, should be summoned to appear before those justices of the peace unto whom the complaint is made, to testify their knowledge of the person suspected, his education, principles, and manner of life: which way of inspection, as it goes as far as man can reach, so can it scarcely fail; for those persons will not only discover their own hypocrisy if they conceal him, but expose themselves and their friends to ruin. So that to say true, the government has the interest and security of an entire party, for the discovery of every such suspected person.

But if this will not do, then,

Secondly, Be you pleased to refer the discrimination of suspected persons to the good old way of the government, that is, 'The enquiry and judgment of twelve men of the neighbourhood;' to wit, a jury: provided always, that they be such as have taken, or will themselves take, the test; else, that they may be excepted against by the party suspected.

Indeed a good expedient may be made out of both, for the first may be evidence to the last, and I think you will hardly fail of your ends.

I shall conclude with this request, first, to Almighty God, that he would please to make us truly and deeply sensible of his present mercies to us, and to reform our hearts and lives to improve them thankfully. And, secondly, to you,

that we may be loving, humble, and diligent, one to and for another: for as from such amendments we may dare promise great and sudden felicity to England, so if looseness in life, and bitterness in religion, be not speedily reprehended and reformed, and the common civil interest maintained entire, God will, I justly fear, repent he has begun to do us good, adjourn the day of our deliverance to that of our repentance and moderation, and overcast these happy dawnings of his favour, by a thick and dismal cloud of confusion and misery: which God avert!

These things that I have written, are no wild guesses, or may-be's, but the disease and cure, the danger and safety, of England: in treating of which, that God who made the world knows, I have not gratified any private spleen or interest (for I am sorry at the occasion) but singly and conscientiously intended his honour, and the lasting good of England, to which all personal and party considerations ought ever to submit.

Amicus Plato, amicus Aristoteles, sed magis amica veritas, i. e. Anglia.

Your own faithful and most affectionate

PHILANGLUS.

A BRIEF

EXAMINATION AND STATE

OF

LIBERTY SPIRITUAL,

BOTH WITH RESPECT TO

PERSONS IN THEIR PRIVATE CAPACITY,

AND IN THEIR

CHURCH SOCIETY AND COMMUNION.

Written for the Establishment of the Faithful, Information of the Simple-hearted, and Reproof of the Arrogant and High-minded.

By a Lover of True Liberty, as it is in Jesus,

WILLIAM PENN.

To go amongst the People of the Lord called Quakers.

"If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed."—John viii. 36.

"If we walk in the light as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin."—1 John i. 7.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE LORD, CALLED QUAKERS.

Dear Friends and Brethren,

It hath of long time rested with some pressure upon my spirit, for Zion's sake, and the peace of Jerusalem, to write something of the nature of true spiritual liberty; liberty, one of the most glorious words and things in the world, but little understood, and frequently abused by many. I beseech Almighty God to preserve you, his people, in the right knowledge and use of that liberty, which Jesus Christ, the captain of our salvation, hath purchased for us, and is redeeming us into, who hath "led captivity captive, and is giving gifts to them that truly believe in his name." Christ's liberty is obtained through Christ's cross; they that would

be his free-men, must be his bonds-men, and wear his blessed yoke. His liberty is from sin, not to sin; to do his will, and not our own; no, not to speak an idle word. "It is not I that live," saith the apostle, "but Christ that liveth in me," who had set him free from the power of sin, and brought immortality to light in him; whence he learned thus to triumph, "O death, where is thy sting! O grave, where is thy victory!" this is the personal freedom that comes by Jesus Christ, to as many as receive him in the way, and for the end for which God hath given him; to wit, to be a Saviour and a leader, to save us from our corruptions, and guide us in the narrow way of his holy cross, and through the strait gate of self-denial, which leads to eternal life. And as many as have entered at this door, are come to have unity with God, and one with another; to love him above all, and their neighbours as themselves; yea, to prefer each other before themselves. Such will not violate the great law of their Lord and master; "Love one another:" the new, and yet the old commandment: these dwell in love, and so they dwell in God; for "God is love." It was the beloved disciple's testimony, and it comes up to what another man of God hath said, namely, "The church that dwells in God:" if she dwells in God, then in love; consequently her members are in union, of one mind in church matters, since she has but one head to rule her.

Peruse this brief discourse in this love, and it may be to edification. My aim is to assert the truth, detect error, and point in true brotherly kindness at those shoals and sands which some by mistake, or over boldness, have and may run upon. O friends! I greatly desire, that the spirit of love, wisdom, and a sound understanding, of meekness, judgment, and mercy, may ever rest upon you; that blamelessly you may be kept an holy family, at unity with itself, to the Lord God your Redeemer, that he over all may in you, through you, and by you, be exalted, honoured and praised, who is worthy and blessed for ever.

A BRIEF EXAMINATION

OF

SPIRITUAL LIBERTY.

Published in the Year 1681.

Quest. WHAT is spiritual liberty?

Answ. It is two-fold; there is a true and a false liberty, as a true and false spirit, the right discerning of which concerns every one's eternal well-being.

Quest. What is true spiritual liberty?

Answ. Deliverance from sin by the perfect law in the heart, "The perfect law of liberty," James ii. otherwise called, "The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, that makes free from the law of sin and death; elsewhere styled, "The law of truth writ in the heart," which makes free indeed, as saith Christ, "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." So that the liberty of God's people stands in the truth, and their communion in it, and in the perfect spiritual law of Christ Jesus, which delivers and preserves them from every evil thing that doth or would embondage. In this blessed liberty, it is not the will nor wisdom of man, neither the vain affections and lusts, that rule or give law to the soul; for the minds of all such as are made free by the truth, are by the truth conducted in doing and suffering through their earthly pilgrimage.

Quest. What is false liberty?

Answ. A departing from this blessed Spirit of truth, and a rebelling against this perfect law of liberty in the heart, and being at liberty to do our own wills; upon which cometh reproof and judgment.

Quest. But are there not some things wherein we ought to be left to our own freedom?

Answ. "We are not our own, for we are bought with a price;" and in all things ought we to glorify God with our bodies, souls, and spirits, which are the Lord's.

Quest. But must we have a motion or command from the Spirit of Truth for all things that we do?

Answ. That may be according to the truth, which may not be by the immediate motion or command of the truth; for that is according to the truth, that is not against the mind

of the truth, either particularly or generally expressed. The truth commands me to "do all to the praise and glory of God;" but not that I should wait for a motion to do every particular thing. For example: the variety of actions in trading, commerce, and husbandry, the variety of flesh, fish, and fowl for food, with more of the same nature, in all which there is a choice and liberty, but still according to the truth, and within the holy bounds and limits of it.

Quest. Then it seems there are some things left to our freedom.

Answ. Yes; but it must be according to the mind of God's truth: there are things enjoined, such as relate to our duty to God, to our superiors, to the household of faith, and to all men and creatures, these are indispensable. There are also things that may be done or left undone, which may be called indifferent; as, what sort of meat I will eat to-day, whether I will eat flesh, fish, or herbs, or what hours I will eat my meals at, with many such outward things of life and converse; yet even in such cases I ought to act according to the truth, in the temperance and wisdom of it.

Quest. But doth not freedom extend farther than this? For since God hath given me a manifestation of his Spirit to profit withal, and that I have the gift of God in myself, should I not be left to act according as I am free and persuaded in my own mind, in the things that relate to God; lest, looking upon myself as obliged by what is revealed unto another, though it be not revealed unto me, I should be led out of my own measure, and act upon another's motion, and so offer a blind sacrifice to God?

Answ. This is true in a sense; that is, if thou art such an one that canst do nothing against the truth, but for the truth, then mayest thou safely be left to thy freedom in the things of God: and the reason is plain, because thy freedom stands in the perfect law of liberty, in the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, and in the truth, which is Christ Jesus, which makes thee free indeed; that is, perfectly free from all that is bad, and perfectly free to all that is holy, just, lovely, honest, comely, and of good report; but if thou pleadest thy freedom against such things, yea, obstructest and slightest such good, wholesome and requisite things, thy freedom is naught, dark, perverse, out of the truth, and against the perfect law of love and liberty.

Quest. But must I conform to things whether I can receive them or no? Ought I not to be left to the grace and Spirit of God in my own heart?

Answ. To the first part of the question, nay; to the last,

yea. But now let us consider what is the reason thou canst not receive them: is the fault in the things themselves? Are they inconsistent with truth, or will not the truth own or assent unto them, or is the fault in thee? That is to say, is it thy weakness, or thy carelessness? If thy weakness, it is to be borne with, and to be informed; if thy carelessness, thou oughtest to be admonished; for it is a dangerous principle, and pernicious to true religion, and, which is worse, it is the root of ranterism to assert, 'That nothing is a duty incumbent upon thee, but what thou art persuaded is thy duty;' for the seared conscience pleads his liberty against all duty, the dark conscience is here unconcerned, the dead conscience is here uncondemned; unless this distinction be allowed of, that there may be an ignorance or an insensibility from inability or incapacity, or a dark education; and an ignorance and insensibility, from carelessness, disobedience, prejudice, &c. So that though thou art not to conform to any thing ignorantly, yet thou art seriously to consider why thou art ignorant, and what the cause of such ignorance may be: certainly it cannot be in God, nor in his gift to thee; it must then needs be in thyself, who hast not yet received a sense for or against the matter, about which thou art in doubt. To the second part of the question; 'Ought I not to be left to the grace of God in my own heart?' *Answ.* That it is of all things most desirable, since they are well left that are there left; for there is no fear of want of unity, where all are left with the One Spirit of Truth; they must be of one mind, they cannot be otherwise. So that to plead this against unity, is to abuse the very plea, and to commit the greatest contradiction to that very doctrine of scripture, viz. 'That all should be guided by the grace and spirit of God in themselves; for the end of that doctrine is certainty. "They shall all know me, saith the Lord, from the least to the greatest. And I will give them one heart, and one way, that they may fear me for ever, for the good of them, and of their children after them," Jer. xxxii. 39. "And I will give them one heart, and I will put a new spirit within you; and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them an heart of flesh," Ezekiel xi. 19. "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart, and of one soul," Acts iv. 32. Is not this unity too? "I will restore unto you a pure language; they shall be of one heart, and of one mind, and great shall be their peace." Therefore I must say to thee, Friend, what if thou wilt not be left with the grace and Spirit of God in thyself, nor wait for its mind, nor be watchful to its revelations, nor humble and quiet till

thou hast received such necessary manifestations, but pleadest against the counsel of the Spirit of the Lord in other faithful persons, under the pretence of being left to his Spirit in thyself; by which means thou opposest the Spirit to the Spirit, and pleadest for dis-unity, under the name of liberty; I ask thee, May not I exhort thee to the practice of that I am moved to press thee to the practice of? If not, thou art the imposer, by restraining me from my Christian liberty; and not only so, but away goeth preaching, and with it the scriptures, that are both appointed of God for "exhortation, reproof, and instruction."

Quest. But are there not various measures, diversities of gifts, and several offices in the body?

Answ. True; but therefore are not the members of one mind, one will, and one judgment, in common and universal matters, especially relating to the family and church of God? And indeed there cannot be a falser reasoning than to conclude discord from diversity, contrariety from variety. Is there contrariety of bloods, lifes, feelings, seeings, hearings, tastings, smellings, in one and the same body, at one and the same time? No such matter: experience is a demonstration against all such insinuations. So that though it be granted, that there is diversity of gifts, yet there is no disagreement in sense; and though variety of offices, yet no contrariety in judgment concerning those offices. Well say the holy scriptures of truth, "There is but One God: the Lord our God is but One Lord: there is but One God and Father of all things (that are good); and there is but One Lord, one faith, and one baptism!" and his light, life, and Spirit is at unity with itself in all: what comes from the light, life, or Spirit in one, it is the same in truth and unity to the rest, as if it did rise in themselves: this is seen in our assemblies every day, and will be throughout all generations in the church of God, among those that live in the lowly truth, in which the pure sense and sound judgment stand: "God is not the God of confusion, but order:" every one in his order is satisfied, hath unity and true fellowship, with whatever comes from the life of God in another: for this precious life reacheth throughout the heritage of God, and is the common life that giveth the common feeling and sense to the heritage of God. Degree or measure in the same life can never contradict or obstruct that which is from the same life for the common benefit of the family of God. The Lord is the unmeasurable and incomprehensible glorious Being of Life, yet have we unity with him in all his works, who are come to his divine measure of light and truth in our own hearts, and live therein; and shall we not have unity with

that which proceeds from a fellow-creature? In short, the saints' way is in the light, wherein there is neither doubt nor discord; yea, they are children of the light, and called light, and "The lights of the world;" and can it be supposed that such should disagree and contradict each other in their exterior order and practice in the church before the world? O the blessed seamless garment of Jesus! Where that is known, these things can never rise. But yet again, "The just man's path is" not only a light, but a "shining light," brightness itself: certainly there can be no stumbling. It is also said, that "light is sown for the righteous;" then the righteous shall never want light upon any occasion: and saith that beloved evangelist and apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, "They that walk in the light have fellowship one with another," 1 John i. Whence it is easy to conclude, they that go out of the fellowship, go out of the light: but if they that walk in the light, have fellowship one with another, what shall we say of those that plead being left to the light to justify their not having fellowship one with another? And, which is yet worse, who suppose people may conscientiously and justifiably dissent within themselves, and that by reason of the variety of the degrees of the Spirit and grace that are given of God unto them; as if the lesser degree may dissent from the greater, because of its not being able to comprehend it. And to make this principle more authentic, such tell us, 'This is the ancient principle of truth;' and object, 'How will you else be able to maintain the Quakers' principles?' The fallacy of all which, lieth (as I said before) in not rightly distinguishing between diversity and disagreement, variety and contrariety; for this diversity hath concord, and this variety hath unity. And it is a blindness that hath too much of late happened to some, by going from the one life and spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, first to fall into disagreements, and then plead for it, under the notion of diversity of measures. I would ask all such persons, who arrogate to themselves such a peculiar knowledge of the ancient principles of truth, or the Quakers' first principles; 1st, 'Whether they believe there be a Christian body? 2ndly, Whether this body hath an head? 3rdly, Whether Christ be not this head? 4thly, Whether this head be without eyes, ears, smell, and taste, and this body without sense and feeling?' If not, Whether this head seeth, heareth, smelleth, tasteth, differingly, and contrarily to itself? and whether this body hath a contrary feeling at the same time about the same thing?' And if it be true, that the church of Christ, redeemed by his most precious blood to live to him, see with the same

eye, hear with the same ear, speak with the same mouth, live by the same breath, and are led by the same spirit, where is this disagreement, contrariety, or dissent about the things of his church?

Quest. But the members of Christ's church in the primitive times had different apprehensions; as the apostles, and the people gathered by them.

Answ. Pray let me know who they were, and in what cases?

Quest. The persons were Paul and Peter, and those Christians that differed about meats; and the scripture is plain in the case.

Answ. The difference between Peter and Paul (in the Acts) testifies the weakness of Peter, and the place justifies Paul's reproof of his too great compliance with the Jews in some of their rites; which makes against liberty of various practices in the church of Christ, and not for indulging them. That instance about the difference of Christians as to meats, &c. has nothing in it to the end for which it is alleged; for this related not to church-order or communion, but private and personal freedoms, what each might do with respect to themselves; that is, they might make laws to themselves, in things that only concerned private persons, and it centered there; *e. g.* 'What I will eat, when I will eat,' things to myself, and for myself, as a man having power of my own appetite: the liberty in things private, personal, and indifferent, makes nothing for dissenting about church-matters in things of communion and society, and that also are not indifferent, (as to eat fish, or eat flesh, or eat herbs, plainly is) but necessary; as to be careful and orderly about the external business of the church: these are no jewish rites, nor shadowy ceremonies; no meats nor drinks that are private and personal, where weakness is apt to mistake (that were an unnecessary and an unchristian yoke to bear) but things comely, orderly, and of good report, that tend to purity, peace and diligence in things acceptable to God, and requisite among his people in their temporal and Christian capacity. And herein the apostle Paul exercised his godly authority; and we find that not only those that opposed themselves to it, as thinking he took too much upon him, demanded a mark of Christ's speaking in him, but are in scripture branded with contention. But the true believers, that had in themselves a mark of Christ's speaking in him, were of one mind, and avoided such as were given to contention; for it was not the custom of the churches of Christ. Thus were Christ's people of one heart, in things relating to their communion. Yet a little far-

ther; they that have the mind of Christ, are of one mind; for Christ is not divided: they that have Christ for their head, have one counsellor and prophet, one seer and bishop, they disagree not in their judgments in things relating to him, and the good of his church; they have one and the same guide; for the one spirit, into which they have all drank, and by it are baptised into one body, leads them all. Now to every member is a "measure of the same spirit given to profit with;" and though every member is not an eye, nor an ear, nor a mouth, yet every member hath unity with the eye, with the ear, with the mouth, in their proper and respective acts, and they one with the other: the eye sees for the mouth; the mouth speaks for the eye; and the ear hears for both: this variety hath no discord; but in this diversity of gifts and offices, each member is sensible of the other, and moves and acts by one and the same life, spirit, and guidance, which is omnipresent, proportionable to every member in its distinct office. It must be granted, that there are helps in the church, as well as that there is a church at all; and the Holy Ghost has compared those helps (as is before-mentioned) to several members and senses of man's body, as an eye, an hand, a foot, hearing, smelling, &c. All then cannot be the eye, neither can all be the hand, for then they would confound their office, and act disagreeably to the ordination of the great orderer of his church. And if I will not comply with him that God hath made an eye, because I am not that eye, or an hand, because I am not that member myself, nor a party to the action or performance of that member, I resist the Lord, though under pretence of resisting man for the Lord's sake. And truly, this is the rock that some of our own time, as well as persons of former ages, have split upon; they have not been contented with their own station in the body, they have not kept to their own gift, nor been taken up with the duty of their own place in the church. If he that is a foot would be an hand, and the hand covets to be an eye, envying others their allotted station, through height of mind, and walking loose from the holy cross, there can be no such thing as concord and fellowship in the church of Christ.

Farthermore, since the spirit of the Lord is one in all, it ought to be obeyed through another, as well as in one's self: and this I affirm to you, that the same lowly frame of mind that receives and answers the mind of the spirit of the Lord in a man's self, will receive and have unity with the mind of the same spirit through another: and the reason is plain; because the same self-evidencing power and virtue that ariseth from the measure of the spirit of truth in one's

self, and that convinceth a man in his own heart, doth also attend the discovery of the mind of the same spirit, when delivered by another; for the words of the "second Adam, the quickening spirit," through another, are spirit and life, as well as in thy own particular: this is discerned by the spiritual man that judgeth all things, although the carnal man pleadeth being left to his freedom; and, it may be, talks of being left to the spirit in himself too; the better to escape the sense and judgment of the spiritual man. It is my earnest desire, that all that have any knowledge of the Lord, would have a tender care how they use that plea against their faithful brethren, that God put into their mouths against the persecuting priests and hirelings of the world, namely, 'I must mind the spirit of God in myself:' for though it be a great truth that all are to be left thereunto, yet it is as true, that he whose soul is left with the spirit of truth in himself, differs not from his brethren that are in the same spirit; and as true it is, that those who err from the spirit of truth, may plead being left to the spirit in themselves, against the motion and command of the spirit through another, when it pleaseth not his or her high mind and perverse will; for a saying may be true or false, according to the subject matter it is spoken upon, or applied to: we own the assertion, we deny the application: there lies the snare. It is true, the people of God ought to be left to the guidings of the Spirit of God in themselves; but for this to be so applied, as to disregard the preachings or writings of Christ's enlightened servants, because by them applied properly to the preaching or writing of false prophets and seducers, will by no means follow. I say the doctrine is true, but not exclusively of all external counsel or direction; therefore false in application, where men are allowed to have had the fear of God, and the mind of his Spirit, and are not proved to have acted in their own wills and wisdom, or without the guidance of the Spirit of God, about the things of his church and kingdom.

Quest. But though this be true, which hath been alleged for heavenly concord, yet what if I do not presently see that service in a thing, that the rest of my brethren agree in? In this case, what is my duty and theirs?

Answ. It is thy duty to wait upon God in silence and patience, out of all fleshly consultations; and as thou abidest in the simplicity of the truth, thou wilt receive an understanding with the rest of thy brethren, about the thing doubted. And it is their duty, whilst thou behavest thyself in meekness and humility, to bear with thee, and carry themselves tenderly and loving towards thee: but if, on the

contrary, thou disturbest their godly care and practice, and growest contentious, and exaltest thy judgment against them, they have power from God to exhort, admonish, and reprove thee; and (if thou perseverest therein) in his name to refuse any farther fellowship with thee, till thou repentest of thy evil.

Quest. But, lest I should mistake, when thou speakest of true liberty, that it stands in being made free by the truth from all unrighteousness, dost thou mean, that no other persons ought to have the liberty of exercising their dissenting consciences, but that force may be lawful to reduce such as are reputed erroneously conscientious?

Answ. By no means: it were a great wickedness against God, who is Lord of the souls and spirits of men, and ought to preside in all consciences, who, as the apostle saith, "is the only potentate, and hath immortality." For though I give the true liberty of soul and conscience to those only that are set free by the power of Christ, from the bondage of sin, and captivity of death, yet do I not intend that any person or persons should be in the least harmed for the external exercise of their dissenting consciences in worship to God, though erroneous: for though their consciences be blind, yet they are not to be forced; such compulsion giveth no sight, neither do corporal punishments produce conviction: this we, above all people, in our day, have withstood, in speaking, writing, and suffering; and, blessed be God, continue so to do with faithfulness. For faith is the gift of God, and forced sacrifices are not pleasing to the Lord.

Quest. But according to thy argument, it may be my fault, that I have not the gift of faith; and upon this presumption, it may be, thou wilt inflict some temporal penalties upon me.

Answ. No such matter; for such kind of faults are not to be punished with temporal or worldly penalties; for whether the errors be through weakness or wilfulness, not relating to moral practice, all external coercion and corporal punishment is excluded. "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual."

Quest. But what then is the extent of the power of the church of Christ, in case of schism or heresy?

Answ. The power that Christ gave to his church was this, 'That offenders, after the first and second admonition, (not repenting) should be rejected:' not imprisoned, plundered, banished, or put to death; this belongs to the whore and false prophet: O! all these things have come to pass for want of humility, for want of the ancient fear, and keeping in the quiet habitation of the just: the truth in you all

shall answer me. And this I affirm, from the understanding I have received of God, not only that the enemy is at work to scatter the minds of friends, by that loose plea, 'What hast thou to do with me? leave me to my freedom, and to the grace of God in myself,' and the like: but this proposition and expression, as now understood and alleged, is a deviation from, and a perversion of, the ancient principle of truth; for this is the plain consequence of this plea, if any one (especially if they are but lately convinced) shall say, 'I see no evil in paying tithes to hireling priests, in that they are not claimed by divine right, but by the civil laws of the land. I see no evil in marrying by the priest, for he is but a witness. Furthermore, I see no evil in declining a public testimony in suffering times, or hiding in times of persecution, for I have Christ's and Paul's examples. I see no evil in worshipping and respecting the persons of men; for whatever others do, I intend a sincere notice that I take of those I know, and have a good esteem for. Lastly, I see no evil in keeping my shop shut upon the world's holidays and mass-days, (as they call them) though they are rather lewdly and superstitiously than religiously kept; for I would not willingly give any offence to my neighbours. And since your testimony is against imposition, and for leaving every one to the measure of the grace which God hath given him, not only no man hath power to reprove or judge me, but I may be as good a friend as any of you, according to my measure.' And now, here is measure set up against measure, which is confusion itself.—Babel indeed! this is that very rock both professors and profane would long since have run us upon, namely, 'That a way is hereby opened to all the world's libertines, to plead the light within for their excesses:' which indeed grieves the spirit of God, and was severely judged by our friends in the beginning, and is still reproved by them that keep their habitation; though some are become as wandering stars, through their own pride, and the prevalency of the hour of temptation that hath overtaken them; whereas had they kept in the channel of love and life, in the orb and order of the celestial power, they had shined as fixed stars in the firmament of God for ever. And from the deep sense that I have of the working of the enemy of Zion's peace, to rend and divide the heritage of God, who under the pretence of crying down man, forms, and prescriptions, is crying down the heavenly man Christ Jesus, his blessed order and government, which he hath brought forth by his own revelation and power through his faithful witnesses, this I farther testify, First, That the enemy, by these fair pretences, strikes at the godly care and travail that dwells

upon the spirits of many faithful brethren, that all things might be preserved sweet, comely, virtuous, and of good report in the church of God. Secondly, That there never was greater necessity of this godly care than at this day, since we were a people, wherein the cross, by too many, is not so closely kept to as in days past, and in which there is not only a great convincement, but a young generation descended of friends, who though they retain the form their education hath led them into, yet many of them adorn not the gospel with that sensible, weighty, and heavenly conversation as becomes the children of the undefiled religion, and the seed of that precious faith which works by the love that overcomes the world. And the Lord God of heaven and earth, that hath sent his Son Christ Jesus a light into our hearts and consciences, to whose search and judgment all ought to (and must) bring their deeds, and render up their account, beareth holy record, that for this end hath he moved upon the spirits of his servants, and for this good end only have his servants given forth, recommended, and put in practice, those things that are now in godly use among his people, whether in this or other nations, relating to men's and women's meetings, and their divers and weighty services. And farther; in the fear of the Almighty God, I shall add, that heavenly peace and prosperity dwell with those who are found in an holy and zealous practice of them: wherefore I warn all, that they take heed of a slighting and obstinate mind, and that they have a care how they give way to the outcry of some, falsly, intitled, 'Liberty of conscience against imposition,' &c. for the end thereof is to lead back again, and give ease to the carnal mind, which, at last, will bring death again upon the soul to God, and the living society of his children. And indeed, it is a great shame that any who have ever known the truth of God in the inward parts, and the sweet society of brethren, especially those who were early in the work of this blessed day and heavenly dispensation, should so far depart from the fear and awe of the Lord, as to use such unsavoury, as well as untrue expressions: this is very far from that meek spirit of Jesus, and the first love, which they pretend to have so singularly kept in, which beareth all things, suffereth all things, and endureth all things, and teacheth to keep the word of patience in the hour of tribulation; nay, but this is judging of spiritual things with a carnal and prejudiced mind, stumbling at the matter for the sake of the persons through whom it comes, not eying nor weighing the spirit the thing arises from, but the person by whom it is spoken, which darkens the eye of the understanding, and blinds, by prejudice, the

mind that should discern, taste, and judge: from whence many mischiefs have sprung to the church of Christ in divers ages: nor is it the least evil this spirit of strife is guilty of, even at this day, that it useth the words, 'Liberty of conscience, and imposition,' against the brethren, in the same manner as our suffering friends have been always accustomed to intend them against the persecuting priests and powers of the earth; as if it were the same thing to admonish and reprove conceited, high-minded, loose or contentious persons in the church, as to compel conformity in matters of faith and worship, by worldly violence, upon the persons and estates of conscientious dissenters: O such iniquity God will not leave unreproved!

This, dear friends, I send amongst you, as a token of my true love, in the revelation of the free spirit of our God and Father; who have ever been a friend to true liberty, as in the state according to law, so in the church according to scripture, and as it standeth in the truth of Jesus, that makes them who love it free indeed. Let us all keep low, and remember the Rock from whence we were hewn, and dwell in a tender and reverent sense of the daily mercies and providences of the Lord, looking well to our own growth and prosperity in his heavenly way and work; then shall the desire of our hearts be more and more after him, and the remembrance of his name; and, with our love to God, will our love increase one towards another, helping and aiding one another: and I no ways doubt, but God that has brought us out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage, and delivered us from the mouth of the lion and the paw of the bear, will preserve his people from this uncircumcised spirit that is not in covenant with God, nor under the yoke of his holy royal law of 'true spiritual liberty:' for they that keep and walk in the light of Jesus, are fenced from the power of this crooked serpent, that seeks whom he may betray; nor are any stung by him but the unwatchful, the listeners and hearkeners after his jealous whispers, and detracting insinuations: they are such as make their dwelling in the earth, where his region is, and where he creeps and twists, who is earthly, sensual, and devilish, and so is all the wisdom that comes from him.

My dear friends: keep, I pray you, in the simplicity of the truth, and cross of Jesus, and wait for your daily bread, and to be daily renewed from the Lord; look to your increase about eternal riches, and be sure to lay up treasure in heaven that fadeth not away, that your faith and hope may have eternal foundations, which the cross occurrences of time, and fears of mortality cannot move: and beware of

that loose and irreverent spirit, which has not those in high esteem among you, that are faithful in the Lord's work, and that labour in his blessed word and doctrine. I plainly see a coldness and shortness on this hand; and be the pretence as it will, it is not pleasing to the Lord. They that love Christ, his servants are dear to them, and they bear a tender regard to their trials, travels, spendings and sufferings, who seek not yours, but you, that you may all be "presented blameless at the coming of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ;" that so the gospel-ministry and testimony may be held up with holy fervent love, and godly esteem, to the keeping under every raw and exalted mind, and whatever may slight and turn against it; lest God, that has richly visited us with his fatherly visitations, and day-springing from on high, should remove his blessings from amongst us, and place his "candlestick" among other people. Be wise therefore, O friends! for behold he is at the door that must have an account of your stewardship: be watchful, keep to your first love and works, that so you may endure to the end, and be saved; and having overcome, you may have right to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.

The God of peace, who hath brought our dear Lord Jesus from the dead, and us with him, more abundantly enrich you with all wisdom and knowledge, in the revelation of himself, through faith in his Son, by whom in these last days he hath spoken to us, who is the blessed and only Potentate, King of kings, and Lord of lords, who only hath immortality; to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen.

Your friend and brother, in the tribulation and salvation of the enduring kingdom of our God,

WILLIAM PENN.

Worminghurst in Sussex,
the 20th of the 9th month, 1681.

A LETTER,

FROM

WILLIAM PENN,

Proprietor and Governor of Pennsilvania in America,

TO

The Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province, residing in London;

CONTAINING

A general Description of the said Province, its Soil, Air, Water, Seasons, and Produce, both natural and artificial, and the good increase thereof: with an Account of the Natives, or Aborigines.

Published in the Year 1683.

My kind Friends:

The kindness of yours by the ship Thomas and Anne, doth much oblige me; for by it I perceive the interest you take in my health and reputation, and the prosperous beginning of this province, which you are so kind as to think may much depend upon them. In return of which, I have sent you a long letter, and yet containing as brief an account of myself, and the affairs of this province, as I have been able to make.

In the first place, I take notice of the news you sent me, whereby I find some persons have had so little wit, and so much malice, as to report my death; and, to mend the matter, dead a jesuit too. One might have reasonably hoped, that this distance, like death, would have been a protection against spite and envy; and indeed, absence being a kind of death, ought alike to secure the name of the absent as the dead; because they are equally unable, as such, to defend themselves: but they that intend mischief, do not use to follow good rules to effect it. However, to the great sorrow and shame of the inventors, I am still alive, and no jesuit, and, I thank God, very well. And without injustice to the authors of this, I may venture to infer, that they that wilfully and falsly report, would have been glad it had been

so. But I perceive many frivolous and idle stories have been invented since my departure from England, which, perhaps, at this time, are no more alive than I am dead.

But if I have been unkindly used by some I left behind me, I found love and respect enough where I came; an universal kind welcome, every sort in their way. For here are some of several nations, as well as divers judgments: nor were the natives wanting in this, for their kings, queens, and great men, both visited and presented me; to whom I made suitable returns, &c.

For the Province, the general condition of it take as followeth:

I. The country itself, in its soil, air, water, seasons, and produce, both natural and artificial, is not to be despised. The land containeth divers sorts of earth, as sand, yellow and black, poor and rich: also gravel, both loamy and dusty; and in some places a fast fat earth, like to our best vales in England, especially by inland brooks and rivers; God in his wisdom having ordered it so, that the advantages of the country are divided, the back-lands being in general three to one richer, than those that lie by navigable waters. We have much of another soil, and that is a black hasel-mould, upon a stony or rocky bottom.

II. The air is sweet and clear, the heavens serene, like the south of France, rarely overcast; and as the woods come, by numbers of people, to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

III. The waters are generally good; for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms, and in number hardly credible. We have also mineral waters, that operate in the same manner with Barnet and North-Hall, not two miles from Philadelphia.

IV. For the seasons of the year, having by God's goodness now lived over the coldest and hottest that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding.

First, Of the fall, for then I came in: I found it from the 24th of October, to the beginning of December, as we have it usually in England in September, or rather like an English mild spring. From December, to the beginning of the month called March, we had sharp frosty weather; not foul, thick, black weather, as our north-east winds bring with them in England; but a sky as clear as in summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more clothes than in England. The reason of

this cold is given, from the great lakes that are fed by the fountains of Canada. The winter before was mild, scarce any ice at all; while this, for a few days, froze up our great river Delaware. From that month, to the month called June, we enjoyed a sweet spring, no gusts, but gentle showers, and a fine sky. Yet this I observe, that the winds here, as there, are most inconstant spring and fall, upon that turn of nature, than in summer or winter. From thence, to this present month, which endeth the summer, (commonly speaking) we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated sometimes by cool breezes. The wind that ruleth the summer season, is the south-west; but spring, fall, and winter, it is rare to want the wholesome north-western seven days together: and whatever mists, fogs, or vapours, foul the heavens by easterly or southerly winds, in two hours time are blown away; the one is followed by the other: a remedy that seems to have a peculiar providence in it to the inhabitants; the multitude of trees, yet standing, being liable to retain mists and vapours, and yet not one quarter so thick as I expected.

V. The natural produce of the country, of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note, are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chesnut, poplar, gumwood, hickery, sassafras, ash, beech, and oak of divers sorts, as red, white, and black; Spanish chesnut and swamp, the most durable of all: of all which, there is plenty for the use of man.

The fruits that I find in the woods, are the white and black mulberry, chesnut, walnut, plums, strawberries, cranberries, hurtleberries, and grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape (now ripe) called by ignorance, 'the fox grape,' because of the relish it hath with unskilful palates) is in itself an extraordinary grape, and by art, doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not so sweet, yet little inferior to Frontignac, as it is not much unlike in taste, ruddiness set aside; which in such things, as well as mankind, differs the case much: there is a white kind of muscadel, and a little black grape, like the cluster-grape of England, not yet so ripe as the other; but, they tell me, when ripe, sweeter, and that they only want skilful vinerons to make good use of them: I intend to venture on it with my Frenchman this season, who shows some knowledge in those things. Here are also peaches very good, and in great quantities, not an Indian plantation without them; but whether naturally here at first, I know not: however, one may have them by bushels for little; they make a pleasant drink, and I think not inferior to any peach you have in

England, except the true Newington. It is disputable with me, whether it be best to fall to fining the fruits of the country, especially the grape, by the care and skill of art, or send for foreign stems and sets, already good and approved. It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth best, where it naturally grows, but will hardly be equalled by another species of the same kind, that doth not naturally grow there. But to solve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequence will be, as good wine as any European countries, of the same latitude, do yield.

VI. The artificial produce of the country, is wheat, barley,* oats, rye, peas, beans, squashes, pumpkins, watermelons, musk-melons, and all herbs and roots that our gardens in England usually bring forth.

VII. Of living creatures; fish, fowl, and the beasts of the woods, here are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only: for food, as well as profit, the elk, as big as a small ox; deer bigger than ours; beaver, racoon, rabbits, squirrels, and some eat young bear, and commend it. Of fowl of the land, there is the turkey, (forty and fifty pounds weight) which is very great; pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons, and partridges in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose (white and grey), brands, duck, teal, also the snipe and curlew, and that in great numbers: but the duck and teal excel, nor so good have I ever ate in other countries. Of fish, there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, catshead, sheepshead, eel, smelt, perch, roach; and in inland rivers, trout, some say salmon, above the falls. Of shell-fish, we have oysters, crabs, cockles, conchs, and muscles; some oysters six inches long; and one sort of cockle as large as the stewing-oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin or fur, and that are natural to these parts, are the wild cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher, minx, musk-rat: and of the water, the whale for oil, of which we have good store; and two companies of whalers, whose boats are built, will soon begin their work, which hath the appearance of a considerable improvement. To say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod in the bay.

VIII. We have no want of horses, and some are very good, and shapely enough; two ships have been freighted to Barbadoes with horses and pipe-staves, since my coming in.

* Note, That Edward Jones, son-in-law to Thomas Wynn, living on the Schuylkill, had with ordinary cultivation, for one grain of English barley, seventy stalks and ears of barley: and it is common in this country, from one bushel sown, to reap forty, often fifty, and sometimes sixty: and three pecks of wheat sows an acre here.

Here is also plenty of cow-cattle, and some sheep; the people plough mostly with oxen.

IX. There are divers plants, that not only the Indians tell us, but we have had occasion to prove by swellings, burnings, cuts, &c. that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient: and for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle; the other I know not what to call, but are most fragrant.

X. The woods are adorned with lovely flowers, for colour, greatness, figure and variety; I have seen the gardens of London best stored with that sort of beauty, but think they may be improved by our woods: I have sent a few to a person of quality this year for a trial.

Thus much for the country; next

Of the Natives, or Aborigines.

XI. The natives I shall consider in their persons, language, manners, religion, and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin: of complexion, black, but by design, as the gypsies in England. They grease themselves with bears' fat clarified; and using no defence against sun or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-looked Jew. The thick lip and flat nose, so frequent with the East-Indians and blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them of both, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white, and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

XII. Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the Hebrew, in signification full; like short-hand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer: imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections: I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion: and I must say, that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent or emphasis, than theirs: for instance, *Octocockon*, *Rancocas*, *Oricton*, *Shak*, *Marian*, *Poquesien*; all which are names of places, and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, *anna*, is mother; *issimus*, a brother; *netcap*, a friend; *usque oret*, very good; *pane*, bread; *metsa*, eat; *matta*, no; *hatta*, to have; *payo*, to come; *Scpassen*, *Passijon*, the names of places; *Tamane*, *Secane*, *Menanse*,

Secatereus, are the names of persons. If one ask them for any thing they have not, they will answer *Mattá ne hattá*, which to translate is, Not I have, instead of, I have not.

XIII. Of their customs and manners, there is much to be said; I will begin with children: so soon as they are born, they wash them in water, and while very young, and in cold weather to choose, they plunge them in the rivers to harden and embolden them. Having wrapped them in a clout, they lay them on a straight thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat heads: and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go very young, at nine months commonly; they wear only a small clout round their waist, till they are big; if boys, they go a fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen; then they hunt, and after having given some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry, else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers. and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burdens; and they do well to use them to that young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands; otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

XIV. When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads for an advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen, but when they please: the age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if men, seventeen and eighteen; they are rarely older.

XV. Their houses are mats, or barks of trees, set on poles, in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man; they lie on reeds or grass. In travel, they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils they wear by day, wrapped about them, and a few boughs stuck round them.

XVI. Their diet is maize, or Indian corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call *homine;* they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat: they have likewise several sorts of beans and peas, that are good nourishment; and the woods and rivers are their larder.

XVII. If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house, or *wigwam*, they give him the best place, and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an *itah*, which is as much as to say, Good be to you; and set them down, which is mostly on the ground, close to

their heels, their legs upright; it may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages: if you give them any thing to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased, else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

XVIII. They are great concealers of their own resentments, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practised among them: in either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians. A tragical instance fell out since I came into the country: a king's daughter thinking herself slighted by her husband, in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground, and eat it, upon which she immediately died; and for which, last week, he made an offering to her kindred, for atonement, and liberty of marriage; as two others did to the kindred of their wives, that died a natural death: for till widowers have done so, they must not marry again. Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage, for a portion; but when married, chaste: when with child they know their husbands no more till delivered; and during their month, they touch no meat they eat but with a stick, lest they should defile it; nor do their husbands frequent them, till that time be expired.

XIX. But in liberality they excel: nothing is too good for their friend: give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live, feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much: wealth circulateth like the blood, all parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land: the pay, or presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners, but the neighbouring kings and their clans, being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what, and to whom they should give them. To every king then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity, that is admirable. Then that king subdivideth it in like manner among his dependents, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects: and be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little, and the reason is, a little contents them: in this they are sufficiently revenged on us; if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. They are not disquieted

with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery suits and exchequer reckonings. We sweat and toil to live: their pleasure feeds them, I mean their hunting, fishing, and fowling, and this table is spread every where: they eat twice a day, morning and evening; their seats and table are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially; and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquors, they are restless till they have enough to sleep; that is their cry, Some more, and I will go to sleep; but, when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world.

XX. In sickness, impatient to be cured, and for it give any thing, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural: they drink at those times a *teran*, or decoction of some roots in spring-water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their love: their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year: they are choice of the graves of their dead; for lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

XXI. These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, to be sure the tradition of it; yet they believe a God and immortality, without the help of metaphysics; for they say, 'there is a great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them; and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again.' Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico: their sacrifice is the first-fruits; the first and fattest buck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him that performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency, and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus: their postures in the dance are very antic, and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another: there have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will: I was at one myself; their entertainment was a great seat by a spring, under some shady trees, and

twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes; and after that they fall to dance. But they that go must carry a small present in their money, it may be sixpence, which is made of the bone of a fish; the black is with them as gold, the white, silver; they call it all *wampum*.

XXII. Their government is by kings, which they call *Sachama*, and those by succession, but always of the mother's side: for instance, the children of him that is now king, will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits: the reason they render for this way of descent, is, that their issue may not be spurious.

XXIII. Every king hath his council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people; nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land or traffic, without advising with them; and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider, how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade: their order is thus: the king sits in the middle of an half moon, and hath his council, the old and wise on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and in the name of his king saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, 'He was ordered by his king to speak to me; and that now it was not he, but the king that spoke, because what he should say, was the king's mind.' He first prayed me 'to excuse them that they had not complied with me the last time; he feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English; besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate, and take up much time in council, before they resolve; and that if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay.' Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price; which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles, not buying now two. During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the old grave, the young reverent in their deportment: they speak little, but fervently, and with elegance: I have never seen more natural sagacity, consi-

dering them without the help, (I was going to say, the spoil) of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise, that outwits them in any treaty about a thing they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love, as long as the sun gave light.' Which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the *sachamakers* or kings; first to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them 'to love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me, and the people under my government: that many governors had been in the river, but that no governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong.' At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, Amen, in their way.

XXIV. The justice they have is pecuniary: in case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts, and presents of their *wampum*, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence or person injured, or of the sex they are of: for in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they can render, is, 'that she breedeth children, which men cannot do.' It is rare that they fall out, if sober; and if drunk, they forgive it, saying, 'It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them.'

XXV. We have agreed, that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter: do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them: the worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as glorious as their own condition looks, the Christians have not outlived their sight, with all their pretensions to an higher manifestation: what good then might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts, to outlive the knowledge of the natives, by a fixed obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God; for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censûre of the poor Indian conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

XXVI. For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race; I mean, of the stock of the ten tribes, and that for the following reasons: first, they were to go to a "land not planted or known," which, to be sure, Asia and Africawere, if not Europe; and He that intended that ex-

traordinary judgement upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the easternmost parts of Asia, to the westernmost of America. In the next place, I find them of like countenance, and their children of so lively a resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke's-place or Bury-street in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all; they agree in rites, they reckon by moons; they offer their first-fruits, they have a kind of feast of tabernacles; they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones; their mourning a year, customs of women, with many things that do not now occur.

So much for the natives; next the old planters will be considered in this relation, before I come to our colony, and the concerns of it.

XXVII. The first planters in these parts were the Dutch, and soon after them the Swedes and Finns. The Dutch applied themselves to traffic, the Swedes and Finns to husbandry. There were some disputes between them some years, the Dutch looking upon them as intruders upon their purchase and possession, which was finally ended in the surrender made by John Rizeing, the Swedish governor, to Peter Styresant, governor for the states of Holland, anno 1655.

XXVIII. The Dutch inhabit mostly those parts of the province that lie upon or near to the bay; and the Swedes the freshes of the river Delaware. There is no need of giving any description of them, who are better known there than here; but they are a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress in culture or propagation of fruit-trees, as if they desired rather to have enough, than plenty or traffic. But, I presume, the Indians made them the more careless, by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs, for rum, and such strong liquors. They kindly received me, as well as the English, who were few, before the people concerned with me came among them: I must needs commend their respect to authority, and kind behaviour to the English; they do not degenerate from the old friendship between both kingdoms. As they are people proper, and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; some six, seven, and eight sons: and I must do them that right, I see few young men more sober and laborious.

XXIX. The Dutch have a meeting-place for religious worship at Newcastle; and the Swedes, three, one at Christina, one at Tenecum, and one at Wicoco, within half a mile of this town.

XXX. There rests that I speak of the condition we are in, and what settlement we have made, in which I will be as short as I can; for I fear, and not without reason, that I have tired your patience with this long story. The country lieth bounded on the east by the river and bay of Delaware, and eastern sea; it hath the advantage of many creeks, or rivers rather, that run into the main river or bay; some navigable for great ships, some for small craft: those of most eminency are Christina, Brandywine, Skilpot, and Schuylkill; any one of which have room to lay up the royal navy of England, there being from four to eight fathom water.

XXXI. The lesser creeks or rivers, yet convenient for sloops and ketches of good burthen, are Lewis, Mespilion, Cedar, Dover, Cranbrook, Feversham, and Georges below, and Chichester, Chester, Toacawny, Pemmapecka, Portquessin, Neshimenck, and Pennberry in the Freshes, many lesser that admit boats and shallops. Our people are mostly settled upon the upper rivers, which are pleasant and sweet, and generally bounded with good land. The planted part of the province and territories is cast into six counties, Philadelphia, Buckingham, Chester, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, containing about four thousand souls. Two general assemblies have been held, and with such concord and dispatch, that they sat but three weeks, and at least seventy laws were passed without one dissent in any material thing. But of this more hereafter, being yet raw and new in our geer: however, I cannot forget their singular respect to me in this infancy of things, who by their own private expenses so early considered mine for the public, as to present me with an impost upon certain goods imported and exported: which after my acknowledgment of their affection, I did as freely remit to the province and the traders of it. And for the well-government of the said counties, courts of justice are established in every county, with proper officers, as justices, sheriffs, clerks, constables, &c. which courts are held every two months: but to prevent law-suits, there are three peace-makers chosen by every county-court, in the nature of common arbitrators, to hear and end differences betwixt man and man; and spring and fall there is an orphan's court in each county, to inspect and regulate the affairs of orphans and widows.

XXXII. Philadelphia, the expectation of those that are concerned in this province, is at last laid out, to the great content of those here, that are any ways interested therein: the situation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Schuylkill, whereby it hath two

fronts upon the water, each a mile, and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river, but the Schuylkill being an hundred miles boatable above the falls, and its course north-east towards the fountain of Susquahannah (that tends to the heart of the province, and both sides our own) it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. I say little of the town itself, because a platform will be shewn you by my agent, in which those who are purchasers of me, will find their names and interests: but this I will say for the good providence of God, that of all the many places, I have seen in the world, I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks, springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land and the air, held by the people of these parts to be very good. It is advanced within less than a year to about four-score houses and cottages, such as they are, where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations as fast as they can, while the countrymen are close at their farms: some of them got a little winter-corn in the ground last season, and the generality have had an handsome summer-crop, and are preparing for their winter-corn. They reaped their barley this year in the month called May; the wheat in the month following; so that there is time in these parts for another crop of divers things before the winter-season. We are daily in hopes of shipping to add to our number; for, blessed be God, here is both room and accommodation for them; the stories of our necessity being either the fears of our friends, or the scare-crows of our enemies; for the greatest hardship we have suffered, hath been salt meat, which by fowl in winter, and fish in summer, together with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty of venison the best part of the year, hath been made very passable. I bless God, I am fully satisfied with the country and entertainment I get in it; for I find that particular content which hath always attended me, where God in his providence hath made it my place and service to reside. You cannot imagine my station can be at present free of more than ordinary business, and as such, I may say, it is a troublesome work; but the method things are putting in will facilitate the charge, and give an easier motion to the administration of affairs. However, as it is some men's duty to plough, some to sow, some to water, and some to reap; so it is the wisdom as well as the duty of a man, to yield to the mind of Providence, and cheerfully, as well as carefully, embrace and follow the guidance of it.

XXXIII. For your particular concern, I might entirely

refer you to the letters of the president of the society; but this I will venture to say, your provincial settlements both within and without the town, for situation and soil, are without exception: your city-lot is an whole street, and one side of a street, from river to river, containing near one hundred acres, not easily valued, which is, besides your four hundred acres in the city-liberties, part of your twenty thousand acres in the country. Your tannery hath such plenty of bark, the saw-mill for timber, and the place of the glass-house are so conveniently posted for water-carriage, the city-lot for a dock, and the whalery for a sound and fruitful bank, and the town Lewis by it to help your people, that by God's blessing the affairs of the society will naturally grow in their reputation and profit. I am sure I have not turned my back upon any offer that tended to its prosperity; and though I am ill at projects, I have sometimes put in for a share with her officers, to countenance and advance her interest. You are already informed what is fit for you farther to do, whatsoever tends to the promotion of wine, and to the manufacture of linen in these parts, I cannot but wish you to promote it; and the French people are most likely in both respects to answer that design: to that end, I would advise you to send for some thousands of plants out of France, with some able vinerons, and people of the other vocation: but because I believe you have been entertained with this and some other profitable subjects by your president, I shall add no more, but to assure you, that I am heartily inclined to advance your just interest, and that you will always find me,

Your kind cordial friend,

W. PENN.

Philadelphia, the 16th of the 6th month, called August, 1683.

THE

NEW ATHENIANS

NO

NOBLE BEREANS:

BEING ANSWERS TO

SEVERAL ATHENIAN MERCURIES,

IN BEHALF OF THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

Published in the Year 1692.

PART I.

In Answer to the Athenian Mercury of the 7th Instant.

I AM heartily sorry to see men, professing so much ingenuity, fall so much below their pretensions. Your design, at first, carried the face of instruction, and gave us hopes of a general improvement of useful learning; and for that reason your papers were as welcome to us as any other people; especially those that referred to natural philosophy, mathematics, and history: insomuch, that some of us collected them as they came out, and others bought them as they were completed into volumes; being much concerned if at any time trivial or light questions were considered, as an unworthy diversion from the end by you in the beginning proposed. But you have not only been led, upon such occasions, to exceed too often the bounds of modesty, but you have taken occasion also to violate those of Christianity, in falling upon people's opinions in religion, instead of giving your own impartially; and upon their persons likewise, and at last, the society itself; as if your business were to expose them, instead of informing them, and to increase animosities, rather than to take up their time with more peaceable and profitable subjects. What if you were led to speak of any principle held by the people called Quakers? Could not

that have been done as indifferent persons, which you, by your very design, would bespeak yourselves to all persuasions, and not as party-disputants and angry antagonists? Might not the intention of the people have passed for good and sincere, though any part of their doctrine had, in your opinion, been unsound; but you must use hard words and names for both things and persons? A sober and unconcerned answer, upon any question that might be sent you relating to their belief, would have taken better with every body that deserved your pains, and have brought us sooner to reflect upon our mistakes, if such they were: but, in earnest, it looks as if you were almost aground, and wanted matter, that so specious a design as this first showed itself, should dwindle away into froward controversy and personal invectives about religion; or that you are not sufficient for your work, that can so easily be moved out of your province.

I beseech you leave this preposterous digression, and pursue your own business with more care and exactness; and, before you go, suffer yourselves first to be a little better informed of what you have so irregularly and undeservedly censured.

You take occasion at these words, 'Truth is always persecuted,' to say, 'That will indifferently serve Turk, Jew, Heathen, or Heretic, as well as the Quakers.' This is harsh and unchristian. Are none worse than we? Are we as great Heretics as any? You judge before you convict us: it is too gross partiality, and false in every degree. But whatever the persecuted be, the persecutor, to be sure, is always in the wrong; which is your case against the Quakers: but you recriminate, and will prove us persecutors. That were to the purpose indeed. Let us hear it. 'You excommunicate such as will not be subject to your injunctions:' and good reason too, if they are injunctions of civil order. He that joins himself to any society, is obliged to the rules of that society; and every society has, and must have, that power upon the members that constitute it, or confusion follows, and the society dissolves. For instance, injunctions about 'civil controversies, care of poor orphans, due and orderly proceedings relating to marriages,' &c. are to be complied with, without the reproach of persecution: and yet farther too; look upon what principles of communion any person enters into any society, if he leave them, or any of them, it is no persecution to disown him in that thing wherein he alters, so that it touches not person or estate; for that is persecution in a proper sense; which is not our case. But we 'imprison such as disturb our meetings:' How this will

be proved is hard to tell; and yet if it be persecution, it will light hardest elsewhere, even upon those, perhaps, that you account us heretics for separating from. But, thanks be to God, we can and do deny the charge. 'See,' say you, 'Francis Bugg's One blow more:' but if this be Athenian, it is not Berean, to condemn an whole people upon another man's authority, that you are not assured was well grounded. Besides, it is a book we have answered; which you take no notice of; and that is unfair, if you knew of it; and if you did not, you ought to have asked, before you had espoused another man's allegations. This is not answerable to that candour you profess; and we must tell you, that Francis Bugg is an apostate Quaker, an angry, unreasonable and clamorous man; often and again detected, and proved inconsistent with himself; and you will find, in the issue, of no reputation to your charge against us. But did you ever read our orders of discipline, or have you been ever eye or ear-witnesses of our injunctions upon conscience? If you have, you should have mentioned them, and shown us our fault; but your evidence here, is what a discontented man says, who speaks *ex parte*, and is judge in his own cause, against a body of people he was once among, and zealous for; who, upon a private controversy, because he had not his own will, took pet at those that could not be brought to humour him: and from thence ran out from the very profession of a Quaker; which shows the foundation wrong, that quits a principle, for being displeased in a man or men. What will become of society, if such humours are uncontroulable, or they must give the rule or law to the whole?

Your next proof of our being persecutors, is from a passage of Geo. Fox, and Geo. Roff, in their letters to O. Cromwell, by which we perceive your new acquaintance, and with what tools you work; which we are sorry for, both for your sakes and theirs. But those passages are plainly wrested by you; for they advise O. Cromwell to go on in the work he was called to; and what was that, pray? Is there one word of imposing religion upon the people of those countries, or forcing them to abjure or renounce their own? No, not a tittle of it. Where then is the persecution? But inasmuch as they were countries that did persecute, by which means the truth of God had not a free entrance or passage, but inquisitions in popish, and consistories in protestant governments, suppressed all that conformed not to their respective establishments; therefore he should have made it his business to open the way for a true liberty of conscience, that truth might not suffer under violence, nor

persecution for conscience sake oppress its professors. This is the upshot of those passages, their very scope and tendency, as will appear to any impartial reader, that will please to weigh them with what goes before and follows. But if you call this persecution, to be sure it must be so to fight for religion: and if it was unlawful for O. Cromwell to fight for liberty of conscience, who was of a fighting principle, what think you of punishing people because of their conscience, that would not fight with you? You are very tender of a sudden, if it may but brush at us; while you do not consider the blow you give yourselves and your own friends, that have but too signally appeared in that spirit and practice. The Lord inform, and forgive them.

You justify calling us 'silly enthusiasts,' for believing 'it is not lawful to swear;' and say, 'you are of the same mind, because we, without reason, by the dictates of our own fancy, which we call God's spirit, oppose the saints' practice of old; of which it was prophesied it should be used under the gospel, was so by the apostles and primitive Christians, nay, by God himself; therefore the Quakers are silly enthusiasts.' Thus you.

Now we think this will not prove us enthusiasts, nor silly; for we argue from a text, and not our own dreams and fancies. Had we only pretended the authority of a private revelation for this assertion, and that not true, then it had been enthusiasm, and we enthusiasts, in the worst sense: it is silly indeed, to call an opinion grounded upon an express text of scripture, either enthusiasm or silly, when there is not a plainer text for one God, than this of our Saviour's against swearing, Matt. v. 34. "Swear not at all." But if we had overstrained it, where is the silliness of it? Is it enthusiasm, or silly, to shut out all vain swearing, by shutting out all swearing? The advantage of that exceeds the disadvantage of lying in evidence, when that lying is made as punishable as forswearing. What silliness or enthusiasm is in this, pray you? Scotland and Holland think no such thing, that have indulged that tenderness.

And if the text be but seriously considered, the inference we make is beyond exception.

First, The tendency of that sermon upon the mount is to show, that the righteousness of the gospel excels that of the law; as in the case of adultery, divorce, revenge, &c. But the law forbad false and vain swearing; therefore this must refer to that which was not forbidden under the law. This is acknowledged by many learned men, and in particular one of our own nation, bishop Sanderson, in his 'Latin lectures, of the obligation of an oath:' but we, for another

reason, that shall anon be mentioned, think he yet narrows the extent of that evangelical precept, for he refers to vows only, and not swearing in any case; but we, to swearing at all. And our reasons are, first, If it had been vows only, there had been no need of substituting any way of speaking in the room of it. And, secondly, If the text cannot therefore refer to vows in particular, swearing at all must be intended; or nothing is forbidden, that was not forbidden under the law. Thirdly, Christ's prohibiting swearing, and substituting something in the room of it, and that something purely referring to the way and manner of Christians declaring the truth, it is, to us, evident, that he comprehended all cases wherein the truth of a thing is in doubt, and consequently the end of swearing: so, says Christ, "Let your ὁ λόγος, your speech, or your word, be yea, yea; or nay, nay." It is rendered communication in our translations, that it might refer only to common discourse, that word being sometimes so understood; and yet communication comprehends all acts of justice, as well as other parts of life: for if it comprehends discourse in dealing, it also comprehends the evidence of that dealing, and the laws of just dealing; and consequently the word communication cannot lessen the real force of our sense of the text; but the words of the text do plainly express a degree, if not a form, of declaring truth, be it yea or nay. And since truth-speaking takes in and relates to controversies among men, as well as other parts of human converse, this text is a measure of truth-speaking on all those occasions also. Fourthly, Now how far Christian men may go in declaring the truth, or where they are to be bounded, the text is plain, viz. a double, but bare, averment, or denial: "Let your word or speech be yea, yea; nay, nay:" that is, 'Let your answers, whenever you are asked the truth of a matter, go no farther than a simple affirmation, or negation, which you may double, if you please.' Fifthly, The reason Christ gives for bounding his followers within yea, yea, and nay, nay, excludes all oaths, yea, all that is more than yea, yea, and nay, nay; to wit, that "they come of evil," because they proceed from distrust, infidelity and impatience: a simple assertion declares truth; more, is a straining of the mind, and but to stoop to unreasonable incredulity, which hath an evil rise. Now what is more than yea, yea; and nay, nay; why imprecations are more, an outward sign denoting an oath is more than yea, yea, and nay, nay; and consequently cometh of evil, because below a Christian's truth and sincerity to gratify. Sixthly; and truly the text is so far from excluding judicial cases, that it serves chiefly

to relate to evidence upon differences. 1. Because it is in the room of the swearing the law allowed, which was true swearing: and, 2. Because of doubling the assertion yea, yea; for a single yea is enough for a Christian in ordinary cases. Well, but you oppose to this, the prophecy, Isaiah xix. verse 18. to which, if you please, we will add two more, chap. xlv. 23. and Jer. iv. 2. and make your best of them: for besides that it begs the question, that the prophet treated of gospel-times, and not of some happy time before the period of their dispensation, God might speak to them in the language of their time to be interpreted in a more spiritual sense; and this the place quoted by you shews: for, verse 21. mention is made of oblation and sacrifice, that shall be offered in that day, which, in a jewish sense, is not true of gospel-times; but in a gospel-sense, to wit, prayers and praisings, with heart and voice, is true. So it is in the case of swearing, they shall swear in that day, as they sacrifice in that day; that is, 'a Christian's oath shall be his solemn word; and the difference is not greater between them, than between the sacrifices and oblations of beasts and birds under the law, and the spiritual sacrifices and oblations of the hearts, wills and affections of people under the gospel:' and thus, you see, that prophecy stands you in little stead.

But you object the practice of the apostle, Rom. i. 9. "God is my witness." 2 Cor. xi. 31. "God knoweth I lie not." Gal. i. 20. "Before God I lie not." And you add, 'If these are not formal oaths, you would fain know what are?' In which, if you will not be offended, we will say, as well as think, you have not been ingenuous to be so hard upon us, before you had first stated and agreed with us what an oath is; for if that be disputable, (as it may be for what you have done to settle it) you argue at random. Premises must ever be agreed by disputants, or nothing can follow clearly and satisfactorily. We may say the same thing you say, without allowing it the same force and extent; nay swear, perhaps, in your opinion, though not in our own; the same words being an oath, and not an oath, as they may be used and applied in different manners. For if you should think that an oath, which we think none, and you argue for swearing by proofs, which for that reason are none to us; how do you prove swearing lawful, or convince us that not swearing at all is silly and enthusiastical, when you have not yet adjusted what is swearing at all? This had been well worth your Mercury, for it had been informing, and shown good reading.

But you put it off thus, after citing the apostle's words,

" God is my witness," &c. 'If these are not formal oaths, we would fain know what are.' In which you shift your post, and turn querists, instead of answering questions.

But having such supposed able men to deal with, we are not willing to put it off so; and therefore return it upon you, to state what an oath is, which you so zealously recommend; denying, on our part, any of those texts to be an oath; as did Basil the Great, upon Psalm xv. And Gregory Nazianzen, in his 'Dialogue against Swearing:' and bishop Sanderson, in his 'Defence of Joseph, in his Oxford Lectures;' which will much better defend the apostle from your imputation.

For what you say of Tertullian, you wrong him extremely, and your reader also, by not telling him where to find it: for in his Apology, chap. xxxii. whence, we suppose, your objection is taken, he does equivocally and improperly own swearing, 'That they swore, though not by the genius of Cæsar, yet, for the health and safety of Cæsar, just as they did sacrifice.' *Hoc salvum esse volumus, et pro magno id juramento habemus.* 'Our wishing well to Cæsar, we have, or account, for an oath, or instead of an oath. And, as the Pythagoreans say, 'There is in all reasonable creatures an oath or tie, viz. A mind not to transgress the law of God:' and, as Clemens Alexandrinus speaks, 'That a good man swears by his deeds.' So Tertullian urged upon them, 'That the Christians sacrificed for the health of Cæsar as well as they; but it was in the Christian way, by pure prayers.' So that as he was for sacrifice, he was for swearing. Thus to Scapula. C. 1, 2.

And in his book of Idolatry, chap. xi. 'I speak not of perjury,' says he, 'because it is not lawful to swear.' And, chap. xxxi. 'He that signs a bill of security, containing an oath, is guilty of swearing, and transgresses Christ's command, who hath commanded not to swear.' And, speaking of the temptations Christians were exposed to, if they should launch into the traffic of the world, he adds, 'Not to speak of forswearing, seeing it is not lawful so much as to swear.'

We are the longer upon this, because he is one of your authorities. Your other is Athanasius, 'That he purged himself by an oath, pleading the apostle's example.' Which, by the way, looks like an excuse for doing it, and as if in other cases he did not allow it. But pray take the pains to read his annotations upon Christ's passion, and you will find, first, that he denies all swearing; and upon our grounds. 'The evangelical sentence,' says he, of the Lord, is, "Let your yea be yea; and your nay, nay." Thus far we, who

are in Christ, may confirm our words with asseverations, 'but come no nearer to an oath.'

To this he himself objects the common opinion, 'That God swore;' He answers it, 'That God did not, properly and formally, swear, nor could not; for the nature of an oath is to swear by that which is greater and better than one's self,' Heb. vi. 16. 'But, if any thing,' says he, 'this must be said, his word is an oath to man for verity, because of his faithfulness and truth.' And he will not have the apostle to have sworn, nor the most celebrated fathers of and before his time. So that we return it upon you, that if at any time they used those expressions of the apostle, it was in church matters, and because they did not think it an oath. And if you will please to turn to Justin Martyr's Second Apology, page 63, you will find he is of the same mind; 'We should speak, but not swear, the truth;' and vouches Christ's authority, Matt. v. for it. Clemens Alexandrinus, lib. 7. and Tertullian's contemporary, Cyprian, Hilary, Greg. Nyssen, Cæsarius, Epiphanius, Ambrose, and Chrysostom above all the rest, styled the golden doctor or father, out of whose discourse, upon this subject, we observe these five things:

1. 'That oaths are not lawful under the gospel.'

2. 'The reason of it, that their evangelical verity is the Christian, and a better, security.'

3. 'That the rise of an oath is infidelity and distrust, which are from evil, and that is below a Christian state; for he that dare not swear, which once was permitted, dare not lie, which never was permitted; and therefore his yea is yea, and his nay, nay.

4. 'That swearing was a condescension to a weak and low state of the world, to divert people from swearing by false gods, which was the evil custom of those times; as if God should say, 'I will suffer you to swear, if you will swear by me, that am the true God, and not by their false gods:' And that from hence came his command to swear by him, not for the sake of swearing, but to avoid idolatry.

5. 'That this principle is the only means of rooting all evil swearing out of the world.' Take the cure for this most pernicious and epidemical distemper, in the words of Basil the great.

'The remedy consisteth in a twofold admonition: first, not to swear at all: secondly, to suppress the form of oaths.' I will close with what the institutions say, that go under the name of Clemens Romanus. 'Our Master hath commanded that we should not swear, no, not by the true God; but that

our word should be more credible than an oath.' This Clemens was very ancient, you know, since the apostle Paul mentions him, and that to him some of the ancients ascribe the epistle to the Hebrews.

We hope, after you have considered the authorities that support this doctrine, you will be so charitable at least to allow that we are neither silly, nor enthusiasts, for asserting it. This comprehending your answers and exceptions to the queries upon this subject (for against a command so plainly proved, they must fall of course) we are under no obligation to consider them; and yet they shall not pass our notice, though it were but to let you see how little they deserve it.

The first query is, 'If Christ's coming did not supersede oaths, since it was to end sin, the occasion of oaths?' The second, 'If man, improving the means given him to answer that end, may not obtain it?' I put them together, because you give the same answer to both, which is negative; and for the same reason, viz. 'Because Christ did not come to end sin:' and your reason for that is, 'That if Christ intended to have ended sin by his coming, it had been ended, which is not so, and therefore it was not the end of his coming.' This opposes as plain a text as is in the bible, 1 John iii. 5, 6. "And ye know he was manifest to take away our sins. Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not; whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin." The angel thus declared the end of his coming, Mat. i. 21. Christ commands perfection, chap. v. 48. "Be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." The heavenly leaven was given to leaven the whole lump, chap. xiii. 33. The apostle desired, "That the Christians of his time might be sanctified throughout in body, soul and spirit;" which leaves out no part of man, nor no part of any part unsanctified, 1 Thes. v. 23. and exhorteth them to "press forward to the mark," which was a perfect man, even "to the measure of the fulness of Christ." Phil. iii. 14, 15. Eph. iv. 13. In which passages the end of Christ's coming, and the work and blessing of the gospel, was to end sin, both as to the guilt and nature of it; and to sanctify and regenerate the soul. Read Phil. i. 10. 1 Cor. vi. 11. Tit. iii. 5. Heb. ii. 11.

2. Your reason is both weak and dangerous: for if all comes to pass that Christ intends, then he intended not the conversion of Jerusalem, notwithstanding he lamented it so, because it came not to pass. Again, If Christ intended to take away the guilt and power of sin, it should accordingly be taken away: but in whole nations of believers, how

very few can say it, or can you say it of? Nor know you but that there are some that walk blamelessly now, as well as then. Your ignorance is no argument to the contrary: a principle may be true, for all men's practices; and God's end for good to man, though man may frustrate it to himself.

3. The scriptures you urge are against you, Jam. iii. 2. Here we will join issue with you, this chapter beinga strong proof of our point; yea, this very verse: for it supposes a perfect man, which you deny; and by the similies of a bridle and an helm, it shows how a man can come to be so. But, say you, in the name of the apostle, "In many things we offend all:" yet consider, pray, that the apostle included himself no more there, than verse 9. where speaking of the tongue, he also saith, "therewith bless we God, and therewith curse we men." You cannot therefore think, I hope, that the apostle was a curser; but it was a way of speaking to fetch in the guilty, and the better to reach them, by personating them, or involving himself among them.

Hear again the same apostle, in this very chapter, verses 11, 12. "Doth a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter? Can the fig-tree, my brethren, bear olives?" 'Yes,' say the Athenians; 'No,' say the Quakers. Pray who keeps closest to the text? Hear him farther, verse 17. and chap. i. 27. he tells you the nature and end of their religion. In few words, humanity and purity, bowels and holiness; they are the pure religion and undefiled in God's sight, in his account; not creeds, but practice; not profession, though of true words, but experience and good living. And, without offence, had you been of this religion, you would have been less exceptious at us and ours. Your next scripture is as unhappily chosen as the former, 1 John i. 8. "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." Now if you please but to read the verse foregoing and following, perhaps you will see it is not to your purpose.

"If we walk in the light as (God) is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." Now follows your text, "If we say we have no sin," (that is, no sin to be cleansed from, no need of Christ to take away our sins) "we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." Observe now what follows, we desire you; "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness;" which comprehends both the guilt and nature of sin. And that we have not misinterpreted your text, the next and last verse proves our sense genuine; "If

we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us :" that is, ' If we say we have not sinned, and so have no need of a propitiation for sins past, or to be cleansed from the sin that is present, we make God a liar, that says we are sinners, and therefore sent us his Son to redeem us from sin.' But now we will suppose your answers good to the two queries; pray what does that lessen the validity of not swearing at all? Though men are not in all things perfect, may they not tell truth, and be believed, without the force and strain of an oath? Must all men be liars that are not sinless? Look about you, Athenians: if this be not the case, " Swear not at all," is both good doctrine and practicable, for all that you have said to the contrary.

Your answer to the third query, ' If there be a plainer precept than this of swear ' not at all,' is a jest at us, but it turns in earnest upon yourselves. ' Show us,' say you, ' a more positive command than that, " He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that has none ;"—which if we followed in winter time,' you say, ' we should look worse than we do.' But we tell you it is to be followed, both winter and summer, by all that will follow Christ; and however ill they look for it here to scoffers, Christ will look very well upon them for it another day. But you think you pinch us, by urging the text upon us literally; which, alas! is your mistake: for so that we do not swear, we answer that precept, though by other words than yea and nay; and if we give of our abundance to them that want, we answer this, though not exactly in a literal sense: and now, you see, your jest upon the looks of the Quakers, makes you look no better than you should do. And thus much for your first paper; what remains being but heads insisted upon in your following Mercuries, where I shall find them, and in my next consider them particularly as they lie.

PART II.

In Answer to the Athenian Mercury of the 11*th of the Fourth month, called June.*

You were certainly very much in haste, when you poured out such a mouthful of charges upon a poor people, that one half of them, made good, must needs lay them as low as you wish: but they that count so quick, usually reckon without their host, and must count again; as indeed you do; for, in an after Mercury, you retract some of your charges; which shows, by the way, you went without book in making them.

To spare you, and save paper, we will not repeat them here together, but as we answer them; for they are both foul and fully given.

Your first charge is, 'We speak contemptibly of the Bible:' but we hope not. Your assumption has four parts of proof. 1. 'We own it not,' you say, 'as an adequate rule of faith and manners.' For this you cite R. B.'s Apology, pages 25 and 43. And what you cite is true; but you cite not all, and so leave what you cite more open to exception, which is by no means fair. Love but truth and ingenuity more than you love your own credit, or slight ours, and we shall not doubt the issue, even in your own thoughts. R. B. tells you wherein the scripture is not a rule in all cases and circumstances, viz. 'It was not Paul's to go to Jerusalem, to be shut up there, rather than go back to preach to the churches in Greece: nor the rule of Paul's call, nor of any minister of Christ to the ministry; nor with reference to their going to this or that nation to preach the gospel, rather than any others.' It is not a rule to prophecy, as to when or what, at one time or place, more than another; for though it says, (1 Cor. xiv.) "That all may prophecy one after another, as it is revealed to them," which authorizes the practice; yet it is not the rule of those motions of the spirit; neither to the party moved to speak, nor to those that hear to judge aright: for no scripture can tell me if I am moved by the Spirit of God, or my own spirit, or a transformed spirit; nor can those that hear, judge of it, but by the spirit of truth. So that though the scripture be a rule of words, it is the spirit only that is a rule to men's spirits concerning the rise of true prophecy in any. Again; by what chapter or verse can you tell you are believers? For though there are divers can tell what a believer is, yet how do you know that you are such? By what rule do you apply scripture; nay, by what rule do you believe scripture? For the scripture cannot be the rule of your belief of itself: and therefore it is, that R. B., in our name, says, 'They are not the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the primary adequate rule of faith and manners: but,' says he, 'being a faithful testimony of the first foundation, they may be well esteemed a secondary rule, and subordinate to the spirit, from whence they have their excellency and certainty.' p. 38. And can you call this contemning of the scriptures, without speaking contemptibly of the holy spirit that gave them forth? He argues thus: 'If the spirit only give the knowledge of God, and by the spirit we be to be led into all truth; then the spirit, and not the scripture, is the foundation of all truth, and the primary rule: but the first is true;

therefore also the last. Again, That which is not the rule of faith to believe the scriptures, is not the primary adequate rule of faith and manners: but the scripture is not, nor cannot be, that rule; therefore,' &c. p. 38. 41, 42. You show yourselves too mercurial, and ride post over our arguments, leaving them and the matter behind you. The scripture you oppose to all this, 1 Tim. iii. 17. and which is all you answer, (and enough too, were it but to your purpose) proves only, 'that all scripture by inspiration from God is profitable;' but it does not say, it is sufficient of itself for the accomplishing of the man of God to every good work: so is preaching, praying, and meditating profitable; but it does not say, that it is the fountain of all true knowledge, and the only rule of Christians, or a rule in all particular cases that may occur to men: and it is plain the apostle referred to the care of a pastor, and to all particular occasions. Less does he say, that the Spirit is not the rule of Christians; and if it be a rule at all, it cannot be a subordinate one to the scriptures that came from it: no doubt but they are profitable, very profitable; and blessed be God for them; but must we contemn them, unless we prefer them to the Spirit of God? The great and most excellent rule of Christians, John xiv. 26. "The comforter shall teach you all things." Ch. xvi. 13. "The spirit of truth will guide you into all truth." The apostle commendeth the church to the "word of God's grace," which is inward, Acts xx. 32. See 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10, 11, 12. which place attributes all divine knowledge to the Spirit of God, its searchings and revelations. Again, Tit. ii. 11, 12. and 1 John ii. 20, 21. "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things. It abideth in you; and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you all things, and is truth and is no lie; and even as he hath taught you, ye shall abide in him." We will close with the words of Christ, whom all are to hear and prefer, John v. 37. 40. "Search the scriptures (or, ye search the scriptures) for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me. And (for all that) ye will not come unto me, that ye may have life." A most severe rebuke to the better Jews of his time; and as great a one to the Christians of that stamp now. They valued the scriptures, but undervalued the Messiah when he came, whom, from scripture, they looked for: what blindness was theirs, that knew him not by so many marks as they gave of him, but turned the scripture against him, that testified of him? This is the case of our opposers with us at this day: they oppose the scriptures to Christ the Word, that shines in the heart, and will not come to him, the quickening Spirit, in

themselves, that they might have life; but think, by them, to have eternal life, and they are they that testify of him. "Know ye not your ownselves," says the apostle, "how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?"—2 Cor. xiii. 5.

This is the doctrine that is our crime, our enthusiasm, our error; and we are seducers, deceivers, and what not, for asserting, recommending, and pressing it. But if this be to be vile, we are like to be more vile; for we must bear witness to that which the scripture testifies of, viz. the Spirit, and prefer it before the scripture, when the scripture does so to itself. No man's letter is himself, nor so noble as himself. The scripture is as the letter or epistle of the Holy Ghost to men; but for that reason it is not the Holy Ghost, nor to be instead of the Holy Ghost to us; nor, to be sure, to be preferred before the Holy Ghost. We bless God for the scriptures; we read them with comfort and advantage; and they are profitable to the perfecting of the man of God, through the assistance of the Spirit: the scriptures declare the things of God; but cannot work them in the man; the Spirit only can do that; for which cause we honour, exalt and prefer the Spirit, as that which fulfils the scripture, and invite all to receive it, that it may make people spiritual; for, "to be spiritually minded is life and peace." Wherefore, as often as any of our expressions are construed to lessen the holy scriptures, we ask it as a piece of justice from all our readers, to take this caution with them, we speak comparatively, not with our books, or with men, but with Christ, his light and spirit, from whence the scriptures came. And in this sense it is that R. B., and others, on the like occasion, express themselves, when supposed to abate of the common opinion of the scriptures. For as face answers face in a glass, so we say, and know, the Spirit and scripture answer each other. And therefore the comfortable evidence of a Christian man, is the 'testimony of the Spirit of God within him, and the scriptures of truth without him.' Let it not then be any more a fault in us to direct people to the Spirit of God, by which only they can come to the possession of the good things the scriptures speak of; for though they exhort, rebuke, instruct, &c. yet without that great agent, the Spirit, influencing and enabling the creature, he shall never experience the truth of the scriptures to himself in the most relative and excellent parts of them.

2. The second part of your assumption is, 'that we deny the scriptures to be necessary;' for which you cite S. Fisher, Rust. p. 112. and R. B., Ap. p. 68. It looks gross, as you lay it down; but pray take it altogether: they cannot be

absolutely necessary to salvation, where God has not made it necessary that they should be at all; for then that would be necessary which is not; and people for ever miserable, for want of that which is not their fault that they have not. Again; it is allowed among protestants, that where the scriptures or sacraments are withheld from people, (as under confinement, or providentially in infidel countries) there an upright desire or intention answers and supplies that want; then they are not absolutely necessary: so everywhere, by consequence, where they cannot be had, they cannot be absolutely necessary to salvation. This is not to render the scriptures useless or needless, or to raise an indifferency to them where they are enjoyed; by no means; they are a great blessing, and, as such, to be highly prized; and no man, that has any fear of God, or the least taste of his goodness, but must be of that mind; but to vindicate God's mercy and goodness from leaving so great a part of the world without the means of salvation, as they must be that want the scriptures, if they are absolutely necessary to salvation. To end this head, consider, first, how long the world was without them. Secondly, how few and particular the first books were: and, at last, in how narrow a compass all the Old Testament writings lay, compared with the whole world. And, lastly, how many churches were gathered by the apostles before the New Testament scripture was all in being; which is so much more beneficial, proper and advantageous to Christians, both as to faith and worship, than that of the Old Testament: and yet without that, for several years, in which time, doubtless, many fell asleep, they lacked no rule: they had that which was sufficient, viz. the grace of God, which taught them and led them in the way of blessedness.

Your third proof, 'is our equalling apocrypha with scripture,' and quote S. F. *Rust.* p. 77. But if we do not equal scripture with apocrypha, it does not show we slight the scripture, to have more of it than ye allow that title to: did we make the scripture apocryphal, you had hit the mark, in your sense thereof.

However, first, your communion frequently use it to confirm their doctrine, both in pulpit and in writing; and particularly the present archbishop, in his late sermon before the queen, upon Psalm lxxiii. 25. and that with a more than common emphasis. And if it were spurious, and a by-blow, as you are pleased to call us in respect of religion, why should so many eminent poets of your own choose to vouch the truth of religion from those books, rather than Plato, Philo, &c.?

3. Remember, if you please, that they were first left out by the council of Laodicea, which was three hundred sixty-four years after Christ; and received again by the council of Carthage, anno 399; which, at the best, is but an indifferent foundation for your exception. Also pray take along with you, the complaints of Jerom and Epiphanius, among others, of the partialities that had been, even by the orthodox, committed upon the New Testament, under pretence of the ill use some heretics (real or supposed) made, or might make, of them. *Jer. ad Luc. Epist.* 28. *Epip. in Anc.* 7. 2.

4. Your fourth part of the assumption to prove your charge, is, 'that we equal our own writings unto the scripture, and that it is the ready way to make it both blasphemy and nonsense:' and from thence you are pleased to call us God's ape. Waving all your reflections, that edify very little, and cannot honour you, pray observe your proofs. G. Fox, Mystery, page 12. and Francis Howgil, *Anti. Volunt.* defeated, without a page, affirm the 'necessity of an infallible spirit for gospel ministers.' O friends! whither would you drive things? What, make that heresy, which is the root of all true religion, as well as true ministry? Can a fallible spirit bring people into the truth, or turn them to God? Is not the Spirit of God an infallible spirit? And are not the children of God led by it? Rom. viii. 14. And we are not ashamed to say, 'that by that holy spirit, we are often constrained to exhort, rebuke, and instruct, as it giveth utterance; and that God has owned our labours with a comfortable harvest, blessed be his name:' but for equalling our writings with scripture, we have no such expressions or thoughts: it is a word of your own, and a conceit and inference of our old adversaries. There are degrees, as well as diversity, of manifestations and operations, but the same Lord, and the same Spirit: yet, if it will satisfy you, we have ever preferred the Bible to all books and writings of saints and good men. You have other proofs, you say, that G. Roff writ to Oliver Cromwell, "Thus saith the Lord." 'And that branded blasphemer, Nayler, (whom we, you say, to this day imitate, defend and admire) says, in his 'Love to the Lost,' "The word of the Lord to his beloved city;' 'though the holy scripture must not have that honour.' Now, know ye, if ye please, that we own the style, and bless God his word is among us, and when it lays a necessity upon us, we can say in truth, The word of the Lord: and it is, or ought to be, well known to this nation, that we have spoken it in truth; it having been fulfilled more than once upon those to whom we have been sent with it. And it is a

blindness, and a thick apostacy, that has overtaken such as count is monstrous to have a vision, or to know the word of the Lord in gospel-days; the days of light and life, the dispensation of spirit and power, and of the word of the Lord, according to that notable passage, Isa. ix. 21. "As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord, my spirit that is upon thee (speaking of Christ) and my words which I have put into thy mouth, shall not depart out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever." Also that of Joel ii. 28. "In the latter days I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh;" without respect to nation, age or sex. But you are very disingenuous to thrust into your citation of J. Nayler's words, by parenthesis, whom you say we imitate, defend and admire; thereby suggesting, that we defend him in blasphemy; which is more than you can prove by any warrantable authority: however, hereby you justify that piece of cruelty, done in that unhappy age, and usurped power (as you suggest) which many eminent and sober people were grieved at: this is abusive, and out of all bounds of equal dealing, and we wish you may repent of it: for we are so far from imitating, defending, and admiring him in that respect, wherein he gave occasion of offence and stumbling, that we did not only at that time disown his proceedings, but he very solemnly condemned them himself, which was printed to the world; and he lived an humble, contrite, and exemplary life, and died, we believe, in peace.

'That we read our own epistles in our meetings, and not the scriptures,' is not from disrespect to the scripture, but because of a particular occasion, and a word of exhortation thereby communicated. If it were customary to read our friends' writings, as the scriptures are in the public places of worship, and yet we did not read the scriptures, we should deserve your reproof; but that is not the case, far be it from us.

The last part of your assumption, by which you would prove us to condemn the scripture, is, 'our using, with the papists, detracting expressions, as a dead letter, a nose of wax, a Lesbian rule;' and for this you quote S. F. page 48. It is low with you, that you have no more evidence. But now be ingenuous; can you think we call the scriptures so, or that we say men make them so, or use them so? Lay your hands upon your hearts, and think again. Is there any thing more proverbial, than to say, 'that men make a nose of wax of the scriptures?' But herein to join us with the papists, still is more uncandid; for the very place you cite makes an exception to the papists' practice, who use such

speeches tauntingly, that is, in slight, in contempt of the scripture. But S. F, doth it not in any such sense; why then should you make him do it tauntingly, and with papists, when he so particularly provides against them both? You would make ill jurymen with such latitudes. The scripture, of itself, is a dead letter, for all letters are so in themselves; and you grant as much in speaking of the word of God: but if they are made alive to any soul, by the application of God's holy and quickening spirit, they become living to that soul, as much as if the holy penman had spoke them in his ear: and indeed no words are living to any man, whether written or spoken, but as they are made so by the Spirit, in the heart of such a man. But Gregory Nazianzen, whom we suppose you reverence, speaking of the Bible, said, 'Is religion placed in a leaf? Fearest thou (paper, or) parchment more than God?' This had been heinous in us, and yet it is true. A Lesbian rule he styled it, *ad hominem*. The truth they declare is stable and certain; but men twist, shift, and wring them, and so they become like the Lesbian rule, that served all turns; and for that reason he urged, 'that men should come to the Spirit of God, to receive the mind of the Spirit in the matter therein doubted or controverted.'

Your second charge is, 'that the Quakers will by no means allow the scripture to be the word of God.' If you had said, in no sense too, you would have gone too fast; and yet your intention in your words looks that way. Let us not differ, pray you, more than needs must, to support the credit of your charge. You confess, 'Christ is called the Word of God, but so is the scripture.' And we say, Christ is, but so is not the scripture: you produce, Jer. xxxvi. 4, 10, 12. We say, at that rate, there are an hundred word of God, because it was the style the prophets used for every message. But you go, I confess, a great way to help out the matter, when you allow, 'that it is ridiculous to say the very letters are the word of God, but the sense and divine truths therein contained, and conveyed to us by the co-operation of God's Spirit:' for in that sense, every passage thereof, given forth by divine inspiration, is the will, mind, command, and, if you please, so far the word of the Lord; and so we do not, as you say, contradict ourselves, in using the same phrase to our own writings. But, nevertheless, primarily and excellently, we attribute that style to "Christ the word, that was with God, and was God, and made all things:" and we do not see but you yield it to us.

For your third charge, 'of turning the sacred truths of scripture into jejune allegories,' since you refer your proof to another place, we also do our answer.

Your fourth charge is, 'that we speak not very honourably of our Saviour.' But how does that appear? Do we say he is no Saviour, or that he is a deficient Saviour, and leave men as bad as he finds them? As too many show that call him so; and, which is worse, plead to be so as long as they live, because, say they, 'he did not come to take away the nature of sin,' which must be left for their probation, and to show forth God's mercy to forgive; as if sin were serviceable? We have not thus dishonoured him, I hope. How is it, pray you, that we dishonour him? Why, first, you say, 'we make him a monster:' that is bad indeed, or you are very irreverent, as well as unjust, in your expression. 'Robert Barclay, page 306.' you tell us, 'says, he has two bodies.' Suppose so; one you grant: the other, R. B. calls *Vehiculum Dei*. Not two bodies of the Virgin Mary: how is it a monster then? You are more mercurial, than exact. But pray consider, (and better late than never): did not all the fathers feed of Christ, as well as drink of him, do you think? Read 1 Cor. iii. 4. "They did eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink: (for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that was Christ.)" Now the word body is figuratively used, as it imports a substance; that is, the food of the saints, their spiritual nourishment and subsistence. You should be more deliberate, and not so wild and adventurous in your censures. Your reason is, 'that we say Christ is actually present in every one of our own bodies; which,' you say, 'is a greater degradation to him, than lying in a manger.' But still we see you do not read the Bible, or remember what you read. Peruse 2 Cor. xiii. 5. "Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your ownselves: know ye not your ownselves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates:" so that what you make a dishonour to Christ, the apostle makes an evidence of being in the faith. But this is not the only point in which you two differ. Yet know, that 'Christ being in our body,' is none of our phrase; and shows, as in other charges (and which you ingenuously own in your third Mercury) that you imperfectly know our principles, though you boldly censure them. But were it so, yet the apostle had defended the expression, who, speaking of the divine manifestation of Christ, and God in Christ, in the creature, saith, "and this treasure have we in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us." 2 Cor. iv. 6, 7. To this add that of Christ's prayer, John xvii. 23. "I in them, and they in me;" and it is to be hoped you will think a man a little better than a manger; and yet it is no degrading

of Christ to say, 'he is where he says he is,' and where it is antiscriptural to say, 'he is not.'

Your last reason for our dishonouring our Saviour, 'is our denying him to be distinct from the Father.' But suppose this were true; why do you strain so hard to depress us? Pray what were the dishonour of it? It might, on our parts, not look so coherent; but to make the Son the Father, is dishonouring the Father, rather than the Son. You had better not be meddling, and let this work alone; it is not your talent, and ill becomes you. Howbeit, know, if you please, we do think the Son distinct from the Father; for fatherhood and sonship are certainly not the same. And the very place you cite of R. B., p. 87, 88, you produced to prove your first reason, tells you enough of that.

Now for the citations out of E. Burrough's 'Trumpet,' page 17. and J. Parnel's 'Shield,' page 30. they mean no more than this, 'That we should not satisfy ourselves only with what Christ did, and the saints enjoyed, so long ago, but that we should know and feel him, by his light and spirit, nearer to us, that we might evidence his work in our hearts, and be partakers of the experiences of those blessed saints in light:' and not that we denied, or slighted, that blessed manifestation of the Son of God in the flesh. This we have said again and again upon occasion. Isaac Pennington's words, Quest. page 33. are defended by express scripture. See Heb. x. 5. 7. "A body hast thou prepared me. Then said I, Lo! I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God." The body was not he, but his; and if Christ dwells in his people, as many scriptures express, the body cannot be Christ, in a strict sense, because it cannot dwell in them. And therefore the absurdity that is flung at us, in reference to our use of that expression, returns upon them that have so gross a conception of Christ, and his dwelling in his people. You would have us confound God and his saints, from a passage in G. F.'s Mystery. 'He is deceived, that saith, Christ is distinct from his saints.' The page is not quoted, but we know the place: we suppose it is a mis-printing gives you that apprehension; distinct for divided; they are distinct, but not divided. And this is that which was intended. You are too ready to catch; and mistake also, when you oppose G. F. jun. to R. B., one calling the light, God; the other, the spiritual body of Christ. For, 'He who is the light, is God; and the light is the appearance and manifestation of God.'

You take it ill, that we should allow the "light within to be Christ; and not the man that died at Jerusalem, to be God or Christ, in a proper sense;" they are your own

words. Indeed, you are very unguarded in your expressions. "Nor," say you, "so much as Christ in a proper sense." We do not understand you. Would you have any thing die but the body? You deny the soul's sleeping, and falsly make it a principle of ours, with the addition of a Socinian dream. If not, then ye say, 'Christ died,' as we say, since that was the body of Christ that died. You dream of our idolizing one another from this principle of Christ being in men. But take it from us, (as you ought in justice) what we believe, and not from enemies, that seek advantages, and screw, wring, and pervert our words, that we abhor such practices. But you have three evidences, which, as you think, cannot fail you.

1. 'That many of us worshipped Nayler.' Just as much as we worship Francis Bugg, or you. But this we know, that your many were a few, and yet too many, giddy men and women; and that their actions were denied by us, and by themselves at last.

Your second proof, as you pretend, is J. Coal's words, in a letter to G. F. And your last proof, which doubtless you think your best, is a passage in a letter of J. Audland's to G. Fox.

But first, Where these letters are, you do not tell us, nor give us any sufficient authority for them, nor for the truth of your copies; which, upon so high a charge, should, in common justice, have been done.

2. Besides, they are given us in fractions, and &c.'s as appears by your breaks; and that is also unfair. For might not they write to G. F. and yet fall to pray and praise God occasionally also? A thing frequent in religious correspondences.

3. But if it were a fault, must it include an whole people? Was it writ to them, or printed by them? Be just!

4. Is it their practice? If not, you are to blame; and if it be, you must certainly have more instances, and fresher than J. A. who has been deceased almost thirty years. But this shows your uncharitableness, that any thing, at any time, or at any hand, shall serve you to back your unwary and unreasonable charges against us.

5. And we believe J. A. was too good a man to intend G. F. in that sense you take it, and G. F. to accept it; whose labour was to turn the eyes of people from man to Christ, which lays the axe to all human and creaturely exaltation. And G. F. lived a true example of humility, and abominated all such appearances of evil. And they that ever saw or heard him pray, would not think he should like being any one's idol; since, above all men, he appeared to

express the profoundest reverence to God and Christ in prayer; as strangers, to him and us, have occasionally observed and declared. And as he lived he died, in care for nothing, but the glory of God, and the exaltation of the kingdom of his Son in his people; and, as it was said of David, "He left us in a good old age, full of days, and of durable riches and honour."

PART III.

In answer to the Athenian Mercury of the 14th of the 4th month, called June.

The first part of your third Mercury finds an answer in the conclusion of ours to your second: yet since you make such a voluminous pother about R. B.'s words of the body of Christ, as well as of the letter to G. F. taking up, in their aggravation, more than the room of seven other charges, we shall consider what you say: which is this. 'If the nature of this eternal light, substance, or spiritual body, that is in all of them, be material; as it must be, because, according to them, a divisible substance; then there is plain penetration of dimensions, and every Quaker carries about all transubstantiation in his belly.'

But why, pray you, must it be a material substance? Do you find it in the first of John, iv. 9? for there is our light asserted and described. The life of the word is our light, and your light, if you please. "In the word was life, and that life the light of men; and that was the true light, that lighteth every man that comes into the world." Is that life no substance? And if it be, is it a material or spiritual one? And if it be a spiritual one, is it, or is it needful it should be, a divisible one? Consider well; is the sun divided because all see by it? No more is Christ: so that divisibility is your own conceit, and not our opinion or consequence of it, but of your mistaking it: and all the transubstantiation you thought was in our belly, proves, at last, to be in your own heads; and, it is hoped, this will help to get it out for you.

Again; you say, 'If immatérial, let them make sense of it if they can, for to us it is pure Quakerism.' How now, Athenians! Have you never met with immaterial substances in your reading? Then, surely, you have travelled but a little way in the commonwealth of letters. Both the new and old philosophy must be strangers to you; and, which is worse, you are so to the Bible. Wash your eyes, therefore, I pray, and turn to John vi. from 48 to 63, and

tell us, if you will, or can, 'Who is the living bread there that comes down from heaven; and what is that flesh and blood Christians must feed upon if they would be saved?' Here is an immaterial substance or body for you, one of God's providing, which, you, in derision, call 'pure Quakerism:' but very glad we are of it, and should be more, that you were better acquainted with it. We pity your extreme ignorance of heavenly things; for nothing else could make you so gross, or abusive, upon so essential a part of religion, and us for asserting it. Take not that strictly, which is spoken with construction; not that properly or literally, which is figuratively and mystically expressed, or to be understood, and we shall neither appear so monstrous, nor you so much mistaken. You may wring as great inconsistency out of scripture as any other book, if you take that course to expound it. Be therefore just to us, and show you would inform us, or be informed by us, as sometimes you would have us to believe; but do not jeer at what you do not understand, nor charge what you do not know.

For your aggravation of the letter to G. F. and the confident conclusions you make of our idolatry, they are both untrue and abusive: it is not our principle, it was never our practice; abhorring utterly that extravagant as well as unchristian imputation; no people or testimony, since the world began, laying men lower than we have done, even to a fault, in our adversaries' apprehension. For we have not only opposed an idolatry to creatures or works of men's hands, which is the grosser sort, but that of the mind also: the worship men too generally, and too zealously, pay to their own imaginations, or the ideas they have framed to themselves of God and Christ; and will, at any rate, make others do so too, if they can. A refined idolatry too many are guilty of, that exclaim against the other; and very pernicious to the soul's true knowledge and enjoyment of God and Christ.

Your fifth charge is, 'That we deny the Trinity.' But you should, in justice, have added, of persons, with all the school-niceties and distinctions that belong to that sort of explication of scripture; for to that only it is your first proof refers, viz. W. P's Sandy Foundation, p. 12. 'For the scripture no-where calls God the Holy Three of Israel, but Holy One of Israel.' And if he had said, imagined Trinity, p. 16. as you cite, which he does not, in the copy we have, it ought not to be so heinous with you, since three persons are not to be found in the Bible, which you exalt for the only rule of faith. And if you will not allow that council to be infallible that formed that article above 300

years after Christ's ascension, as to be sure you will not, I hope it must be their imagination of the text, if not a Divine inspiration. Your proof, 1 John v. 7. "There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one," will not support your charge, because it contains not the matter controverted in it, viz. Three persons, for that is the point in controversy. Let it suffice, if you please, that we believe the scripture, though we reject that interpretation; and that we own three witnesses, and that those three are one; without allowing the intricacy and confusion of the schools.

Your second proof is from 'Sweet Sips:' but that is no Quaker's book, and so no proof upon us. Be more cautious another time, and know better what you do.

Your sixth charge, 'That we hold the soul sleeps,' you yourselves retract, but would have it a fruit of your ingenuity; and because we would encourage a thing so rare with you, we will at this time spare your disingenuity in making it. But, as if you were more troubled at our being clear than guilty, and at yourselves for missing the blow at us, than for abusing us; to recover that slip, and to make us amends, your ingenuous retraction ends in two other charges.

1. 'That we deny the resurrection of the body. 2. The distinct existence of the soul after death.' Your proof for the first is G. Whitehead's saying, 'That he did not believe his body should rise again after death: (but G. W. denies that to be his answer:) and William Penn's not denying it to John Faldo.' Whereas they answer no otherwise than what the apostle said to the Corinthians, "Thou sowest not that body which shall be," 1 Cor. xv. 37. How is it then a crime, to deny your gross conceit of the resurrection? For, in all scriptural respects, we reverently and joyfully own the resurrection, as we have good cause to do, of all people. And if you believe, that death came by sin, that innocent, wise, and upright man, I. Pennington, 2 Prin. p. 34. was not out of the way; to say, 'That what we lost in the first Adam we regained in the second;' and the resurrection, to be sure, is not the least part; which is alone through him that was himself "the first-begotten from the dead." And for 'Sweet Sips,' though none of ours, yet no proof for you; for the very quotation owns the resurrection. But curious questions we avoid, and count them the foolish and unlearned ones that the apostle forbad, 1 Tim. vi. 4, 5 2 Tim. ii. 22, 23. being more solicitous that we appear accepted with God, than with what bodies we shall appear.

2. 'That we deny the distinct existence of the soul,' is

as false as that we assert the soul sleeps; but, perhaps, you think that 'Sweet Sips' will help you out, chap. 26. but for that very proof you owe us another retraction; and we wish you may do it more ingenuously than you did your last.

Your seventh charge is, 'That we have been looked upon as fly-blows of the Jesuits.' If so, upon what church, pray you, did they beget us? but out of the abundance of your hearts your mouths speak, and that foully, and falsly too, too often. But your proofs for this? 'Why, most writers say so.' Do they so? Where are they, pray? And for what reasons? But you say not a word of that. This you cannot think a fruit of your ingenuity. 'But,' it seems, 'if we would peruse Ignatius's life, we should think him as arrant a Quaker as William Penn himself.' So that while you take it ill of us to refer you, for our belief, to our own books, and do not write new ones to tell you our religion, you take upon you to send us to other people's books to learn our own, and that with reflections also. In this, whatever you think, you are not over-modest or reasonable. But if inside be outside; if spirit be forms; plainness, pomp; conviction, implicit faith; and Christ's kingdom be of this world, you are in the right, or else you abuse us.

Your eighth charge makes us to 'deny the plenary satisfaction of Christ, and to rest upon our own merits.' It is some comfort to us, that there is not one charge that is a text of scripture, or delivered in scripture-phrase. Where do you find plenary satisfaction in the bible? Or what do you mean by it? You, that would have it the only rule, should make it yours. You cite J. N.'s Love to the Lost, p. 7. 'his righteouness imputed, or put into the creature;' and this you squib at; not considering that Abraham was really righteous, when his faith was imputed, or accounted, to him for righteousness; or you will charge the Holy Ghost with wrong reckonings. But any thing rather than have Christ's righteousness within men. Pray read 1 Sam. xxii. 15. Psal. xxxii. 2. and you will find impute, or imputeth, so applied. Your second proof is R. B. p. (no where) saying, 'We are justified by Christ formed in us.' And so we are, in the complete sense of the word; for the word comprehends remission of sins that are past, upon repentance, and sanctification, or being made holy and just inwardly. And, to be plain with you, we do believe, 1st. "That Christ died for all, and is a propitiation for the sins of the world," 1 John ii. 1, 2. 2dly, "That he was herein the effect, rather than cause, of the Father's love;" as John iii. 16. and 1 John iv. 9, 10. "God so loved the world,"

&c. 3dly, That justification, as taken for remission of sin, accounting penitents as just as if they had not sinned, refers to Christ as a propitiation. 'He was our common offering for sin;' and as the word is taken for man's being made inherently just and holy, it refers to Christ as the sanctifier of his people; so that it is Christ still, every way, by which we hope for salvation. And for our works, even the best, such as James meant, James ii. they are rewardable, but not meritorious; because there is no proportion between the work and wages; for "the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord," Rom. vi. 23.

Your ninth charge is, 'That we deny the divinity of Christ,' (but your reasons shame your charge); 'And this they do with a witness,' say you, 'if they make him nothing but themselves.' But if we do not, what have you made of yourselves, think you? Who, of us, ever said so? Are we the "Light that lighteth all that come into the world?" Or did we make the world? Indeed you are very gross. Your other proof is as lame; you say, 'We deny him to be God;' but not a word of ours cited to that purpose; for we believe, that "Christ was God manifested in the flesh;" as John i. 14. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

Your tenth charge is antarctic to your ninth: for now you say, 'We more plainly deny his humanity.' Thus you make us shift and take turns at faith, till you have left us none: but what are your proofs? G. F. Myst. p. 71. 'Christ is not human: where doth the scripture speak of human? We deny the word human.' But that all readers may deny you, till you deny yourselves the pleasure of abusing us, we will repeat the place as it lies.

Priest saith, 'Christ's human nature,' &c.

G. Fox Answ. 'Where doth the scripture speak of human? The word human, where is it written? Tell us, that we may search for it? Now we do not deny that Christ, according to the flesh, was of Abraham, but not the word human: and Christ's nature is not human, which is earthly, for that is the first Adam.' Now, Athenians, if you can, blush! What! make us deny that Christ came of the seed of Abraham after the flesh, by a place that owns it, and that owns it fully, scripturally, and as it should be owned and worded by Christians, that use the form of sound words, given them by the Holy Ghost, denying only a school-term, borrowed from the ground: this is hard!

Thus you serve us also in your last charge, where you will have us to deny angels, spirits, heaven, and hell; and so make an end of us, and our religion. And to prove it,

you bring a book, that is none of ours; and not without injury to the author neither; and then conclude us, 'a compendium of all heresies;' naming twenty-two of them rank and file, and a *cum multis aliis* at the tail of them. But if they had as foul play from their judges, as we have had from you, they will deserve a better name. However, you are obliged to us, that we have abbreviated heresy for you; and yet you have not convicted us of any one point that deserves that black name. We must say, we are sorry to see you act as if you thought us exempted from the common claims of humanity; to be dealt with as you please, and as if injuries could not be committed upon such wretches as we are in your esteem: for you add, diminish, pervert, and that boldly; and when you have shaped and dressed up the monster, you are pleased to write Quaker upon him, and then lead him about the streets, in your Mercuries, for a show, at a penny a-piece: God Almighty show you mercy, that allow us none, but refuse to be just! for, after all your black charges, you fall to asking what our faith is? which should have been first done.

You objected upon us, 'Of turning the other cheek;' saying, 'It was patience per force.'

But you are mistaken in fact; we have put up legal advantages many times, and endured and forgiven innumerable personal injuries from those out of office as well as from those that have been in government; nay, oftentimes dared cruelties and oppression with a literal conformity to the text. Speak not so peremptorily what you do not know; you expect better things from our religion, than your own, and yet would have ours to be worse.

2. You say, 'It was not conscience, but an unaccountable, not to say brutal, stubbornness.' You have endeavoured to rob us of our religion; will you now rob us of our suffering, and the good intention of it too? For that word of yours authorizes all the imprisonments, plunders, banishments, and murders we have suffered since a people; and, if we should strain consequences, intitles you as arrant persecutors, as bishop Bonner, or Dr. Story.

But, 3rdly, You say, 'We give hard words:' Do we? Such as the things call for, doubtless: I hope no personal reflections? 'Yes, Whitehead complains of a new persecution:' and with very good reason, when the old is justified by you, and you proclaim us a 'Compendium of two-and-twenty heresies,' with *multis aliis* at the end of it: which, in other words, is saying, 'Take them, Dr. Pinfold.'

Again; 'You take it ill,' he says, 'you make beasts and

devils of us :' but what else, pray, do you make of us, when you cannot make worse of us than you have ?

You add, 'That we call you impertinent:' and pertinently, we think, to ramble, as you have done, from your province, to spread invectives upon us. 'Wicked:' what can you think it less, to abuse an whole people in the tenderest point ? 'Followers of blind guides :' how else could you have missed your way so much ? For it is plain nothing can be more mistaken. 'It is a wonder,' say you, 'dumb dogs do not come in too, though we have no silent meetings.' We cannot think why you should wonder at that, since you know how much you have barked at us. There is no danger of your being dumb, but deaf. And since you brought in this to introduce your profane jest at our silent meetings, we must tell you, you may see in yourselves the use of silence, by your abuse of speech ; and therein a defence of us, and a reproof to you. In short, we recommend silence to you, as Pythagoras did to his scholars, till you have learned to speak better than you do.

The next thing is your ten questions, an unreasonable as well as an unsuitable conclusion : for you first judge ; and then query ; and, after charging us home, you ask, 'What is our belief?' It shows too great a levity, for men of your claim to sense ; and, though not enthusiastical, yet, if you will not be angry, it looks very silly. But because, for that reason, it does not look malicious, you may have an answer, though least of all for your sakes, by another hand. But, before we part, pray take this along with you : our religion, and the true religion, which makes people truly religious, is the fear of God, planted in the soul by the grace of God, which sanctifies and rules the heart and affections ; and not creeds of words, though never so true : for the devils have knowledge and faith ; but their knowledge does not work by obedience, nor their faith by love ; and therefore they are never the better for it : nor are wicked men, as the world shows. Religion, then, is a divine experience and work in the soul, by the divine spirit. It is regeneration, and that a new creature, Gal. vi. 15, 16. And as the Jew inward is the circumcision of the heart, so is that the character of a true Christian. A short creed of words served of old with an upright heart. "Thou art the Son of God, Thou art the King of Israel," was Nathaniel's confession. "My Lord and my God," was all Thomas's retractation and creed, John xx. 28. And Peter's confession of faith is little larger, Mat. xvi. 18. Thus also the blind, lame, and sick, that come believingly to him.

To be a Christian then, was to be, like Christ, meek, humble, holy, loving, patient; and this his light and spirit maketh those that embrace it. Unto which we refer and exhort you, and all to whom these papers may come, as the great agent of man's happiness; desiring earnestly that our care may be about our conformity to our Saviour, rather than controversies about him; since the first true religion is to be like Christ, 1 Pet. ii. 21. chap. iii. 10, 11, 12. 1 John ii. 6. Say not then, 'That we value our title to Chistianity by human laws;' you wrong us much: ours hath an higher claim; and so must yours, if you expect to be saved by it. We spoke not of being therefore Christians in God's account, but of being esteemed enough to live quieter than your invectives seem to let us, among men. But it is not the least part of the cross we bear, to be, in almost every thing, so much misunderstood, and by some so evilly represented. One while they will have us deny the divinity of Christ; another while, the humanity. Sometimes we must be Socinians; then Sabellians. Very often we are told, 'That we expect to be saved by our own works;' and as often, 'That we will do nothing, unless the spirit move us.' Again, Sometimes we are said to send all to hell but ourselves;' and presently, 'We deny any such thing.' Aye, we are accused with 'Idolatry to men's persons,' and yet 'Scorned for denying all honours or respects to the persons of men.' Just thus we are made to disown all ministry;' and by and by accused, 'That every one among us is a minister, or may be so.' It would be tedious to repeat the contradictions, and absurd dilemmas men have brought themselves into, by their rash and unjust attempts against us; which they will easily perceive, that please to peruse some of our controversial tracts, as, '*Rusticus ad Academicos*; The Christian Quaker, in two parts; R. B.'s Apology and Defence; Quakerism a New Nick-name for Old Christianity, and the Rejoinder in its defence; The Way cast-up; Reason against Railing, and, Wisdom Justified of her Children,' &c. In which our belief is distinguished and defended, against the abuses which men, through ignorance or prejudice, have put upon it. God Almighty enlighten and forgive them. That is the worst of our wishes, for their many hard speeches against us, and our holy profession: concluding, after all your unfriendly usage,

Your well-wishing friends.

A KEY,

Opening the way to every Capacity how to distinguish the Religion professed by the

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS,

From the Perversions and Misrepresentations of their Adversaries.

WITH

A BRIEF EXHORTATION

TO

ALL SORTS OF PEOPLE,

To Examine their Ways and their Hearts, and turn speedily to the Lord.

Published in the Year 1692.

THE INTRODUCTION.

READER,

OBSERVING the prevailing power of prejudice, and the too great easiness of mankind to be imposed upon by designing persons, and especially on the side of uncharitableness, (so depraved is the nature of man) and considering also what mischievous effects that evil has produced among too many of all sorts of people, to the hurt of civil as well as religious society, by the coldness, jealousy, uncharitableness, and animosity, even to hatred and persecution, (the very contrary and reverse of the true Christian religion) that have thereby abounded; we have the less wondered at the hard treatment we, as a people, have suffered from other persuasions, almost all of them having in their turn, some, I hope, ignorantly, others, I fear, wilfully, misrepresented our principles, misgiven our plain meanings, and called their own strained interpretations, aye, and their downright perversions too, our faith and religion: and thus dressing us in the bear's-skin, the credulous have been excited to look upon and treat us as heretics, seducers, blasphemers, and what

not; while (blessed be God) our aim and bent have been the very power and work of religion upon our souls, that we might be God's workmanship through Christ Jesus, his blessed Son and heavenly Agent; taking this to be the very life and soul of true religion; the effect and fruit of the divine nature, which makes us Christians indeed here, and fits us for glory hereafter. And because we have chosen retirement, moderation, self-denial, which to be sure are the solids and inwards, the spirit and substance of religion, and have therefore waved and sequestered ourselves from more outward and pompous communions, offence has been taken at us, and we have been disingenuously represented to the world; on which account I have published this little treatise, for the sake of others, as well as in our own vindication, but theirs especially that are under prejudices from vulgar abuses. I would intreat such to consider, that if it be an evil to judge rashly or untruly of any single man, how much greater sin it is to condemn an whole people: and if the matter about which the judgment is made, renders it more or less evil, certainly to condemn the religion of an whole people in the lump, which at once comprehends their faith, worship, and morals also, must be, if false or mistaken, as great an injustice as can well be committed; and the Almighty will not hold them guiltless that have been so uncharitable and injurious to their neighbours. And this we have frequently lamented as our great unhappiness, above all that our enemies have been able argumentatively to urge against us, that we are yet unknown of those that stick not to condemn us. But they must certainly be inexcusable, with just minds, that will take our belief at our enemies' rather than at our own hands, who best ought to know what we believe. But it will be the business of this little key to explain the pretended obscurity, and show the difference between our principles, and the vulgar account and apprehensions, and thereby open a way into so clear and plain an understanding of our true principles, from our enemies' perversions, that we hope, with God's blessing, all impartial inquirers will be satisfied of our holy and Christian profession: and this we also earnestly desire for their good, that as we have been called of God, out of the evil of the world, to be a people to his praise, through his grace, so none may stumble or be offended at the truth we testify of; but seeing the excellency of it, by the peace and purity it leads into, they may embrace it, and walk in it; which is the best way to end controversy, and obtain the great and true end of religion, the salvation of the soul.

A KEY, &c.

Sect. I.

Of the Light within, what it is, and the virtue and benefit of it to man.

Perversion 1. 'The Quakers hold, that the natural light in the conscience of every man in the world, is sufficient to save all that follow it; and so they overthrow salvation by Christ.' A mighty error indeed if it were true.

Principle. But it is, at best, a great mistake: for their belief and assertion is, "That Christ, who is the Word, that was with God, and was God; (and is so for ever) hath lighted every man that cometh into the world, with his own light,"* as he is that true light, or such a light, as there is no other to be compared with him; which is the meaning of the emphasis true in the text, John i. 9. And that such as follow the reproofs, convictions, and leadings of that light, with which he enlightens the understandings and consciences of men, shall not walk in darkness, that is, in evil and ignorance of God, but shall have the light of life; that is, be in a holy and living state or condition towards God: a state of acceptance and salvation; which is, from sin here, as well as from wrath hereafter; and for which end Christ was given of God.† So that they assert the light of Christ to be sufficient to save; that is, to convince of sin, lead out of it, and quicken the soul in the ways of holiness; and not to be a natural light, otherwise than as all men, born into the world, have a measure of Christ's light; and so it may, in a sense, be said to be natural to all men, because all men have it coming into the world. For this light is something else than the bare understanding man hath as a rational creature; since, as such, man cannot be a light to himself; but has only a capacity of seeing, by means of the light with which Christ, the Word, enlighteneth him. For we can no more be a mental or intellectual light to ourselves, than we are an external and corporeal light to ourselves: but as the sun in the firmament is the light of our bodies, so the light of the Divine Word is the sun of our souls; the glorious

* John i. 1, 9.

† See Isa. xlix. 6. John i. 4, 9. c. iii, 21. c. v. 40. c. viii. 12. c. x. 10.

luminary of the intellectual world; and they that walk in it, will by it be led to blessedness.*

Pervers. 2. 'The Quakers hold, that the light within them is God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit: so that every Quaker has whole God, Christ, and Holy Spirit, in him; which is gross blasphemy.'

Principle. This is also a mistake of their belief: they never said that every divine illumination, or manifestation, of Christ, in the hearts of men, was whole God, Christ, or the Spirit; which might render them guilty of that gross and blasphemous absurdity some would fasten upon them: but that God, who is light, or the word Christ, who is light, styled "the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, and the quickening Spirit, who is God over all blessed for ever," hath enlightened mankind with a measure of saving light; who said, "I am the light of the world; and they that follow me shall not abide in darkness, but have the light of life."† So that the illumination is from God, or Christ, the Divine Word; but not therefore that whole God, or Christ, is in every man, any more than the whole sun, or air, is in every house or chamber. There are no such harsh and unscriptural words in their writings. It is only a frightful perversion of some of their enemies, to bring an odium upon their holy faith. Yet, in a sense, the scriptures say it; and that is their sense; in which, only, they say the same thing. "I will walk in them, and dwell in them. He that dwelleth with you, shall be in you: I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you; I in them, and they in me: Christ in us, the hope of glory. Unless Christ be in you, ye are reprobates. Little children, of whom I travail again in birth, until Christ be formed in you."‡ Now if they who denied his coming in the flesh, though high-professing Jews, were to be accounted Antichrists, because enemies to that appearance and dispensation of God to men; what must they be reputed, who as stiffly disown his inward, nearer, and more spiritual coming, formation, and dominion in the soul; which is to be sure the higher and nobler knowledge of Christ? Yea, "the mystery hid from ages,"‖ and now revealed to God's people: "the riches of the glory of the mystery which God reserved to be made known to the Gentiles," of whose stock we are. Certainly though they are called Christians, they must be no whit less Antichrists than those obstinate Jews of old, that opposed his more visible and bodily appearance.

Pervers. 3. 'By the Quakers' doctrine, every man must

* Rev. xxi. 24. † John i. 4, 8, 12. 1 Cor. xv. 45, 47. ‡ John xiv. 8, 17, 18, 20. Col. i. 26, 27. 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Gal. iv. 19. ‖ Col. i. 27.

be saved; for every man, they say, is savingly enlightened.'

Principle. Not so neither: for though the light, or grace, of God hath and doth more or less appear to all men, and that it brings salvation to as many as are taught by it to "deny ungodliness, and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present world," as the scripture teacheth; yet it no way follows that men must obey, and learn so to do, whether they will or not. God tenders saving light or grace to all, and by it calls all, and strives and pleads with all, according to the measure and manifestation of it: but if they will not hearken to it, he is clear of their blood.* His light is saving, that lighteth them; but it cannot be said to save them, while they rebel against it. In short, though men are lightened or visited with a saving light or grace, yet the Quakers never concluded, nor can it rightly be concluded from their testimony, that such men must necessarily and absolutely be saved, whether they obey, or rebel.

Pervers. 4. 'By the Quakers' light or spirit, they may be moved to murder, adultery, treason, theft, or any such-like wickedness; because they say that such as are so led, have the light within them.'

Principle. This never was their doctrine, nor is it consequent of it: for though they hold that all have light, they never said that all obeyed it, or that evil men, as such, or in such things, were led by it: much less could the light be chargeable with the sins of those that refused to be led by it. For herein they know the Spirit of God, and the motions of it, from the spirit of this world, and its fruits, 'that the Spirit of God condemns all ungodliness, and moves and inclines to purity, mercy, and righteousness, which are of God.'

They deny and abominate that loose and ranting mind, which would charge the Spirit of God with their unholy liberty. God's Spirit makes people free from sin, and not to commit sin. Neither do they distinguish, as such loose people wickedly do, between the act, and the evil of it. Wherefore they say, 'That as the tree is known and denominated by its fruits; so spirits are by their influences, motions, and inclinations: and the Spirit of God never did incline any one to evil.' And for that cause they renounce this construction of the ranters, 'That evil is no evil, when they are led to it by God's Spirit:' for that grossly implies,

* John iii. 20, 21. Tit. ii. 11, 12. Gen. vi. 5. Ezek. xviii 21, 22, 23, 24. Mic. vi. 8. 1 Tim. ii. 4. 2 Pet. iii. 9. Job vii. 17, 18. chap. xxi. 17. chap. xxiv. 13. † John iii. 20, 21. Gal. v. 16, 26.

as if the Spirit of God led man at any time to that which is evil in itself; or that it were possible to be sinless in the commission of sin, as murder, theft, adultery, revenge, &c. For that never was, nor can be, the way and method of God's Spirit, which is pure and holy for ever; and brings all, that regard the convictions and motions of it, into a sense and sorrow for sin, and so leads them into a state of reformation; without which, all profession of religion is mere formality and hypocrisy. So that man's sin and destruction are of himself; but his help is in God alone, through Jesus Christ, our blessed Sacrifice and Sanctifier.

Sect. II.

Of Infallibility and Perfection.

Pervers. 5. 'The Quakers must be all infallible and perfect, if they have such an infallible light in them.'

Principle. No such matter: this is also a great abuse of their true meaning. They say, 'the principle is pure, perfect, unerrable in itself; or else it were very unfit to lead men out of error and impurity.' But they never did assert themselves such, merely because it was within them: by no means. But that all who are led by it, and live according to its manifestation, are so far perfect; and so far infallible in the right way, as they are led by it, and not a jot farther. For it is not opinion, or speculation, or notions, of what is true;* or assent to, or the subscription of, articles or propositions, though never so soundly worded, that according to their sense, makes a man a true believer, or a true Christian: but it is a conformity of mind and practice to the will of God, in all holiness of conversation, according to the dictates of this divine principle of light and life in the soul, which denotes a person truly a child of God. "For the children of God are led by the Spirit of God; but if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his."‡ And let it be noted, that though this spiritual principle be in man, yet, it is not of man, but of God, through Jesus Christ. Who can lay down a more independent doctrine upon self, and a more depending one upon the grace or gift of God? Let us not, I pray, be mistaken, nor suffer such misapprehensions, nor be made to hold what we do not, on purpose to disrepute us with sober people, or to support the mistaken charges of our enemies. Yet to show that a state of perfection from sin (though not in fulness of wisdom and glory) is attainable in this life; they,

* Rom. viii. 4. † Rom. viii. 9. 14.

among others, refer them to these scriptures, which, for brevity's sake, are not set down at large, but the reader is desired to turn to them.

Gen. xvii. 1. Deut. xviii. 13. Job i. 1. 8. ch. ii. 3, &c. viii. 20. Psal. xviii. 32.; xxxvii. 37. and cxix. 1. Prov. ii. 21. Mat. v. 48. Luke vi. 40. 1 Cor. ii. 6. 2 Cor. xiii. 9. 11. Eph. iv. 13. 1 Thes. iii. 10. 2 Tim. iii. 17. Jam. i. 4. 1 Pet. v. 10. Heb. vi. 1. 1 John vi. 7, 8, 9.; ii. 20. 27.; iii. 5, 6, 7, 8.; iv. 17.

Sect. III.

Of the Scriptures, their truth, authority, and service.

Pervers. 6. 'The Quakers deny the scriptures; for they deny them to be the word of God.'

Principle. They own and style the scriptures, as they own and style themselves; viz. 'A declaration of those things most truly believed, given forth, in former ages, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit; consequently that they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.'* They are the form of sound words. We profess to believe them, and read them, and say, it is the work we have to do in this world, and the earnest desire of our souls to Almighty God, that we may feel and witness the fulfilling of them in and upon ourselves; that so God's will may be done in earth, as it is in heaven. But to call them the word of God, (the ground of the charge) which they never call themselves, but which they peculiarly denominate and call Christ by; in reverence to Christ, and in no slight to them (which they believe to be of divine authority, and embrace as the best of books, and allow to be as much the word of God, as a book can be) they do, as in duty and reason bound, attribute that title to Christ only.

And yet, as the word of God may, in some sense, signify the command of God, referring to the thing or matter commanded, as the mind of God, it may be called the word of the Lord, or word of God: as, on particular occasions, the prophets had the word of the Lord to persons and places; that is to say, the mind, or will, of God, or that which was commanded them of the Lord to declare or do. So Christ uses it, when he tells the Pharisees, that they had "made the word (or command) of God of none effect by their traditions."† But because people are so apt to think,

* Luke i. 1. 2 Tim iii. 16, 17. John i. 4. 14. Rev. xix. 13.
† Mark vii. 13.

if they have the scriptures they have all; for that they account them the only word of God, and so look no farther; that is, to no other word, from whence those good words came: therefore this people have been constrained, and they believe by God's good Spirit, once and again to point them to the great Word of words, Christ Jesus, in whom is life, and that life the light of men;* that they might feel something nearer to them than the scriptures, to wit, the word in the heart, from whence all holy scripture came, which is "Christ within them, the hope of their glory."† And, to be sure, He is the only right expounder, as well as the author of holy scripture; and without whose light, spirit, or grace, they cannot be profitably read, by those that read them.

Pervers. 7. 'They deny them to be any means whereby to resist temptation.'

Principle. This is a very uncharitable aspersion. True it is, that they deny the scriptures merely, or of themselves, to be sufficient to resist temptations; for then all that have them, and read them, would be sure to be preserved by them against temptations: but that they should deny them to be any means, or instrument, in God's hand, is either great ignorance, or injustice, in their adversaries. God hath made use of the scriptures, and daily doth and will make use of them, for instruction, reproof, comfort, and edification, through the Spirit, to those that read them as they ought to do. Thus, they say, they have felt them, and so they have been, and are, made unto them, through the good Spirit of God, coming in upon their Spirits, in the reading and considering of them; and wish heartily they were more in request with the professors of Christianity.

Sect. IV.

Of the Holy Spirit of God, and its Office with respect to Man; and of Ministry, &c.

Pervers. 8. 'The Quakers assert the Spirit of God to be the immediate teacher, and that there is no other means now to be used, as ministry, ordinances,' &c.

Principle. They never spoke such language, and their daily practice confutes the reflection. But herein we perceive the great subtlety of Satan, as well as in other things, to darken the appearance of the truth, and prepossess people's minds against it. For since he cannot hinder the exaltation of the Spirit above all visible instruments, nor the necessity of its manifestations, convictions, motions, and

* John i. 4. † Deut. xxx. 14. Rom. x. 6, 7, 8.

operations, to be known in the hearts of men, and the great suitableness thereof to the gospel-administration, he would spoil all by over-doing the matter, and carrying our assertions beyond bounds: for they never denied the use of means; but, to this day, from the beginning, they have been in the practice of them. But then they are such means as are used in the life and power of God, and not in and from man's mere wit, will, or carnal innovation or imitation; the only thing they strike at. For instance; they cannot own that to be a gospel-ministry, that is without a gospel-spirit; or that such can be sent of God, that are not taught of God; or that they are fit to teach others what regeneration and the way to heaven are, that have never been born again themselves; or that such can ever bring souls to God, that are themselves strangers (like those in the Acts xix. 21.) to the baptism of fire, and the Holy Ghost; never having been circumcised with the circumcision of the heart in the spirit, Rom. ii. 29. Which is so absolutely necessary to make a true Jew, or a real Christian, and much more the requisite qualification of a gospel-ministry.

This unexperienced and lifeless ministry, is the only ministry, and such the only ministers, that the people called Quakers cannot own and receive, and therefore cannot maintain. For the ministry and the ministers that are according to scripture, they both own, respect, and delight in; and are ready to assist and support, in their service for God.*

It is strange, because they deny all false means, or means not sanctified, or used in the openings and leadings of God's power and Spirit, that therefore they must deny all means, however rightly used or employed. This is an injustice to their profession and practice. Wherefore all are desired to take notice, that evangelical means and order they love, and desire to keep: for they diligently assemble themselves together to wait upon God, to enable them to worship him; where they both pray and prophesy, one by one, as prepared and moved in their hearts by his Spirit, and as any thing is revealed to them, according to primitive practice; otherwise they are silent before the Lord, Nor are they without spiritual songs, making melody in their hearts to God their Redeemer, by the same Holy Ghost, as often as they are comforted and moved by it, as it was the primitive practice.†

* John xiv. 16, 17, 26. ch. xvi. 13. Acts i. 8. Gal. i. 1, 15, 16.
† See 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 29, 30, 31. John xvi. 7, 20, 22. Eph. v. 19. Col. iii. 16.

Sect. V.

Of the Holy Three, or Scripture Trinity.

Pervers. 9. 'The Quakers deny the Trinity.'

Principle. Nothing less: they believe in the Holy Three, or Trinity of Father, Word, and Spirit, according to scripture. And that these Three are truly and properly One: of one nature, as well as will.* But they are very tender of quitting scripture terms and phrases for schoolmen's; such as, 'distinct and separate persons,' and 'subsistences,' &c. are; from whence people are apt to entertain gross ideas and notions of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And they judge, that a curious inquiry into those high and divine relations, and other speculative subjects, though never so great truth in themselves, tend little to godliness, and less to peace; which should be the chief aim of true Christians: and therefore they cannot gratify that curiosity in themselves, or others: speculative truths being, in their judgment, to be sparingly and tenderly declared, and never to be made the measure and condition of Christian communion. For besides that Christ Jesus hath taught them other things, the sad consequences, in all times, of superfining upon scripture-texts, do sufficiently caution and forbid them. Men are too apt to let their heads out-run their hearts, and their notion exceed their obedience, and their passion support their conceits; instead of a daily cross, a constant watch, and an holy practice. The despised Quakers desire this may be their care, and the text their creed in this, as in all other points: preferring self-denial to opinion, and charity to knowledge, according to that great Christian doctrine, I Cor. xiii.

Sect. VI.

Of the Divinity of Christ.

Pervers. 10. 'The Quakers deny Christ to be God.'

Principle. A most untrue and unreasonable censure: for their great and characteristic principle being this, 'That Christ, as the Divine Word, lighteth the souls of all men that come into the world, with a spiritual and saving light, according to John i. 9. ch. viii. 12.' (which nothing but the Creator of souls can do) it does sufficiently show they believe him to be God; for they truly, and expressly, own him to be so, according to scripture; viz. "In him was life, and that life the light of men; and he is God over all, blessed for ever.†"

* John i. 1. ch. xiv. 9. Rom. ix. 5. 1 John v. 7. 1 Cor. i. 18, 31. ch. ii. 2—6. Col. ii. 8. † John i. 1. Rom. ix. 5.

Sect. VII.

Of the Manhood of Christ.

Pervers. 11. 'The Quakers deny the human nature of Christ.'

Principle. We never taught, said, or held, so gross a thing, if by human nature be understood the manhood of Christ Jesus. For as we believe him to be God over all, blessed for ever; so we do as truly believe him to be of the seed of Abrabam and David after the flesh; and therefore truly and properly man, "like us in all things (and once subject to all things, for our sakes) sin only excepted."*

Sect. VIII.

Of Christ Jesus, his Death, and Sufferings.

Pervers. 12. 'The Quakers expect to be justified and saved by the light within them, and not by the death and sufferings of Christ.'

Principle. This is both unfairly and untruly stated and charged upon us. But the various sense of the word justification, obliges me here to distinguish the use of it: for in the natural and proper sense, it plainly implies, making men just, that were unjust; godly, that were ungodly; upright, that were depraved; as the apostle expresseth himself, 1 Cor. vi. 11. "And such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of our Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." In the other use of the word, which some call a law-sense, it refers to Christ, as a sacrifice and propitiation for sin, as in Rom. v. 9. "Much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him:" and 1 John ii. "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." Which though a truth, and most firmly believed by us; yet no man can be entitled to the benefit thereof, but as they come to believe, and repent of the evil of their ways; and then it may be truly said, 'That God justifieth even the ungodly, and looks upon them through Christ, as if they had never sinned; because their sins are forgiven them for his beloved Son's sake.'

Not that God looks on people to be in Christ, that are not in Christ; that is, that are not in the faith, obedience, and self-denial of Christ; nor sanctified, nor led by his Spirit,

* Isa. vii. 14. Mat. i. 23. Luke i. 31.

but rebel against it; and, instead of dying to sin, through a true and unfeigned repentance, live and indulge themselves daily in it; "for they that are in Christ, become new creatures; old things are passed away, and all things, (with them) become new." Wherefore we say, that whatever Christ then did, both living and dying, was of great benefit to the salvation of all that have believed, and now do, and that hereafter shall believe in him unto justification and acceptance with God: but the way to come to that faith, is to receive and obey the manifestation of his divine light and grace in their consciences; which leads men to believe and value, and not to disown or undervalue, Christ as the Common Sacrifice and Mediator. For we do affirm, that to follow this holy light in the conscience, and to turn our minds, and bring all our deeds and thoughts to it, is the readiest, nay, the only right way to have true, living, and sanctified faith in Christ, as he appeared in the flesh, and to discern the Lord's body, coming, and sufferings aright,* and to receive any real benefit by him, as their only sacrifice and mediator: according to the beloved disciple's emphatical passages, "If we walk in the light, as God is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin."† And because this people say, that Christ's outward coming and sufferings profit not to their salvation that live in sin, and rebel against this divine light; some have untruly and uncharitably concluded, that they deny the virtue and benefit of Christ coming and sufferings in the flesh, as a sacrifice for sin. Whereas we only deny and oppose a false and dangerous application of them in and to a disobedient state. For we believe Christ came not to save men in their sins, but from their sins; and that those that open the door of their hearts at his inward and spiritual knocks,‡ (to wit, the reproofs and convictions of his light and grace) have their "consciences sprinkled with his blood (that is, discharged from the guilt of them) from dead works, to serve the living God:" and that so far only as men come, by faith, repentance, and amendment, to be Christ's, Christ is theirs; and as he has an interest in their hearts, they have an interest in his love and salvation. That is, so far as they are obedient to his grace, and take up his cross, and follow him in the ways of meekness, holiness, and self-denial, so far they have an interest in Christ, and no farther. And here, "there is no condemnation, indeed, to them that are in Christ Jesus," because, such "walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit:" for we have seen a shoal or sand here, that we fear many thousands have split

* John iii. 20, 21. 1 John i. 6, 7. † 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. ‡ Rev. iii. 20

upon, which we desire to avoid, and are earnest that others may beware of it also; viz. 'That because Christ died a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, by which he put mankind into a capacity of salvation, and has given every one a talent of grace to work it out by; they presume upon the sacrifice, and sin on, without a thorough repentance, reformation, and conversion to God; not dying, with Christ, to the world, but living in it, according to the lusts and spirit of it.' Such as these may be assured, that "where Christ is gone, they shall never come:" for, says the blessed apostle, "God sent his Son to bless us, by turning every one of us from the evil of our way." So that the contrite, humble, meek, and self-denying people, are those that have the true and full benefit of Christ's coming, suffering, and mediation, and of all those holy ends for which God his Father anointed and gave him to the world, viz. to be the Way, Truth, and Life; Light, Leader, and Saviour; to be a King, Priest, Prophet, Sacrifice, Sanctifier, and Mediator; being sensibly felt of all such to reign over their hearts; teach them God's royal law; give them saving knowledge; and to mediate, atone for, sanctify, and justify them in the sight of God his Father, for ever.

By all which it is evident, to any moderate inquirer, that we acknowledge Christ in his double appearance; as, in the flesh, "of the seed of Abraham," so in the Spirit, as he is "God over all, blessed for ever." Wherein is a full confession both to him as a blessed person, and as a divine principle of light and life in the soul; the want of which necessary and evident distinction, occasions our adversaries' frequent mistakes about our belief and application of the scriptures of truth concerning Christ, in that twofold capacity.

For it is not another than that eternal Word, Light, Power, Wisdom, and Righteousness, which then took flesh, and appeared in that holy body, by whom they have received, or can receive, any true spiritual benefit. They holding, light is only from him, forgiveness only through him, and sanctification only by him. So that their ascribing salvation from sin, and death eternal, to him in this age, who now appears by his Holy Spirit to their souls, as before expressed, cannot render him no Saviour in that age, or make void the end and benefit of his blessed appearance then in the flesh on earth, or his mediation now in glory, for those that believe in him in this age: whose doctrine pierced, whose life preached, whose miracles astonished, whose blood atoned, and whose death, resurrection, and ascension, confirmed that blessed manifestation to be no less

than that of the "Word God (the life and light of men) manifested in the flesh,"* according to the apostle Paul, for the salvation of the world: and therefore, properly and truly, was the Son of Man on earth, and is now as truly the Son of Man in glory, as the Head of our manhood, which shall also be glorified, if we now receive him into our hearts, as the true light, that leads in the way of life eternal, and continue in well-doing to the end.

Sect. IX.

Of Good Works.

Pervers. 13. 'Thus it is the Quakers set up works, and meriting by works, like the Papists; whereby justification by faith in Christ is laid aside.'

Principle. By no means: but they say, with the apostle James, chap. ii. "That true faith in Christ cannot be without works, any more than a body can live without a spirit;" and that where there is life, there is motion; and where there is no divine life and motion, there can be no true faith; believing being a fruit of divine life. Nay, by the comparison, if they were separable, works being compared to the Spirit, they would have the better. The very believing is an act of the mind, concurring with God's working in or upon the mind, and therefore a godly work. And no sooner is true faith begotten in a soul, but it falls to working; which is both the nature, and in some respect, the end of it.

Nor yet do we say, that our best works, proceeding from the true faith itself, can merit; no, nor faith joined with them: because "eternal life is the gift of God." All that man is capable of believing, or performing, can never properly be said to merit everlasting blessedness; because there can be no proportion (as there must be, in case of merit) between the best works that can be performed in the life of man, and an eternal felicity. Wherefore all that man can do, 'even with the assistance of the Holy Spirit,' can never be said strictly to merit, as a debt due to the creature: but, on the other hand, that right faith, and good works, (which arise out of it, or will follow it) may, and do, obtain the blessed immortality, [which it pleaseth Almighty God to give, and privilege the sons of men with, who perform that necessary condition] is a gospel and necessary truth. And this the Quakers ground upon, and therefore boldly affirm to the world.

* John i. 4, 9. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

So that they deny all merit from the best of works; especially by such as some Papists may conceive to be meritorious. But as they, on the one hand, deny the meritoriousness of works; so, on the other hand, neither can they join with that lazy faith which works not out the salvation of the soul with fear and trembling:* pray let not good works make men Papists, because they make men Christians. I am sure believing and not working, and imagining a salvation from wrath, where there is no salvation or cleansing from sin, which is the the cause of it, is no whit less unscriptural, and abundantly more pernicious to the soul. "Blessed is he that hears Christ's words, and does them.†" The doer is only accepted. Wherefore it shall be said at the last day, not, "Well professed," but, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." 'Thou holy, humble, patient, and meek liver: thou that lovedst me above all, and thy neighbour as thyself: enter thou. For, for thee, and such as thou art, was it prepared from the foundation of the world.' Which recompence of his faithfulness, is the infinite love of God revealed and given to man, through Christ. For though "death be the wages of sin,"‡ yet "the gift of God is eternal life to such." So that as the people called Quakers do not hold that their good works merit, neither believe they that their good works justify them: for though none are justified that are not in measure sanctified, yet all that man does is duty, and therefore cannot blot out old scores: for that is mere grace and favour, upon repentance, through Christ, the Sacrifice and Mediator; our great scapegoat.‖ So that men are not justified, because they are sanctified, but for his sake that sanctifies them, and works all their good works in them and for them, and presents them blameless; to wit, Christ Jesus, who is made unto them, as he was to the saints of old, "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption; that he that glorieth, might glory in the Lord."§

Sect. X.

Of Water Baptism, and the Supper.

Pervers. 14. 'The Quakers deny the two great sacraments or ordinances of the gospel, baptism, and the supper.'

Principle. Whatever is truly and properly a gospel-ordinance, they desire to own and practice: but they observe no such language in the scripture as in the reflection. They do confess the practice of John's baptism, and the supper,

* Phil. ii. 12. † Mat. vii. Psalm xvii. ‡ Rom. vi. 23.
‖ Isa. xxvi. 12, § 1 Cor. i. 30, 31.

is to be found there; but practice only is no institution, or sufficient reason of continuation. That they were then proper, they believe; it being a time of great infancy, and when the mysteries of truth lay yet couched and folded up in figures and shadows, as is acknowledged by protestants: but it is their belief, that no figures or signs are perpetual, or of institution, under the gospel-administration, when Christ, who is the substance of them, is come: though their use might have been indulged to young converts in primitive times, because of the condescension of former practices.

It were to overthrow the whole gospel-dispensation, and to make the coming of Christ of none effect, to render signs and figures of the nature of the gospel, which is inward, spiritual, and eternal. If it be said, 'But they were used after the coming of Christ, and his ascension too:' They answer, So were many Jewish ceremonies, not easily abolished, as circumcision, &c. It is sufficient to them, That water-baptism was John's and not Christ's. See Mat. iii. 11. Acts i. 5. That Jesus never used it, John iv. 2. That it was no part of Paul's commission, which if it were evangelical, and of duration, it would certainly have been. 1 Cor. iv. 15, 16, 17. And that there is but one baptism, as well as one faith, and one Lord, Ephes. v. 4. And that baptism ought to be of the same nature with the kingdom of which it is an ordinance, and that is spiritual. The same holds also as to the supper, both alluding to old jewish practices, and used as a signification of a near and accomplishing work, viz. The substance they represented.

If any say, 'But Christ commanded that one of them should continue in remembrance of him;' which the apostle to the church of Corinth explains thus; "That thereby they do show forth the Lord's death until he comes:" We allege, That he that said so, told his disciples also, "That he would come to them again: that some should not taste of death until they saw him coming in the kingdom: and that he that dwelleth with them, should be in them: and that he would drink no more of this fruit of the vine, until he should drink it new with them in the kingdom of God:"* which is the new wine, that was to be put into the new bottles, and is the wine of the kingdom; as he expresseth it in the same place: which kingdom is within, as may be read in Luke. He was the heavenly bread that they had not yet known, nor his flesh and blood, as they were to know them; as may be seen, John vi. So that though Christ was come to end all signs, yet until he was known to be the sub-

* Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 26. Mat. xvi. 28. John xiv. 17. Mat. xxvi. 29. Mark xiv. 25.

stance to the soul, as the great bread of life from heaven, signs had their service with them, to show forth, and hold in hand, and in remembrance of Christ:* especially to the people of that day, whose religion was attended with a multitude of the like types, shadows, and signs of the one good thing and substance of all, Christ manifested in his people. And that great apostle Paul says expressly of the jewish observations, "That they were shadows of the good things to come, but the substance was of Christ." Hence it is, that the people called Quakers cannot be said to deny them; that is too hard a word: but they truly feeling in themselves the very thing, which outward water, bread and wine do signify, or point forth (to say nothing here of their abuse, and what in that case may be argued, from the instance of Hezekiah's taking away the brazen serpent by God's command) they leave them off, as fulfilled in Christ, who is in them "the hope of their glory:"† And henceforth they have but one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one bread, and but one cup of blessing, and that is the new wine of the kingdom of God, which is within.‡

Sect. XI.

Of the Resurrection, and Eternal Recompence.

Pervers. 15. 'They acknowledge no resurrection of the dead, nor rewards to come.'

Principle. In this also we are greatly abused. We deny not, but believe, the resurrection, according to the scripture; not only from sin, but also from death and the grave; but are conscientiously cautious in expressing the manner of the resurrection intended in the charge, because it is left a secret by the Holy Ghost in the scripture. Should people be angry with them for not expressing or asserting what is hidden, and which is more curious than necessary to be known, and in which the objectors themselves cannot be positive? "Thou fool," is to the curious enquirer, as says the apostle:‖ which makes the Quakers contented with that body, which God shall please to give them hereafter: being assured, "That their corruptible shall put on incorruption, and their mortal shall put on immortality," but in such a manner as pleaseth God. And in the mean time they esteem it their duty, as well as wisdom, to acquiesce in his holy will. It is enough they believe a resurrection, and

* Luke v. 37. Luke xvii. 20. John vi. 53 to 63. † 2 Kings xviii. 4.
‡ Mark xiv. 25. 1 Cor. x. 15, 16, 17. Luke xvii. 20, 27. ‖ 1 Cor. xv. 36 to 54.

that with a glorious and incorruptible body, without farther niceties; for to that was the ancient hope.

Now as to eternal rewards, they not only believe them, but, as the apostle says of old, above all people have the greatest reason so to do;* for otherwise, who is so miserable? Do they inherit the reproach and suffering of all that have separated from time to time from national churches? That is to say, Are the outcries that have been against the protestants by the papists, and those of the church of England against the puritans, Brownists, and separatists, fallen so thick upon them, and shall they hold principles inconsistent with an eternal recompence of reward? By no means. It is their faith, their hope, their interest, and what they wait and have suffered for, and press, as an encouragement to faithfulness, upon one another. And the contrary, therefore, must be both an unjust and an improbable suggestion of their adversaries.

Sect. XII.

Of Civil Honour and Respect.

Pervers. 16. 'The Quakers deny all civil honour and respect, but what is relative or equal between men.'

Principle. We "honour all men in the Lord," but not in the spirit and fashion of this world that passes away.† And though we do not pull off our hats, or make curtseyings, or give flattering titles, or use compliments, because we believe there is no true honour, but flattery and sin in the using of them; yet we treat all men with seriousness and gentleness, though it be with plainness, and our superiors with a modest and awful distance; and are ready to do them any reasonable benefit or service, in which we think real honour consisteth. Whereas those that thus reproach us, are often proud, peevish, snappish, abusive and oppressive one to another; though at the same time they can give one another the cap and knee, with smooth words, which (too generally) they never mean: which is far from true civility, or "honouring all men," in the sense that they are exhorted to by the apostle.

And as for expressing our respect to our superiors in all countries, we think it best done by obeying all just laws under their government, according to the saying of the centurion unto Christ, and which Christ so much approved of, viz. When he said to one, "Come, and he came; to another, Go, and he went; to a third, Do this, and he did it."‡

* 1 Cor. xv. 19. † 1 Pet. ii. 17. iii. 9. Rom. xii. 2. John xxxii. 21, 22. 1 Pet. i. 14. ‡ Luke vii. 8, 9.

Reasonable commands, and ready obedience. This is honouring of government and governors, and not empty titles, and servile and fantastic gestures, and drinking of their healths, until they drink away their own: the vain and evil customs of the world, taken from the heathen's practices, and adopted by loose Christians in their conversation, and so become the fashion of the times. And if to dissent from these things, be to be vile, we are contented to be accounted more vile, having Christ's commands, primitive example, and our own convictions, on our side.*

Sect. XIII.

Of Civil Government.

Pervers. 17. 'The Quakers are enemies to all government. First, In that every one acteth according to his own conceit. Secondly, Because they will not support civil government. Thirdly, Because they refuse to give evidence upon oath, as the law requires.'

Principle. That this is a calumny, their lives and conversations sufficiently show; for no people give the magistrates less trouble, or cause that charge or burden to sit lighter upon their shoulders, than these people do. And for their principle, 'They believe magistracy to be an ordinance of God, and that he that ruleth well, is worthy of double honour, and deserves to be much valued and esteemed:' as such certainly do, "Who are a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well."† And farther, to show that they are people that love order and good government, they carefully practise it among themselves: for if there be twenty meetings of worship in a county, they, peradventure, make three or four monthly meetings of business: and these monthly meetings are resolved into a quarterly meeting for the county, by such members as they severally appoint to constitute it. And all the quarterly meetings in the nation, by chosen men out of themselves, do constitute one general yearly meeting; unto which, the meetings of those people, in all parts of the world, have their recourse, by chosen messengers, or by epistle. The business of which meetings, in their several degrees, is to promote virtue and charity, peace and unity.‡

'The Quakers will not support civil government, and so are useless, if not dangerous, to government.'

This also is untrue, upon experience: for what people is more industrious under government, or pay their taxes better to it than they do? And, tribute from the people, and

* 2 Sam. vi. 22. † Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 3. ‡ Acts vi.

justice from the rulers, are the support of government in all countries. It is true, indeed, that they cannot kill, or slay their own kind, and so are not fit for warriors with carnal weapons of destruction; because they believe their blessed Lord forbad the use of them to his followers, when he said, "They that take the sword, shall perish with the sword;" and that the use of the sword in war, was one of those things that God suffered for the "hardness of men's hearts, and that from the beginning it was not so:"* in fine, that it came in with the fall, and must go out with it also. And as Christ, the "repairer of breaches, and restorer of paths to dwell in," comes to be known to rule in the heart, love will take place of wrath, and forgiveness overcome injury and revenge: so the lamb will be preferred before the lion, and the lion resign to, and lie down with, the lamb, and destruction come to a perpetual end. For which cause, the "weapons of this people's warfare are not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of the strong holds of sin and satan,"† according to the apostle's doctrine: which is the holy war, indeed; styled by the Holy Ghost, The saints' warfare. And since so holy, lamb-like, and peaceable a state, is both prophesied of, and promised, as the "happiness of the latter times;" and that it and they take their beginning in Christ, the "Beginning and the end of all true Christians;" let not this people be thought useless or inconsistent with governments, for introducing that harmless glorious way to this distracted world (for somebody must begin it); but rather adore the providence, embrace the principle, and cherish and follow the example: believing, with them, that Christ, the blessed shepherd of his flock, will ever preserve the faithful followers of his meekness, and disciples of his peaceable and forgiving doctrine.

'The Quakers refuse to give evidence,' &c.

It cannot be their fault, which is so much their desire, viz. 'To be able to give evidence upon all occasions' Nor, with justice, can it be reputed their stubbornness, but their tenderness, since they cannot swear at all, and that the law requires an oath in evidence. 'Now Christ having commanded his followers, "Not to swear at all,"‡ and that, instead of an oath, or in cases where oaths are allowed under the law, their yea, yea, and nay, nay, should serve instead of swearing; and that for this reason, because, "What is more than yea, yea, nay, nay, cometh of evil;" and for that Christians are commanded to avoid the very appearance of

* Mat. v. 38—45. ch. xxvi. 51, 52. * Isa. xi. 6. 2 Cor. x. 3, 5.
‡ Mat. v. 33, 37. Jam. v. 12.

evil, much more that which cometh of evil: upon this account they dare not swear at all. So that it is for Christ's sake, and the tender respect they bear to his evangelical, positive and general precepts, that they cannot swear; who is the truth, and has taught them to speak the truth without an oath.

Now if this would be admitted (and often they have prayed that it might be, and, for want of it, are not only less serviceable to their neighbours, than otherwise they could be, but are great sufferers in their persons and estates) and that the government would be pleased to accept their yea, yea, and nay, nay, instead of an oath, as other countries do in the like cases, they would be ready to submit to the same punishment in case of untruth, that is due by law to perjury: and upon all occasions would be glad to help and serve their neighbours with all their hearts. Wherefore let not that be made their fault, that is so much against their will, and their great unhappiness and affliction.

Thus, sober reader, thou hast a brief account of this people, their principles and practice; and therefore thou mayest see, if thou pleasest, with how little reason they are despised by some, and abused by others; which hath been their lot, in a large measure, ever since they have been a people: though the whole bent of their spirits and testimony, since God, by his grace, hath distinguished them, has been, 'To promote the experimental and saving knowledge of Jesus Christ in the world, by turning the minds of all people from the darkness that is in them, to the light of Christ which is in them, as the great, singular, and necessary agent and principle, by which, only, man is enlightened, and enabled to see and do the will of God.'* For, until men receive, and are quickened by, this divine principle, they are hypocrites, and not Christians; bastards, and not sons. Neither can they have true and living faith, whatsoever they profess; nor can they truly and acceptably worship God, whatsoever they perform.

O then, let the poor Quakers, and their abused principles, have better entertainment with thee, reader: and do not conclude, because they direct people to the light of Christ in them, that therefore it is a mere natural, and not a divine light: or because they assert Christ to be the Word of God, and that he is revealed in the heart, according to the scripture, and that the scripture, in that excellent sense, is not so; that therefore they deny the divine authority of the scriptures, and that the mind and truth thereof, as declared

* 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Acts xxvi. 18. 1 John i. 7. ch. ii. 20, 27, Rom. viii. 1, 12. John i. 4, 5.

by them, is not, in any sense, the Word of the Lord to men: or because they do not receive the schoolmen's Trinity, that therefore they deny the Scripture-Trinity of Father, Word, and Spirit: or that therefore they deny the divinity of Christ the Word: or that they deny Christ without them, who was the Son of Man, in a suffering state on earth, and is now the Son of Man in glory, because they exalt and press an experimental knowledge of Christ within, as the truth, substance, and excellency of the "hope of the glory" that hereafter shall be revealed, as being the "riches of the glory of the mystery revealed, and to be revealed, in these latter days,"* according to the scriptures of truth. Neither do thou say, they hope to be saved by their own works, because they press the necessity of well-doing toward acceptance with God; since they maintain, 'That no works that are not wrought by the Spirit of God are acceptable with him: or that they hold even such works to be meritorious, because they say, good works are necessary and rewardable:' or that they are forgiven for what they do, and not for what Christ did: or that they deny the use of means, because they reject ungospel ones: or that they deny baptism and the supper, because they say, 'they are but signs of the spiritual grace, and that they served but for a time, and that they experience their accomplishment.' Neither say, that they are uncivil, and honour no man, because they forbear such titles and ceremonies, in which true honour and civility do not consist: or, that they are against government, because they cannot, out of tenderness, and not obstinacy, conform to it in matters relating to religion and conscience; in which Christ only is Lord and King: since, reader, thou plainly seest, that they believe the light to be divine, and the scriptures to be of divine authority: that they own the Scripture-Trinity, or Holy Three, of Father, Word, and Spirit, to be truly, and properly, One: that Christ is God, and that Christ is man: that he came in the flesh, died, rose again, ascended, and sits on God's right-hand, the only Sacrifice and Mediator, for man's happiness: that truly gospel-means and ordinances are requisite, and to be reverently practised: that good works are necessary and rewardable: that all men are to be honoured in the Lord, according to their degrees: and that government, in church and state, is God's ordinance, and both requisite and very beneficial.

Now, reader, that which remains, is to recommend thee to this divine principle of light and life, which they make the root and spring of all true sense of God and religion in

* Col. 1, 26, 27, 28, 29. 2 Cor. xiii, 5.

man; even the light within, which they began with, and comes from Christ, and indeed is Christ, the eternal Word, and which brings all, that follow the convictions and leadings of it, to Christ; that is, to his nature, which is meek, patient, loving, humble, harmless, self-denying, and holy; and thereby to know him "in themselves," according to scripture, to be the "hope of their eternal glory:" who, as he is of Abraham after the flesh, so is he God, the true Light, over all, blessed for ever; and lighteth all, in order to life and blessedness. Unto the manifestation of whose most holy and blessed light within, thou, reader, art earnestly exhorted. Bring thy deeds to it, and love it, and walk in it, and thou wilt assuredly have the light of life; and thy "fellowship shall be with God, and with his Son and saints, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son shall cleanse thee from all sin."* And "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."† Which, reader, is, I know, most earnestly desired on thy behalf, by this despised and most abused people, called Quakers. So be it. Amen.

POSTSCRIPT.

Being an Exhortation to all people, to turn speedily to the Lord, and seek him while he may be found, whatever persuasion they are of, or forms they are under, before the dreadful day of God's vengeance overtake them.

O YE inhabitants of the world, but more especially you that know this people, and among whom the testimony, which they bear, hath been held forth; hear, and be intreated, for your souls' sake! O that ye knew God, your Creator, to be also your Redeemer! Who does as certainly visit you by the Spirit of the Second Adam, as ever he created you in the nature of the first Adam: that as in one you fell, in the other you may arise out of your fallen and foul estate, and become a reformed, regenerate, and chosen people to God.‡

"This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him;" said God the Father. And what says Christ the Son? "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls." For out of Christ,

* John v. 6, 7. † Phil. iv. 8. ‡ 1 Cor. xii. 7. Tit. ii. 11, 12. Rom. v. 10, 12, 18, 19, 22. Mat. iii. 17. chap. xvii. 5. Mat. xi. 29. Isaiah lvii. 21.

out of his Spirit and nature, verily we cannot have peace. "No peace to the wicked," no peace to the proud and ungodly, saith the Lord. O friends, you must take up your cross daily, and follow him, or ye cannot be his disciples; his followers, his people, his friends; those in whom he is well pleased. Whose doctrine is not so much the good words you read in creeds and catechisms, as it is the living teaching of his Spirit in your own hearts; and whose religion is not opinion, but experience; not notion, but enjoyment: life from death, conversion, regeneration: in short, undefiledness and holiness, "without which no man shall see the Lord."

Here is the faith of Jesus; a faith that overcomes the world, and works by love, not violence: where zeal and charity are companions, and knowledge doth not puff up, but lives and works by obedience. This is the faith and religion of Jesus: all others are the faith and religion of hypocrites and devils; which they may have, and be hypocrites and devils still: for though they believe, their faith works not by love; and though they know the truth, they obey it not.*

Wherefore, friends, it stands you much upon to see what faith and religion you have; and not flatter yourselves on to perdition. If it be the true, the pure, the undefiled, according to the apostle, James i. 27. then you will have light hearts, and easy consciences, and "an hope that will not make you ashamed:" else, believe it, heaviness, anguish, and tribulation will (whatever be your profession) overwhelm you, in the day that God shall enter into judgment with you. For which cause, O my dear country-folks and people, be intreated, "while it is to-day," to turn unto the Lord with all your hearts, and "hearken to his voice," in your own consciences, that calls you to holiness, and harden not your hearts against his reproofs, for "the reproof of instruction is the way to life;" endless life. Did you but see that God sees you every where, and in every thing, and that continually, it would abundantly alter the case with you. Then would you say, as one of old, "The Lord was here, and I knew it not."† Certainly, fear, holy fear, would take hold of you, an awe of the Omnipresent Majesty would seize you, and you would not do that before

* Rom. viii. 1, 3 5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14. 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Gal. v. 24. 1 John iii. 3, 8. chap. v. 4. Jam. i. 27. Rom. vi. 19, 20. 2 Cor. vi. 17, 18. chap. vii. 7. Eph. iv. 34. 1 Thes. iii. 13. Heb. xii. 14. 1 John v. 4. 2 Cor. x. 5. James ii. 19, 20. Gal. vi. 7, 8. chap. v. 22. chap. ii. 8, 9.

† Psalm xciv. 7. Heb. iii. 7, 8, 13. 2 Cor. v. 10. Prov. i. 23. chap. vi. 23. Psalm xliv. 21. Psalm cxxxix. 7. Jer. xvii. 22, 23. chap. xxiii. 24. Amos ix. 2, 3. Rom. vi. 21.

God, which you would be ashamed men should see you do. For no place is secret to Him: "the light and darkness are alike:" his witness is with you as much alone, as in company; and may perhaps be better heard by you.

Sin not, then, in the face of God, in contempt of his witness, in despite of his Spirit that is in you; but hear it, receive it, and love it, and you will be born of it, and become the children of him whose eye penetrates the darkest coverts, and findeth out the secretest corners. Even He that "searches the heart, and tries the reins of man, and sets his sins in order before him, and telleth unto him his most inward thoughts."*

This being the case, what manner of persons ought ye to be, O ye children of men! Do not satisfy yourselves with outsides, with a name, a profession, a church-membership, &c. For it is not what you say, but what you do. But turn in and examine your own hearts, see how they stand affected towards God, and his law and truth in your inward parts. Be strict and true in the search, as you would save your souls. If your minds be set on heavenly things, and that holiness and charity be the zealous bent thereof, well will it be with you for ever: to live, then, will be Christ, and to die will be your eternal gain. "For blessed is that people and nation whose God is the Lord."† But if the love and spirit of the world prevail: if pride, covetousness, and luxury, envy, bitterness, and vain-glory, that are so very opposite to the will and nature of God, and his holy Lamb; if these things have power over you, flatter not yourselves, you cannot be true Christians, nor in favour with God, for you take his name in vain: and your very prayers and oblations are an abomination to the Lord, in that state. God calls for the heart: "My Son give me thy heart:" he has given man the rest; but that God will have for himself, if man will have him for his God and friend. Cozen not yourselves, therefore, O ye sons and daughters of Adam! For, believe it, "Such as you sow, such you must reap;' and "there is no repentance in the grave." And a short, but great work will God do in the earth; and great judgments, of divers kinds, will begin it, and they are at the door.‡ Yea, they are begun, if ye could but see them.'

* Psalm xciv. 12. Psalm cxxxix. 3. Amos iv. 13. 2 Pet iii. 11.

† Isa. li. 6. Jer. xxxi. 33. Heb. viii. 10, 11, 12. Phil. i. 12. Psalm cxiv. 15.

‡ Prov. xv. 8, 9. Isa. i. 15, 16, 17, 18. Prov. xxiii. 26. Gal vi. 7, 8. Rom. xiii. 11. 1 Cor. xv. 34. Ephes v. 14. 2 Tim. ii. 26. Joel ii. 3. Mal. iii. 2. chap. iv. 1. Mat. xxiv. 42, 43, 44, 46. chap xxv. 13. chap. i. 21. 1 John. iii. 5, 8. 1 Pet. ii. 9, 21. Mat. v. 8. Isa. liv. 12. chap. xxii. 12. Jer. xxxi. 9. Psalm xxxiv. 18. Psalm li. 10. Zech. xii. 11. Rev. i. 7. Mat. vii. 21. Rom. ii. 13. Mat. xiii. 46. Prov. viii. 13, 21. Isa. xlv. 3. Acts iii. 10. chap. l. 6, 7, 8. Psal. xlv. 6. Heb. i. 8. Isa. ix. 6, 7. Rev. xxii. 26.

O awake then, awake out of the sleep of this world! Behold the Judge is at hand, and the midnight cry is coming upon you as a thief in the night. Prepare, prepare, or you are excluded for ever! And remember, salvation is from sin, or it will never be from wrath: so said the angel, "Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins:" for it is the "pure in heart that see God; and nothing unlike him can please him, and less live with him for ever."

The eternal God reach unto you by his powerful Spirit, break your peace in the broad way, touch you deeply with a sense of your disobedience to him, give you true contrition and repentance, and create in you a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within you: to conclude, make you holy, make you zealous, and make you charitable; that you may do, as well as say, and not only profess, but possess, the truth of the living God in your inward parts; that pearl of price, that hidden and eternal treasure. So shall you know that the times of refreshing are come from the presence of the Lord, and that the kingdom is again restored unto Israel! Israel, the Prince of eternal peace, who hath prevailed with God for man; whose sceptre is "a sceptre of righteousness, and of whose dominion there shall be no end." So come, Lord Jesus; come quickly. Amen.

Written, in behalf of the said people, for the information and good of all, by

WILLIAM PENN.

A

REPLY

TO A

PRETENDED ANSWER,

BY A

NAMELESS AUTHOR,

TO

W. PENN's KEY.

IN WHICH

The Principles of the People called Quakers are farther Explained and Confirmed.

By W. PENN.

Published in the Year 1695.

Though I submit to controversy as my drudgery, not my pleasure, otherwise than as it is my duty; yet, I cannot but say, I am glad that the public contradiction of a nameless author, to a small treatise of mine, called, A Key, clearing our principles from vulgar apprehensions, gives me farther occasion to declare and justify them to the world: in the doing of which, I shall endeavour, with God's assistance, so to govern myself, that my antagonist shall see it has not been in his power, with all his scornful and abusive treatment of me, my friends, and our holy religion, to provoke me to any other towards him, in my reply, than what is suitable to Christianity; whilst with great levity and prejudice, he will by no means allow us to be Christians.

My reply will be short, but I hope clear and satisfactory; in order to which, I shall observe this method:

I. His mistakes in point of fact, and the use he would make of them.

II. His insinuations and insincerity.

III. His abusive terms and taunts upon us.

IV. His pretended answers and interpretations of scripture. And,

Our principles, so far as declared, and by scripture defended in the Key, maintained against the attempts of this author, and farther explained and confirmed for a public good.

I.

His mistakes in point of fact, and the use he would make of them.

He begins his answer with a passage merely personal, and not at all relative to the nature of the discourse, viz. about a pamphlet, writ in defence of the bill for excluding the duke of York, intituled, "A few words about the touchy point of succession:" teaching the parliament, That when they had made first an address to the duke to relinquish his right to the crown; if he refused, then (but not before) they might not only justly, but civilly exclude him by act.—— 'When,' (says he) 'I had perused this piece, without judging the merits of the cause, or the wittiness of the argument, I concluded that W. P. was then a man principled for the civil liberties of his country.'

Answer. But if I may be so bold with this author, pray, why then principled for civil liberties, and not afterwards? And why this upon me at all? But why at this time, and upon this occasion, of so differing a nature, to be brought in by head and shoulders, as the proverb is? But what if I never writ such a pamphlet? (as to be sure I did not). What is to be said to, and of, such an author, in such a case, and in such a time, and to a man under my circumstances? Let him know then, that I did not only never write such a pamphlet, but I am sure that I do not remember I ever read one of such a title, or heard of it; nor was I of that principle, and therefore I return the civility of his conclusion to him again; for, I thank God, I was always so much for civil liberties, that I thought no man ought to lose them for his religious principles. And farther, that they were never to be secured by this or that man, but by a good and equal constitution of government; as some papers by me, which I writ at that time, as well as divers persons yet living, of good reputation, can evidence for me.

But his next paragraph explains the matter; wherein he speaks thus; 'I could no otherwise reconcile the folly of his prevarications in the late reign, than by imputing them to his intemperate zeal for a boundless liberty of con-

science, according to the doctrine of king James's declaration.'

In this he would be charitable, but let him first be just: if there were no prevarications, then there is no need of an intemperate zeal for liberty to shadow or reconcile them to any former principles. And I am so much a friend to him and his brethren, that I wish them free from all intemperance, and prevarications too, and that in all reigns. And if it be possible, or worth while, to reconcile him better to my conduct, let him peruse my 'Great Case of Liberty of Conscience,' printed 1671, and my 'Letter to the Estates of Embden, 1672,' and my 'Present State of England, 1675,' and he will find I was the same man then, and acted by the same principles. Not more intemperate in the reign that favoured it, than in the reign I contended with, that did not favour it: and no man but a persecutor, which I count a beast of prey, and a declared enemy to mankind, can, without great injustice or ingratitude, reproach that part I had in king James's court: for I think I may say, without vanity, upon this provocation, I endeavoured at least to do some good at my own cost, and would have been glad to have done more: I am very sure I intended, and I think I did, harm to none, neither parties nor private persons, my own family excepted: for which I doubt not this author's pardon, since he shews himself so little concerned for the master of it.

Page 8. Our adversary misses again notoriously in point of fact, when he charges me, 'Of revenging myself upon J. Faldo and T. Hicks, for baffling of me twenty years ago.'

Answer. I had no revenge in my eye when I writ that Key; for it was writ in pity, not in anger; to inform, and not to be revenged. I must beg my reader to peruse it, who then can best judge if it tastes of that rank spirit, and what spirit this man is of, that shows such indignation at it; as well as see how meanly he has performed his pretence of an answer, that meddles not with a twentieth part of it, though on different subjects.

It is not in my nature to remember injuries twenty years ago, though this man commits them unprovoked: nor had I any temptation to it, since I had all the satisfaction I could desire, but their conversion. Concerning the first, I must refer myself to impartial readers: and of the last, the famous Barbican and Wheeler-street public disputes do give this man the lie. For at the last, T. H. did not appear, and at the first he shrunk away. And if ever any such public dispute determined with a visible advantage on either side, the impartial, not of our communion, gave it us. And

for the encomium he bestows upon them, with the poor Indian, that desired not to go to heaven, if the cruel Spaniard went thither, I must say, Let not my soul go where their souls are gone, if they did not heartily repent of their great wickedness, against the people of God called Quakers, and their holy profession, before they died.

Page 9. He saith, 'The light within is no scripture expression; and the nation had called nothing the light within, but the effects of the perceptive powers of our minds, that is, our thoughts.'

Answer. By nation, he must either understand a parliament or synod: for I presume he has not spoke with all the nation. But if the common-prayer, established by act of parliament, have any share in the sense of the nation, or the synod or assembly of divines, that sat between the years of forty and fifty at Westminster, he will find another light owned by them, than man's own thoughts: which being all the light within that is owned by this opposer, I may well return upon him that scripture, misquoted by him, page 43. "If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!"—Take heed that the "light in thee be not darkness."

I shall consider his abuse of scripture in another place; and shall say no more upon it at this time, than that this darkness being our author's light, he cannot comprehend the true light; but with it opposes the true light, and the children of it. But that the light within should not be a scripture expression, is very strange: pray, what is enlightening, but light within? Can a man's mind be lighted, and have no light there? The light is said to shine in our hearts: can that be, and not within? But more of this when I come to consider his oppositions to the light.

Page 15, 18, 19. 'Notwithstanding their empty pretence, the Quakers learn their religion not from the light within, but from one another. They cannot name one that was a Quaker, that was not made so by hearing them, or reading their books. That Quakerism is erected by art, method, and management; by consults and clubs; all subordinate to a general assembly; and not from the sufficiency of any principle in themselves, either of natural or supernatural donation.'

Answer. This is also false in fact; there being many that came in a good measure ripe to the communion of that people, having for the most part the same sentiment; as all did from their own convictions by the same principle, though mediately or ministerially. But if this man had considered well, he would have spared this absurdity; for

whom did the first Quaker hear? He will surely allow us a beginning. However, I would have him know, no man can see divine truth by another man's speaking or writing, but through divine light, that shines in himself, giving him the understanding thereof: "for though the spirit of man knows the things of a man; yet the things of God knows no man, but the Spirit of God:" and therefore it is upon conviction, and not human authority, that our religion is built. And it is great uncharitableness in this opponent, as well as injustice, to charge a whole people with a confederacy against themselves, to their temporal woe, and eternal destruction: that so much sobriety, patience, self-denial, suffering, constancy through all times and conditions, should be interpreted trick, juggling, legerdemain, on purpose to cozen the world, and their own souls; as this author is pleased to render them. But to inform him a little better, if yet he needs it; those clubs, as he is pleased to term them, that are subordinate to a general assembly, are not meetings to define and enjoin faith, or uniformity of worship, wherein conscience is more immediately exercised; but meetings of order and discipline, to take care of the poor, of fatherless and widows, and all that walk up to the holy profession they make: which, I hope, is no argument against us, as if we embraced our religion by rote, and not by the illuminations and convictions of the light and Spirit of Christ Jesus.

Page 52. 'And W. P. thinks it consistent with the honour that is due to the scripture, to compare it with Roman legends.'

Answer. He would have done well to have cited the place where I had done so ill. I must leave it to my reader to do me justice against this gross writer, who says one of the worst things without the least proof. I am sure I could no more have been guilty of such an expression, than of renouncing my own belief: I pray God forgive him! But I would have him remember, that he is one day to be judged for this abuse.

I come to the second head of my reply; viz.

II.

His insinuations and insincerity.

Page 4. 'W. P. asserting, in sundry pieces, liberty of conscience to be *ex jure naturali*, has destroyed all morality, confounded blessings and curses, good and evil, somewhat worse than Hobbs himself: for he only asserts a natural

liberty, but this, a divine privilege to do wickedness in the name of the Lord.'

Answer. He has not quoted any one book, less the place, where he makes me capable of being guilty of so dangerous a principle; which, I hope, without being partial, I may say, is very disingenuous. If he can point me to any part of my writings, in defence of that noble principle of liberty, that has not in it a sufficient saving to morality, I will ask him and the world forgiveness; and if it has, I hope he knows whose part it is to cry *Peccavi.* But to insinuate I write for liberty of conscience, as a natural right, for those that should plead conscience to overthrow it, because I did maintain it in favour of those that kept within the bounds of morality, is to show none towards me.

Page 6. He very weakly, as well as unworthily, insinuates a near relation betwixt me and the Jesuits. First, some one of the society may have had, at one time or other, a title-page with the words, misrepresented, and, represented, in it, which make up a part of mine, with which he is so angry; as if title-pages were confessions of faith, or that the same words might not be used by men of different persuasions. It is to say, 'Because misrepresented may be misapplied, therefore it is not to be used.' Any man may be misrepresented; must not he therefore represent himself aright, for fear of being a Jesuit? This, to be sure, gives a very ill representation of him.

In the next place he says, 'W. P. imping the Jesuit again, he represents his own religion as like ours as may be, by the new softening method of Meaux.'

Truly, I do not know what religion he is of; for he has no more told us that, than his name; but a protestant, I suppose, at large: and yet I am ready to think I can subscribe as many of the doctrines of the Reformation as himself. But if our religion be so like it, why does he labour in his whole treatise to render ours so grossly contrary to theirs? Contrary things do not look alike, for then they cannot properly be said to be contrary. And if we are of so softening a disposition, does he well to be so very hard? But truly I think it no fault to have a religion unlike his, unless it had more of sobriety and charity in it. However, the Jesuits are much beholden to him, whatever I am; it being the first time I have heard their methods esteemed so soft: nor had they now had, I believe, that compliment from him, but to render us jesuitical, or popish at least.

Page 7. He adds, 'For W. P.'s scheme is, first to give the perversion of Quakerism, and then to represent it in equivocal terms, after his own way.'

By which he would have the reader think we are insincere, as well as mistaken; and that we have a design upon ourselves, to cozen ourselves, as well as the world, in the great business of salvation. But what must that man be that can have such a design? Certainly, a fool to himself, and a devil to others: but then what must they be, who render men so absurd and impious, only to have their evil ends upon their character and religion? Doubtless they must be as bad every jot. I must needs tell him, that little treatise was not intended for critics, but plain and ordinary understandings; to remove common and vulgar prejudices, and in a familiar style; and not after the bishop of Meaux's copy, which was performed with much address and exactness.

He says, 'My terms are equivocal.' I am sure I have mostly expressed myself in those of the holy scripture: it is a singular and unjust reflection, to say I did it in my own way; for it is in that way which is common to the writers of our persuasion, and according to the language of the Holy Ghost. And it is plain, from more places than this of his book, as p. 23, 41, &c. that he would have that little piece of mine the fruit of great contrivance and design: I know not why, unless that he might raise the greater reputation to his own undertaking; as he tells us, p. 5. But that will depend upon the conclusion, which will best show how well he has acquitted himself.

Page 11, 12. He farther insinuates, 'That we make the light within the rule, not only to direct our belief and practice of the Christian religion, but to discover to men the history of the coming and performances of Jesus of Nazareth, and that he is Christ the Lord; and this without the help of the scriptures.'

Answer. Now this is very insincere on his part: for though the light of the eternal Word be, without doubt, sufficient to reveal or discover those facts where they are not known, if God pleaseth; yet we never said the light was our rule to that purpose, but to judge of that which is revealed; or that the discoveries it made were of things past and historical, but of things immediate and practical, as of sin, in thought, word, and deed, and to be daily assisted to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this world; to pray, and preach, and worship God; which relating to the service of Jesus, and the service of Jesus being by him allowed to be the Christian religion, the asserting of that divine light to be the holy rule of our Christian conduct to perform those things, deserves not such abusive insinuations and inuendos as this author makes upon us.

Page 14. He would have his reader believe, as if there were not one passage in all my part of that book called, 'The Christian Quaker,' he can cite before it be corrected, both style and matter, because he only cites one which he thinks fit to correct; calling me for it a lewd author, and what else he pleases: but, according to his usual practice, he has inserted no page to direct us where to find this assertion. If to me he has thought it not needful, I must tell him, his amendment is as needless; for when I speak of Christ, I say He; and when of his body, I say it: notwithstanding, he charges me with other things: but, I think, through the many books I have written, it will never be found my practice or mistake, whatever may be the printer's.

Page 23. 'Since the Quakers will have their light to be common to all men, and not natural, there is no such thing in the universe.'

Answer. By which he insinuates, that a divine light cannot be communicated to every man, and be divine. Would he have shown himself a candid author, one that desired to have informed, and not abused us, he would have first instructed himself what we have said on this occasion. By natural, we mean mere man; his compositum, or make; that is, of the nature of man, as he is man: by divine, what is above man, and from God, to direct man in all well-pleasingness to him. Yet if by natural may be meant, that every man that is born into the world has a portion of this light, or illuminating principle, to direct him in the way to blessedness, I should not very much quarrel at the word; it being, in a sort, natural to all men to have it; because all men that are born (from whence the word nature springs) as certainly have it, as that they are born into the world. See John i. 4, 19. 1 Cor. xii.

These few instances I thought fit to give of the unjust insinuations and insincerity of this author; which brings me to my third head, viz.

III.

His abusive terms and taunts upon us.

Indeed almost every page is freighted with them. My Key is a picklock, and we are imps of the Jesuits: our writings are apocryphal, our phrases like gypsy-gibberish and beggar's cant; our arguments putid sophisms; our leading men a pack of jugglers, sophistical, of suborned sense; men of tricks and legerdemain, abusing honest-meaning men, as jugglers do plain country people; ranting-cant, and that I

debauch the scriptures; with much more of this strain and style; besides that scorn and levity, which very much unbecomes one that pretends to correct others in matters of religion. I would fain have this author to consider whether he has acted like one that has any reverence towards God, or compassion to a mistaken people, supposing us to be such. Certainly, whether we are in the right or no, he must needs be in the wrong, and his religion vain, that has no better bridle to his tongue or pen: which said, I shall betake myself to my fourth head.

IV.

His pretended answers and interpretations of Scripture considered.

The first perversion, mentioned in my Key, is page 1. viz. 'The Quakers hold, that the natural light in the conscience of every man in the world is sufficient to save all that follow it:' which, by the way after the flourish of an answer to the Key, (at least as to our doctrine of the light) is all that is cited by him; so that my explanations of our principle, in answer to this, and three other perversions upon this doctrine at the same time, are not so much as taken notice of by this man, that pretends to have considered them all. But let us hear what he says upon this perversion.

Page 7. 'This is no perversion; unless an objection made against a tenet be a perversion of a tenet; which no body thinks besides W. P; for we only say, that the Quakers believe that a natural light is supernatural and saving: we mistake not their meaning, but oppose it as an error.'

Answer. He that changes the terms of a question, abuses his antagonist, and perverts the argument; which is the case: for the people called Quakers never said, that a natural light was supernatural, or sufficient to salvation: and if natural be not their term, then it is a perversion of their principle. For whether they are mistaken in their principle, or no, is not the question; but whether their principle is not misgiven by their enemies. This author seems to make it natural in another place, because we affirm it is common to all, or that all are enlightened: but this begs the question in point of argument, and will not rectify or defend a matter that is in fact false: for besides that it is not fair in any to charge their consequences upon others for principles, it is plain what any people say is their principle, is the rule for us to know whether what their adversaries say is so, be their principle or not. Suppose it were

true, that what is common is natural; yet if we do not say so, it is a perversion of what we say; and as such I give it in my Key. For, as I said before, what any people declare is their principle, is the rule for others to know whether what their adversaries give for their principle be theirs or not: now whether the light we call divine be natural or no, shall be considered in its place: but that a natural light should be super-natural and saving, is not our principle, but their perversion and contradiction. Waving, then, any more of my Key, which he pretends to answer, he undertakes to state our religion, and the controversy between us, in his own terms and not ours; which I will not say is a lewd, but a foul way of treating any people or opponent, in my judgment; and I think I am not mistaken.—His words are these:

Page 8. 'If any thing they say deserves consideration, this is the point; and of this they say, 1. That the light within is the rule of the Christian religion. 2. That it is God and Christ. 3. That Quakerism is taught them by it.'

Answ. I could be glad this author said any thing that deserved the consideration of good and wise men: I am sure he deserves their reproof, that will not let us confess our faith in our own words, nor express our religion in our own way. However, I will observe what he says, as disingenuous as it is; and not write forty pages upon four lines, as he has partially cited out of my Key, and then call it an Answer. It is not our way of speaking to say, 'The light within is the rule of the Christian religion;' but, 'that the light of Christ within us is the rule of true Christians;' so 'that it is, not our light, but Christ's light that is our rule. "For in him was life, and that life the light of men," John i. 4. 9. chap. viii. 12. Life in the word, light in men, and life (too) where it is obeyed. For Christ promises "the light of life to all that follow him, the true light that enlightens every man that cometh into the world." Christ himself hath made it the rule of his followers: "But he that doth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God." So that Christians are to square their lives by the light of Jesus; therefore it is their rule. It is the Christian path to blessedness. Christ exhorts his followers to walk in the light. The beloved disciple begins his epistles, as he does his history of the gospel, with the divinity and doctrine of the light; telling us, "that God is light; that if we would have fellowship with God, we must walk in this light; and that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth those only that walk in this light; and that religion without it is a lie," 1 John i. To which let me add,

that in his book of Revelations, consonant thereunto, he saith, "that the nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light (of the lamb)." Rev. xxi. 23, 24. The apostle Paul makes it universal and effectual, in his epistle to the Ephesians, chap. v. 13. "But all things that are reproved (or discovered) are made manifest by the light; for whatsoever doth make manifest is light." Now all being reproved, all have light; and since that light manifests every thing that is to be known, Christ himself was known by it; and the religion he taught discovered by it to be of God; and such only received him and it, as obeyed this light in their consciences. The same light is by the same apostle rendered the Christian's armour; "And let us put on the armour of light;" says he, "let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof:" making it the same thing to put on the armour of light, and to put on the Lord Jesus Christ; certainly, then, Christ must be that light, and that light must be Christ. But he objects to this doctrine.

Page 11. 'The Christian religion is nothing but the service of Jesus of Nazareth.—Nothing, then, can be the rule of this religion, but what discovers to us that there is one Jesus of Nazareth, and that he is Christ the Lord. But never was any one man instructed by that light that is in the conscience of every man, that there ever was such an one as Jesus of Nazareth, much less that he was the Lord, and least of all what he required of his servants: therefore no light within, common to all mankind, can be the rule of the Christian religion; since it was never possible for any man to learn the least part of the Christian religion by the light that is in every man's conscience."

To the first part of what he says, 'That the Christian religion is nothing but the service of Jesus of Nazareth,' I shall easily agree: for the service of Jesus of Nazareth, is the service of the God and Father of Jesus of Nazareth; and that is, "to fear God, and keep his commandments; and to love God above all, and our neighbours as ourselves;" this is the whole duty of man," Eccl. xii. 13. Matt. xxii. 37, 39. that which man has to do in the world for salvation.

To the second part of this proposition, viz. 'That nothing can be the rule of this religion, but what discovers to us that there is one Jesus of Nazareth, and that he is Christ the Lord,' I shall likewise agree, upon distinction. I distinguish, then, between an historical and spiritual discovery of Jesus of Nazareth; and so of the rule by which he and his

service are to be known. The scriptures tell us of the birth, life, ministry, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus of Nazareth; and, in brief, of the ministry and sufferings of his blessed followers and apostles; and it must be acknowledged to be a great mercy and privilege to us, that we have them: but they cannot savingly reveal Christ to a soul; neither can they give us the soul and substance of those things that are thereby declared. They are an exact map, or picture of things, but not the things themselves. It is the office of the divine light and spirit of Christ to show men these secrets; and to none are they, or can they be known, but those that walk according to the convictions of it: first, "in ceasing to do evil, and denying all ungodliness and the world's lusts;" and then, "in learning to do well, and living soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." So that those that read the scriptures of truth, by which they have an historical knowledge of the coming of Christ, and so are a rule to that knowledge, as also to the doctrines therein expressly declared, they must come to the light of the eternal word to understand them, and to see the glory of the Only-begotten of the Father, as those of old beheld it; else the scripture is as a sealed book. Who knows God, by reading of him; or Christ, by reading of him; or regeneration, by reading of it? unless God is pleased, by the light of his Son, the true "Key of David," to come in upon the soul, and open to it the deep things of God, viz. the new creation, or the regeneration, of man. Wherefore the light or spirit of Christ, (which are the same) is the first great rule; even the rule of understanding the scriptures, which we own to be the secondary rule: and we say, That a measure thereof is given to all to profit with; to lighten all, and search and lead all in the way of holiness, which is the way of eternal happiness. His minor proposition I must deny, viz. 'But never was any one man instructed by that light that is in the conscience of every man, that there ever was such an one as Jesus of Nazareth, much less that he was the Lord, and least of all what he required of his servants.'

In this I must dissent from him, especially as to the latter part: for though, as I have already said, the scriptures are an historical rule, and doctrinal too, so far as they are plain and express; yet the truest and most powerful evidence to authorize our belief of them, is the testimony of the light and spirit of the eternal word, from whence they came, and that answers to its own. This the martyrs asserted, as Hooper, Bradford, Smith, Saunders, Rogers, &c. also Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr, and Erasmus himself, refer to it in proof

of the divine authority of them; as may be seen in the "Book of Martyrs," as also in the writings of these authors upon the "authority of the scriptures." But if the light we contend for does not ordinarily reveal the history of Jesus Christ, who dare say it cannot do so? Is it not more reasonable to suppose that there may be no absolute necessity of it; since then God would have left much the greatest part of the world without the means of salvation? Yet if it reveal that which he commanded his servants both to practise and preach, it overthrows his proposition; and plainly proves that the soul and substance of what Christ commanded his followers, is revealed, more or less, to all people, in all nations, by this despised light within. And, besides experience, (which I shall anon come to) the holy scriptures speak as much; for, says the prophet Micah, (Micah vi. 8.) "God hath shown to thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" Here is both duty, and the way to understand it. Now this duty and service, is the service of God, and so of Jesus of Nazareth, who came to teach men so to do, viz. "To do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God." The way to know and do this, is God's illumination of man." God has shown unto thee, O man!" How does God show man? "Whatsoever makes manifest is light," says the apostle Paul to the Ephesians, Eph. v. 13, 14. So that it is by the light of the word, by which he made all things, that he shows unto men all things necessary to salvation, viz. "What is good, and what he requires of him:" what service, homage, and obedience he expects. So that here we have both the universality and sufficiency of the light. Corresponding herewith is that great saying of the same apostle to the Romans, Rom. i. 19. "For that which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God hath shown it unto them." Which way, I pray, does God manifest the knowledge of himself in men, but by the light of the blessed word, by whom he made man, and without whom nothing was made that is made? "In him was life, and that life the light of men; and this is the true light that enlightens every man that cometh into the world." John i. 4. 9.

Now that the Christian religion is this duty, service, and knowledge of God, we may satisfy ourselves, from that blessed sermon of blessings, preached by Christ upon the mount, Matt. v. "Blessed are the poor in spirit; blessed are they that mourn (for their sins, and for want of feeling peace with God); blessed are the meek; blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness; blessed are the

merciful; blessed are the pure in heart; blessed are the peace-makers; and blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake." If these states were blessed, and those who were under these blessed qualifications; then, to be sure, such were in the service of Jesus of Nazareth, though he was not then offered up, and that they knew not his history. Now that all have a light to show them the happiness of these states, the universal testimony of all ages and nations assures us; and, to deny it, is to say, 'the sun did never shine, since there was a man in the world!'

The same may be said of the rest of his excellent sermon: 'as that we should seek God, in the first place, and trust Providence for the rest, and live by faith in his goodness; be charitable and devout without ostentation: not so much as lust in the mind, and speak truth without an oath; bear abuses; forgive enemies; be sparing of censuring others; and finally do, as well as hear, the word of God, and to all men as we would be done to.' These excellent things, more naturally and excellently expressed in that sermon, than in the writings of the most enlightened Gentiles, are yet to be found up and down in the account given us of their lives and doctrines by Strabo, Laertius, Herbert, Stanly, Cudworth, and my part of the Christian Quaker. By all which it may be seen, that the blessed word, who did himself preach so plainly and fully, yet concisely, this admirable doctrine, had enlightened those Gentiles with great knowledge, and instructed them therein; and that, several hundred years before he came in the flesh. I hope the keeping of these commands, and obeying the precepts of Jesus of Nazareth, will be allowed to be the service of Jesus of Nazareth, or else nothing is; and if so, then I must conclude, he may be served and obeyed of those that are not acquainted with his coming in the flesh, and becoming personally an holy minister among the Jews, and, in conclusion, an holy offering for the world. For it is very possible that a man may receive benefit by a medicine, of whose composition he may be ignorant. And in general pardons, it is not commonly known, by those that sensibly have the advantage thereof, by whose favour and advice the prince was influenced to grant it.

Since, then, humility, mercy, patience, purity, brotherly-kindness, faith in God, hope of life eternal, charity to men, doing as a man would be done to, and that with a distinct and religious reference and regard to him that must finally judge all men, must necessarily belong to the service of Jesus of Nazareth, since it is the substance of what Jesus of Nazareth preached, and the end of the labour, travels and

writings of his blessed apostles, (and that these things were, in a measure, in the world, before the coming of Jesus of Nazareth in the flesh, and that even those that knew him, and received him when he did come, were those that walked up to the light of the word, by which alone his inward beauty and glory were seen) we may reasonably conclude, against this author, that the light with which the Word-God enlightened men, was a divine, spiritual, and saving light, because it revealed these truths to Gentiles as well as Jews, that had an immediate tendency to salvation; and that in all ages. And that whosoever have walked according to its righteous dictates, as well before, as since the coming of Christ (the Eternal Word) in the flesh, did so far perform the service of Jesus of Nazareth, as they thereby served the God and Father of Jesus of Nazareth; for says Christ himself, "He that doth the will of my Father, the same is my mother, my brother, and my sister."

To sum up this; once more, I say, We never said the light within is given to all mankind to reveal facts done, or historical accounts of persons and actions, though we cannot say it is not able to do it; but, ordinarily, the nature of things, as to truth and falshood, obligation and duty, commission and omission: and therefore we say, that though all did not foresee the coming of Christ, with the circumstances that attended him, as some of the prophets did, (that being an extraordinary manifestation of this light) yet all had the ordinary manifestation of it, to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with the Lord: and so they have now, though they have not the extraordinary revelation of the history of Jesus of Nazareth: in which respect we confess the scriptures to be a secondary rule, an historical rule, and a rule of the form of sound words in doctrinal truths: but the first and great rule is the light and spirit of God; as that was the rule to them, by whom the scriptures were given forth, in their giving them forth: and we also affirm, the light and spirit of God a rule to read and understand the scriptures by: and this was plainly seen in Christ's time: for the Jews that rebelled against the light, had the veil over their understandings, so that they could not see his glory, but judged of him according to outward appearance, which was not righteous judgment; but those that loved the light in that day, the truly conscientious to God, they brought their deeds to the light: they knew him to be the Eternal Word, manifested in the flesh, and thereby saw his inward glory to be that of "the only begotten of the Father, full of grace, and full of truth."

If he object, 'If all had this light, why did not all know

him?' As, indeed, that is the weight of his objection, and other adversaries' oppositions.

I answer; all have reason, but all are not reasonable; all do not use it: so all have light, but all do not obey it. It is not the light's insufficiency, but man's disobedience, that renders him uncapable of the knowledge of divine truth. Christ told the Jews, "If you do my will, you shall know of my doctrine, whether it be of God or no." Obeying the convictions, and first motions, of this divine light, will increase our light and knowledge. Disobedience makes an unfruitful ground, though the seed be good that is sown in it: so that the ignorance of those that have the light, is not chargeable upon the light, but their own darkness, which comprehends it not, through unbelief and disobedience. The scriptures, then, are the rule to us of the history of Jesus of Nazareth, and necessary to be believed where they are known; but the divine light and spirit, the first and great rule by which they are to be truly and profitably read and believed; and without which Christ could not have been savingly known when he was in the world; nor can he be known now, nor the scriptures that declare of him: He is the common rule to mankind, who by his light reveals common and essential truths, relating to the fear of God, and working of righteousness: and it will be hard for this man to name one nation or person in the world, that knows not the reproofs of this principle in evil-doing, and, in doing that which is right, has not a reference to the pleasing of Him, who is the great Rewarder and Preserver of men, notwithstanding his cavil to the contrary, pages 12, 13. But I shall attend his farther exceptions.

Page 13. 'They affirm the light within is Christ; and I say then, it is nothing else but Jesus of Nazareth. If they make the light within to be Christ, and not Jesus of Nazareth, they make it antichrist: and because they worship God in this appearance (as they speak) they are antichristian idolaters.'

Answer. This way of arguing is very dark, as well as injurious. If by Jesus of Nazareth he only means what he took of the Virgin Mary, and will not consider him as the Eternal Word, but as man, like to us in all things, sin excepted, he is not the light within, that we declare of, and worship God in.

But this author, at the same time, declares not to believe that Christ is the Eternal Word, for he seems to deny his pre-existence; much more, that the world, and all that is therein, was made by him. And how orthodox thatis, let the impartial judge. If he owns Christ to be the Word-God

manifested in the flesh, then, I say, the light is Christ, as much as Christ can be called the light; and so not only John calls him, John i. 4. 9. but he calls himself so, John viii. 12.

This antagonist seems too eager and rash, or he would have reflected better upon the way of the Holy Ghost's speaking in scripture; for sometimes Christ is so called with relation to his divine nature, and sometimes with respect to his manhood. As he was of the seed of Abraham, he is not God over all, blessed for ever; he is not the Eternal Word, in whom is life, and that life is the light of men. And as he hungered, thirsted, sorrowed, wept, died, he was not the Divine Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world: yet he is alternately called Christ, sometimes Christ without man, sometimes Christ in man, the hope of his glory; according to the double respect he stood and stands in. Let not men separate what God has joined; which has been too much the practice of our opposers, to draw a line of reflection over our religion, as if it denied Jesus of Nazareth to be Christ the Lord, because we asserted him the Light of the world, and as such to be in man: whereas they who consider him but in one capacity, are too strict with the text, to wrong us, and so in the end draw the reflection upon themselves. But to run this abuse on the Holy Ghost, as well as us, so high, as therefore to style us antichristian idolaters, shows a bitterness, as well as mistake, that by no means becomes a critic upon men's religion.

But that he may apply this injustice home, he is pleased that it should light upon me, and therefore he quotes a passage out of my part of the Christian Quaker, though not the page. I wave the scurrility of his introduction to it, pages 14, 15. This is the passage, as he gives it:

"The power, life, and light which inhabited that Holy Person, which (or who) was born at Bethlehem, was and is, chiefly and eminently, the Saviour, as prepared for the work which Christ had to do in him." 'By which (says he) he makes the light within to be their Christ, and Jesus of Nazareth the prepared instrument of this Christ.'

Now by this, the reader will have a clear taste of the justice of this writer.

My words are thus laid down by me, (Christian Quaker, page 104. chap. 21.) "We confess, that though the eternal power, life, light, which inhabited that Holy Person which was born at Nazareth, was, and is, chiefly and eminently the Saviour, Hos. xiii. 4. (For there is no Saviour besides me, saith God," this he left out) "yet that it was instrumentally a Saviour, as prepared and chosen for the work which Christ

had then to do in it, which was actually to the salvation of some, and intentionally of the whole world, then, and in ages to come; suitable to that scripture, Heb. x. 5, 6. Lo I come, in the volume of the book it is written of me, to do thy will, O God! A body thou hast prepared me.', By which it is plain with what unfairness he gave my words before: first, he left out my quotation out of Hosea, "For there is no Saviour besides me, saith God;" whereby it appears that the eternal power, life, and light, was eminently concerned in man's salvation. Secondly, he concealed that scripture in the conclusion of the paragraph, out of the Hebrews, "A body hast thou prepared me," &c. which plainly interprets what I mean by person, and by which, and it, that he is pleased to change for who, and he and him, to render me at once absurd and erroneous, and about which he calls me a lewd author, and all to naught. This was done of malice, doubtless, the better to have his evil end of me, by wringing my words to the sense he designed they should bear. Making me to divide, as well as distinguish, between Christ and Jesus of Nazareth, and Christ and him that was born of the Virgin Mary, reading it he and him, which referred to the body; so making me to intend Jesus of Nazareth, completely considered, when I plainly intended, from the nature of the words of the text, and those words and the scripture cited by me, in proof and illustration of what I meant by them, the body of Christ Jesus of Nazareth.

Thus much of his construction of the words he quotes out of the "Christian Quaker," before cited: but if he will allow us to speak our own mind in our own words, and had rather we were in the right than in the wrong, which does but become an ingenuous author (though it thereby appear that we are not what he had said us to be) then let him know, we do not divide or distinguish, between Christ, and Jesus of Nazareth. Nor did we ever say, that Jesus of Nazareth is Christ's instrument to appear in, and by, for man's salvation; but, that the "Word took flesh, and this is the Christ, or Anointed of God: and though sometimes the term Christ is given to the Word, sometimes to the prepared body he took, as when he is said to die, and be buried, and raised again, &c. yet "God manifest in the flesh," and "Immanuel," God with us, in our nature, is that Christ of God, or Christ the Lord, that God hath, and will exalt; the Enlightener, Redeemer, and Saviour of the world, both an offering for all, and the Mediator and Sanctifier of all, that desire to come to God by Him.

But he farther urges against us, and our doctrine of the light within, as what is fallacious on our part to draw in

proselytes, and which he terms a putid sophism, pages 21, 22, viz. 'Is there not a light in every man's conscience? You experience one in your own. And is not God light? and Christ light? And is not God within, and Christ within? Now this is all very true: but when from hence they infer, God is the light within, it is putid sophism. God being light, and being within men, proves not that God is a light within men. God is light, and God is within other things as well as men: is then God a light within to every tree, every beast, every star? If this be absurd, then God's being light, and being within, proves but sophistically that He is the light within. And yet this is the constant method the Quakers use to teach their people the divinity of the light within.'

Answer. I hope he will find no cause to blame me for imperfect, and less for perverted quotations. I cite him fairly and fully. Now, for answer, I say, I never saw or heard of that way of reasoning or tampering, as he styles it, that he charges upon us to make proselytes by. And I think I ought to be at least as well versed in our way and writings as himself. All reasonable people will readily allow, they have such a light; and in reading the holy scriptures, they find the enlightened penmen call God light, and Christ light, and are naturally led to believe, that their light is from God, the Fountain of all light, especially when they read the first chapter of John, and that of his first epistle also. And it is granted by this man, that God is in men, and that God is a light within men. Indeed his argument does not prove it, for it is not regularly formed to make such a conclusion, which is his fault, because it is of his own making: but neither is it a sophism, or sophistical in us, nor is the reason good that he gives against it, viz. because it is absurd to say, 'That God is a light within trees, beasts, and stars,' because God is within them, and God is light; therefore it is so to say, 'That God is a light within men. For trees, beasts, and stars, &c. are not of man's nature and capacity, they are not capable of such a manifestation of the light of God, as man is: God is in them after another and lower manner, and to other ends and purposes. But why God, who is confessed to be light, and in man, should not be a light then to man, I cannot comprehend. I do not say that it strictly follows in the argument, but the reason given against it is no reason; and reason and scripture judge for us. For man being a reasonable creature, it is his duty, and the end of his being, to know and serve God, the author of it; but this he cannot do, unless God manifest himself unto him: and since this man grants, 'that God is light, and in some sort in man,' to what

better purpose, or which way more properly and beneficially, can he be said to be in man, than as a light shining there, to give him the knowledge of God? So that he is not only there as the Creator and Supporter of his being, but his Illuminator and Instructor to his well-being. The scriptures already cited sufficiently prove, that God is light, and Christ is light, and that all men are enlightened by him; and to be sure it must be with his own light. Now, though with a fair adversary, one might say, without offence, 'That God, or Christ, is the light within man,' yet it is not the common way of our expressing ourselves.

To be sure we have no such meaning in that way of speaking, as some adversaries strain our words to, as if God and Christ were comprehensible in and by man, to render us absurd and blasphemous. But we rather choose to say, 'That God, or Christ, who is light, hath lighted man; and by the light of Christ in man, man comes to know God and Christ: and that the light in man, is the light of God, or of Christ;' and not that God, or Christ is the light in man. The light in a room at noon-day, is the light of the sun; but the sun cannot so properly be said to be in the room, because its light is there; for the glorious, unapproachable body of it is elsewhere. I hope this will not pass with the sober reader for a putid sophism.

He farther says, p. 24. 'I may not now-a-days, therefore, tell Quakers their own religion is false, without telling them what is the truth; lest I should tempt them to leave Quakerism for impiety and irreligion, and not for the service of Jesus Christ.'

Answer. We are beholden to him, that he thinks our religion a bar to impiety and irreligion; and I wish neither had appeared in his opposing of it. The truth he has a mind to tell us, lieth in a few words, upon which he bestows no less than fifteen pages, (viz.) 'That the light which God hath given to man for salvation, generally speaking, is, besides creation and providence, the writings of the inspired men of the Old and New Testament, which we call the scriptures of truth; no light, spirit, or grace, commonly or ordinarily opening and assisting our understandings in the reading of them; but that the light, which is in men, is the effects of perceptive faculties of our minds, that is, our thoughts,' as he also tells us, page 9. So that what we read and hear with our outward eyes and ears, is thereby reported to our mind or judgment, whose conclusion thereupon is this man's light within.

But, methinks, before he had been so positive and voluminous in his own notion, (where he will find very few abettors,

I believe) he should have been so fair as to have considered what I have said in my Key, p. 1, 2. That seems to me to have more materially referred to another light within, than he has yet brought himself to. I will give the passage at large as it lieth, that it may speak for itself:

'The Quakers' belief and assertion is, "That Christ, who is the Word, that was with God, and was God (John i. 4, 9.) and is so for ever) hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world, with his own light; as he is that true light, or such a light as there is no other to be compared to him; which is the meaning of the emphasis true in the text. And that such as follow the reproofs, convictions, and leadings of that light, with which he enlightens the understandings and consciences of men, shall not walk in darkness: that is, in evil, and ignorance of God; but shall have the light of life: that is, be in a holy and living state or condition towards God: a state of acceptance and salvation, which is from sin, as well as from wrath; (see Isa. xlix. 6. John i. 4, 9. c. iii. 21. c. v. 40. c. viii. 12. c. x. 10.) And for which end Christ was given of God. So that they assert the light of Christ to be sufficient to save; that is, to convince of sin, lead out of it, and quicken the soul in the ways of holiness: and not a natural light, otherwise than as all men, born into the world, have a measure of Christ's light, and so it may, in a sense, be said to be natural to all men, because all men have it. For this light is something else than the bare understanding man hath as a rational creature: for as such, man cannot be a light to himself; but has only a capacity of seeing, by means of the light with which Christ, the Word, enlighteneth him. For we can no more be a mental or intellectual light to ourselves, than we are an external and corporeal light to ourselves: but as the sun in the firmament is the light of our bodies, so the light of the divine word is the sun of our souls; the glorious luminary of the intellectual world; and they that walk in it, will, by it, be led to blessedness.' Rev. xxi. 24.

Of all which, he takes this imperfect notice, 'The concurrence of many causes being requisite to produce faith, the Quakers confound these inspirations with the light, and attribute the efficiency of one cause to another; which must needs pervert all sound judgment of things, and make them speak inconsistencies; as when W. P. says, 'Man cannot be a light to himself,' as if the denial of the divinity of the light within, implied any such thing, and 'man has only a capacity to see;' as if the defect was in God's works in nature, and in the scripture, and not in man's seeing faculty.

Now such expressions show his apprehensions are much perverted about these things.'

Answer. But this shows my opponent to be either shallow, or worse. I would be so charitable as to think he mistakes me, and in the conclusion abuseth himself. For why do the Quakers confound those inspirations with the light? We never limited all divine inspirations and operations to the light, merely as it is light, as physically, and by his natural philosophy, he seems to explain it. We ever meant a principle in man, that is not of man, that is variously denominated by its various operations: light, from discerning and distinction: spirit, from life and power: word, as it speaks forth God's mind to man: truth in the inward parts, as it deals truly with man, and would redeem him from lying vanities: and grace, as it is God's gift, and not man's understanding, or man's merit. I shall not therefore quarrel with his natural philosophy, p. 37, when he says, 'The sun generates all life, and its faculties in bodies, but not by its light;' for we never said it did, with reference to the light within: else all men would have divine life as well as light; which was never our assertion, nor a just conclusion from that which is, it being scripture, viz. John i. 4. "In Him, the Word, is life, and that life the light of men;" not the life of men, but as they obey it: according to that clear and full expression of our blessed Lord, John viii. 12. "I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life;" that is life, as well as light. They that read him, will see who keeps nearest to the text, and who walks closest to the rule and form of sound words; which, we hope, neither he, nor any of his abettors, shall ever be able to draw or drive us from.

For the use he makes of these words of mine; 'And man has only a capacity to see;' (viz.) 'As if the defect was in God's works in nature and in the scriptures, and not in man's seeing faculties;' he utterly mistakes me; I will not say, wilfully; but upon that he makes a great pother, and depends the strength of his conclusion: for I speak of man in his creation, and he of man in his fall. The conclusion cannot be right, that is drawn from wrong premises; and I hope he, when he thinks again, will think so too; and that his pains, p. 36, 37. might have been spared. For I hope he will not think there was any defect in paradise! as there must have been, if man had been defective in his seeing faculty; for even there he was but man, and, as such, he could not be his own light; which is plain, in that when he erred,

he erred from something else than himself, himself erring; therefore that something else must be the divine light he erred from; in which if he had kept, the subtle insinuations of the serpent had never prevailed.

Man, then, had only the capacity of seeing all divine objects; as truth, wisdom, goodness, mercy, justice, power, &c. which were only discernible by the inshinings of this divine light of the word of God. And since he alludes so strictly in his instances from the creation and natural philosophy, I hope he will allow me to say, that as the eye of man, though never so capable of seeing, cannot see any object before it in the dark, unless an outward light give it the sight thereof; so no man's soul can see divine objects, though its eye, or seeing faculty, were ever so capable, unless the divine light shined in it, to give unto it the knowledge of the glory of God therein. And I have not only my own experience, but that of good men in all ages of the world, according to the degree of the manifestation of the divine light, wherein they agree, and cannot err: humility, obedience, love, patience, meekness, purity, charity, &c. are sensibly wrought in men by this divine principle. Sensibly, I say, for all his 'Insensible dogmas,' page 37, 38, 39. as that man is not sensible of the divine agency, or inspiration of the Almighty. 'For we know,' says he, 'by reasoning; but not by sense or conscience:' abusing that scripture to countenance his insensible assertion, "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and we here the sound thereof, but know not whence it comes, nor whither it goes;" which is not spoken of the regenerate man's not knowing how he is regenerated, but that other men know it not with all their wisdom and knowledge, that are not spiritually illuminated and experienced in the same work: answerable to that place in the Revelation of John, "That he that overcomes, shall have a white stone, and a new name, that none shall know but he that has it;" that is, but such conquerors: for they that are overcome of the world, can never taste or judge of the rewards of those that do overcome it.

And very sorry I am for this opposer, that he allows man no spiritual senses, or that which answers to our outward senses; and if he does, surely they are to see, hear, smell, taste, and feel something else than himself. How gross, then, is his position, p. 37. 'But this I may say, that neither is the illuminating, or renewing, or regenerating, or any other divine inspiration, immediately perceptible to any sense, inward or outward, in human nature; and if so, it is certain none of these can be a light within us.' But why it is not so, he has not told us; he cannot tell us, nor any man

else. To all which I shall oppose a few scriptures, and then attend his abuse of those I cited in my Key, and me, for the application of them.

That there is another light and spirit that attend men, than the 'Effects of the perceptive faculties of their own minds,' as this man calls it, I urge that passage in Genesis vi. 3. "My Spirit shall not always strive with men." A plain proof that God strove with the old world by his Holy Spirit; which could not be, if they had it not, or were unsensible of any such thing. Nehemiah ix. 20, it is said, that "God gave them his good Spirit, but they rebelled against it;" therefore they had it. David prays that God "would not take his Holy Spirit from him;" which shows it was with him, and that not as a prophet, but ordinarily speaking; for his transgression was too heinous for that dignity, without a course of repentance, and a restoration to his former state, which in the same psalm he prays for: but it is evident, as bad as he was, he had yet the holy Spirit in that sense, in which we assert a "measure of it is to be given to all to profit with," as the apostle speaks, 1 Cor. xii. 7. Else he could not have said, "And take not thy holy Spirit from me;" as much as to say, 'For if thou dost utterly deprive me of it, I shall grow dark, hard and impenitent, and be undone for ever.'

The Lord, by the prophet Isaiah, proves, that his Spirit should successively attend his people; these are his words: "And as for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord; My Spirit that is upon thee (Christ) and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever," chap. lix. 21. And, I pray, who are Christ's seed and offspring, but true Christians? And, as such, they are entitled to this promise, and therefore have the Spirit of God, and the fresh and living revelation of it, whose words are "spirit and life."

Thus the prophet, chap. xliv. 3. "I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring." A most ample and close proof to my point, that God gives his Spirit to men, and that there is something more than the light of reading and hearing of men and books, or the perceptive faculty of the mind, to instruct men: and that, not only in extraordinary cases, and on singular and eminent occasions, (which our opponent allows, as to Moses, the prophets, and apostles) but ordinarily, commonly, successively: for to that the text plainly reaches.

The prophet Joel is yet more comprehensive, ch. ii. 28. "And it shall come to pass afterwards, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh;" young and old, hand-maids and servants: no age, no sex, no degree shall be exempted. The apostle Peter applied this very text to the dawning of the primitive Christian days, as then begun to be accomplished, Acts ii. 17. Not that that which befel the apostles and disciples of Jesus in that time, was the complete answering of that prophecy, for that was not all flesh. Besides, the very same apostle, in the same sermon, verse 39, tells his auditors, that were made up of no less than fourteen several nations, "that the promise was to them and to their children, and to all that were afar off, whom the Lord should call:" so that the gifts of the Spirit were the fulfilling of the gospel-promise, and consequently the great gospel-privilege and qualification.

The apostle Paul tells us, Rom. viii. that there is an absolute necessity that people should have the Spirit of God dwelling in them, and that they should be led and conducted by it, or they cannot be the children of God. Verse 1. "There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." Here it is the Christian rule.

Again, verse 12. "But if the Spirit of him that raised Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortal bodies, by his Spirit, that dwelleth in you:" so that the indwelling of the Spirit did quicken and comfort the ancient Christians, and was apostolical doctrine.

Again, verse 14, 15, 16. "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God;" which they cannot be, if they have it not: "For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God:" so that it is plain they had the spirit. And I wonder what witness Christians must have now, that they are the children of God, if not the same Spirit; since, if this adversary say true, there is no such gift common to Christians now, but only the 'notices God has given to all, of his thoughts and mind, by creation and scripture.' But, alas! too apparent it is that this man knows little of the workings of God's Spirit, that so unspiritually speaks of it. Did not our blessed Lord say, John iii. 5. "That unless man be born of the Spirit, he could not enter into the kingdom of God?" Was this only for the primitive times? Then men ever since have not been saveable, for they have wanted the means of

salvation, to wit, regeneration. And if regeneration be necessary to all, how can a man be rationally said to be born of the Spirit, and not to have the Spirit he is born of; or be (as Peter phraseth it) a partaker of the divine nature, 2 Pet. i. 4. But more than this, Christ told his disciples, that the Spirit of Truth he would send them, though it should be a comforter to them that believed in him, and followed him, yet it should reprove the world of sin; which could not be, if the world had not such a measure of the Spirit, as to reprove them in their evil-doing. And, indeed, all that will be serious and reflect, must confess, from experience, they have enough of it to reprove them for that which is evil, and to bear a true and faithful witness against every evil way.

Memorable is that second chapter of the apostle, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, (a worldly-wise people, whose faculties were as perceptive as our opponent's, I doubt not) concerning the office, efficacy, and necessity of the Holy Spirit, to know God, and our duty to him, in order to salvation.

And what has been said of the Holy Spirit, may be said of the Divine Light, as one of the earliest books in scripture tells us, Job xxiv. 13. "They are of those," says Job, speaking of the wicked, "that rebel against the Light." Then they had it: and if they had it, all had it: for, to be sure, the righteous were not without it.

Again, "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord," Prov. xx. 27. But it must be lighted by that light we speak of, or it is a dark candle. Now God lights the candle of the wicked; much more is he the light of the candle of the righteous.

Again, he says, "How often is the candle of the wicked put out!" Job xxi. 17. Prov. xiii. 9. Which shows it is often lighted; and if they have the light, the righteous, to be sure, are not without it: for, "The way of the just is a shining light, which shines more and more to the perfect day." Obedience to light received, increases light. Now, if the way of the just be a shining light, to be sure the light is saving, or is the way to salvation: and so the beloved disciple has it, Rev. xxi. "The nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light."

David says also, in proof of our point, "The Lord is my light and my salvation," Psalm xxvii. 1. Then he had an higher and clearer light than his own perceptive faculties.

Again, "Thy Word is a light to my feet, and a lanthorn to my paths," Psalm cxix. 105. Which was an inward and

spiritual word; for it was such an one as he could find in his heart, according to Moses, Deut. iii. and the apostle, Rom. x.

David also, Psal. xlii. prayed, that the Lord would "send forth his light and his truth," which were the same thing, "that it might lead and bring people to his holy hill and tabernacle." This was more than man, or what was of man's constitution or composition: more than the perceptive faculties of the mind.

Moreover, God declared by the prophet Isaiah, That he had given "Christ for a light to lighten the Gentiles;" which was more than man's wit or understanding, to be sure. And though Christ was a light in his doctrine, miracles and example, yet he was, and is, a light within also, to enlighten the mind, as John i. 4, 9. with many more, before observed. And this light and spirit are of the same principle, or the same principle that is both spirit and light; though, it may be, strictly speaking, not both in one and the same act or operation, as has been already noted. Nevertheless, the scripture makes them to have one operation, comparing John xvi. 7. with Eph. v. 13. For the first makes it the office of the Spirit to "convince the world of sin;" and the latter place tells us, "That what ever is reproved is made manifest by the light:" and the apostle gives this for the reason, "because," says he, "whatever makes manifest is light:" an assertion that can never be denied. And as true it is, that it must be a divine light that reveals divine truths. And because it is necessary that all should know them, for their salvation, (since God would have all come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved) the consequence must be good, that all have this divine light, more, or less, for salvation, though all do not obey it.

I might proceed to enumerate scriptures through the prophets, evangelists, and epistles; but I think what I have said is a double portion: and therefore I recommend it to the candid reader's serious perusal and observation; and I doubt not but he will discern the verity and charity of our principles, and the unjust exceptions of our opponent to them.

I come next to consider his cavils against our citation of scripture, and indeed against the scripture itself, which will not be hard to evince.

Page 41. He is angry, because I say that Christ has enenlightened men with his own light; calls this very hard names; and says, 'It is the Quaker's Apocrypha:' but we abide by it; and are taught so to do by the scriptures, that he would have the world believe we deny, and make apo-

cryphal. John i. 4. " In him (Christ) was life, and the life the light of men." Now if this be not man's light, and if this light, which is the life of the word, be not the light of the word, let me be blamed: if it be, how preposterous must this man be, to use me so harshly for a truth so plain as well as important?

The next scripture is that in Prov. xx. 27. " The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, searching all the inward parts of the belly."—' That is,' says he, ' the spirit of man, which God hath made, hath, in its nature, a consciousness of all his thoughts, purposes, and counsels within him.' But this word consciousness supposes a knowledge, together with something else, that gives us that knowledge: it is the very import of the words: and what is that, but that divine light which gives light to the candle? For a candle cannot light itself; and, by the repetition of sin, is said to be often blown out. For though it cannot blow that light out, it blows out its enlightenings. Thus sin quenches the Spirit; that is, the enlivenings and quickenings of it; for the Spirit itself cannot be quenched. Now this note of his is so far from overthrowing our use of this scripture, that it establishes it, and defeats him of the end he proposed in opposing us.

Thus he abuses us, and that passage of our Saviour Christ, " If the light that is in you be darkness, how great is that darkness!" as if Christ meant any light but that of man's mistake and presumption; or that we could assert God to be that light in us, which Christ said might be darkness: for this man says, ' If the light in us, here mentioned, was the light that is good, the supposal that it might possibly be darkness, would be a blasphemous supposition.' He is to be pitied, as well as reproved, that can rave after this manner.

The use I make of that scripture, 2 Cor. iv. 6. " God, that commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ;" was thus: ' That God had lighted the hearts of men, by breaking through the darkness there, with his divine light.' This author, p. 43. limits this light to the apostles and fellow-labourers; and all the rest are to see with their eyes, and without that divine light in themselves: in fine, to be concluded by their authority, and not their own conviction; for what he says centers there. Whereas the apostle's mission and business was " to turn people from the darkness (that was in themselves) to the light," that had shined there uncomprehended: also to be made manifest, in their preach-

ing, to the consciences of people; which could not be, in divine truths, without a divine light. I must leave this way of our opponent's treating of scripture to my reader's consideration.

Page 45 to 57. His next abuse is, that of John i. 9. about which he bestows room for reason, being no less than twelve pages. He that can make more of them than these three following heads, has a better understanding than mine.

1. 'That the life that is come by Christ is, that we shall out-live the grave:' not, that the soul is made spiritually alive to God, while in this world, by divine quickenings, to the use of her spiritual sensations, that sin had taken away, by bringing her under a spiritual lethargy or death: which, how agreeable it is to that saying of Christ, John viii. 12. "That they that follow him should have the light of life;" and, John vi. "Unless you eat my flesh, and drink my blood, you have no life in you;" (which implies an inward and living state of the mind towards God on this side the grave) I must also leave with my considerate reader, that has any relish or taste of divine things.

2. The second thing he objects upon our use of this scripture, (John i. 9.) is our making "coming into the world" to refer to man, and not to Christ; 'which,' says he, 'is first a redundancy of speech; and next, dangerous; for it is as if a man came from another world into this.' Now I would have this critic know, if he can be ignorant of it, that divers learned protestant commentators have taken that way, as have some of the fathers, and all the translators that I can compass, be it into the Latin versions, or our vulgar European tongues; as my reader may please to see at large, in a book of mine, called, The Spirit of Truth Vindicated, from p. 52 to p. 62. So that he must allow we are in good company, if mistaken; since so many critics and commentators are with us; as singular and erroneous as he is pleased to represent us. But where is the redundancy? Why, it is, 'that, every man, would have served, without the words, coming into the world, which follow them.' No wonder he is so churlish to our writings, that affords the holy scripture no more respect. If he will read several chapters of that beloved disciple's writings, and, indeed, of many other of the holy penmen's, he may, if he please, make the like exceptions. Thus that saying of Job, used in the liturgy, in the office for the dead, "Man that is born of a woman," &c. for, according to this critic's learning, man, had been enough; and the addition, that is born of a woman, dangerous; for that it implies there are men that are not born of

women: which, I think, would not mightily recommend his skill or judgment; as his exception cannot justly impeach the propriety of the holy scriptures. And if this adversary did believe that Christ made man, he would believe he enlightens him, as well as made him; and that the first ten verses of that chapter refer to his divinity: what he was in himself, and what he was and is to man, as the Word God, by whom the whole world was made, and man in an excellent manner, enlightened; and this before any mention is made of his taking flesh, or coming of the seed of Abraham.

3. But he would have, lighteth, limited to Christ's coming in the flesh, and that all were enlightened then by him: now, I will not say, he was not a glorious light in his ministry and miracles, in his life and sufferings; for if his disciples were by him called the "lights of the world," doubtless it may be better said of him, their Lord and original, that he was the light of the world. But this hinders not that he should be the light of the world in a more proper and immediate manner, by his shining in the understandings of men, and giving them thereby the knowledge of their duty to God, and one to another. I must refer him to what I have said in my former book upon this head also; in answer to one that denied the pre-existence of Christ, or that he had a being before he was born of the virgin Mary; in whose steps this man seems to tread. If he will read from page 62 to 86, and the reasons and numerous authorities, these may, perhaps, persuade him that the 9th verse of the first of John, wholly relates to the Word before he took flesh, and as he is the immediate enlightener of the souls of men. "In him was life, and the life the light of men," verse 4. This was neither sun, moon, nor stars; nor yet the effect of the perceptive faculties of our souls, nor yet any outward and ministerial light whatever; of all which I leave the sober reader to judge.

Page 52, 53. As for the gross absurdity that he would run us into, of being 'Be-Godded and Be-Christed,' according to our principle, he has shown sufficiently he does not understand it; and therefore no matter for his wild consequences, by which he would disgrace it: but if by being Be-Christed, we are to understand divine kindred and membership, through true christening, which is the anointing, 1 John ii. 20, 27. we shall not shrink from the word, because of his out-cries at us for it. I have already declared what we intend by being enlightened; and that our principle is not capable of any of the wild inferences, this man, through great ignorance or malice, charges upon it. But before I

leave this head, I must observe one distinction of his, page 54, 55, 56. that, to himself, doubtless, looks very apt and determining, viz. 'That we are not enlightened by what God is, but what God does.' This is upon my saying, 'that God enlightens men with his own light;' calling me all to naught for that phrase, as unscriptural, and of a meditated temperament, to amuse my readers with rendering the light, which we say true Christians ought to walk by, to be no otherwise God's own light, than the sun and the rain are his own sun and rain: not of his nature, but of his creation only: that I take to be his meaning, a little plainer than he has expressed it. To which I reply, in that famous and suitable text of the beloved disciple, 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. "This, then, is the message which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all: if we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie and do not the truth: but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." Here I leave him to consider of this light; whether it be a created one; such an one, as is not what God is, but what God does; and shall attend his perversion of my present use, and our common sense, of several scriptures, cited in favour of our inward principle: and then shall conclude my reply to his pretended answer to that part of my Key, which relates to the light within.

That I may make the point plainer to the reader, I shall first lay down the perversion mentioned in my Key, then our principle upon it, with those scriptures he takes occasion to twist and turn from our true sense and end in citing them, and of which he is so conscious to himself, that, to anticipate my reply, he gives it for me, as I shall anon observe, and not a great way from our true sense.

Pervers. 'The Quakers hold, that the light within them is God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit: so that every Quaker has whole God, Christ, and Holy Spirit in him; which is gross blasphemy.' Key, p. 2, 3.

By this my reader will see what we except against, viz. The blasphemy of making every Quaker comprehend whole God and Christ, and Holy Spirit in him. Now, I must desire him to observe what our principle says to this suggestion.

Principle. 'This is also a mistake of their belief: they never said, that every divine illumination or manifestation of Christ, in the hearts of men, was whole God, Christ, or the Spirit; whereby to be guilty of that gross and blasphemous absurdity some would fasten upon them: but that

God, who is light, or the Word-Christ, who is light, the quickening Spirit, and God over all, blessed for ever, hath enlightened mankind with a measure of saving light: so that the illumination is from Christ, the divine word; but not therefore whole God, or Christ, in every man, any more than the whole sun, or air, is in every house or chamber. There are no such harsh and unscriptural words in their writings; it is only a frightful perversion of some of their enemies, to bring a scandal upon their holy faith. Yet, in a sense, the scriptures say it; and that is their (the Quakers') sense, in which they only say the same thing. "He that is with you, shall be in you: I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you: I in them, and they in us: Christ in us, the hope of glory: unless Christ be in you, ye are reprobates. Little children, of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you."

This is my explanation of our principle about the light, from the perversions of our adversaries: by which the unandid dealing of this man must be very obvious; since, besides his silence, and that he seems to shut his eyes to our explanation and vindication of what we hold, from what he charges, he doubles the perversions, by changing and misgiving the end for which the scriptures were cited by me: for he makes us to quote them to prove what we expressly deny, as a false charge upon us; and carries them at least beyond, if not against, the intent and reason of their quotations, which he knows deserves a black name, since they were never quoted to prove whole God and Christ to be in every man, or to be so in any man: but that God, Christ, and the Spirit, were, in some near manner, in the people of God. For the very perversion runs it no farther than the people called Quakers; that every one of us are suggested to have whole God, and whole Christ, and the Spirit in us: which is to improve, as I said before, upon the very perversion.

Hear him, page 58. 'Christ says not here, that any man, except his disciples, shall have him in them; that Christ is in none, but those that are in him; that he is not in reprobates, so not in every man; that he was not in the Galatians; that they must be new creatures that have him; so all against W. P.'s purpose." But what was my purpose, I pray? Hear the Key again.

'Yet, in a sense, the scriptures say it, and that is their (the Quakers) sense, in which they only say the same thing.' What fair or wise adversary would have been guilty of so ill a thing, and so easily to be detected? Is any thing plainer than, First, That every Quaker, and not every man is

in the perversion? Secondly, That I deny, in the name of that people, any such blasphemous principle, as that every Quaker has whole God in him, but much the contrary; explaining our principle, of which he takes no notice. Thirdly, That yet we own God, Christ, and Holy Spirit, to be in the people called Quakers; but that it is according to a sense: in what sense do I say it? Why, the sense in which the scriptures say it.

Now, reader, judge thou, and not I, what to call this man, that with so much falsehood obtrudes upon us the untruest things and unworthiest abuses for the principles of the people called Quakers. And to show him to himself yet more plainly, he has provided me with the means of doing it, which I touched upon before, viz. 'That the Quakers used to say, None but believers have Christ in union, but all others have Christ in them.' Which, at least, gives away the point: for if Christ be, in some sense or other, in every man, yet he is not said by me, in the foregoing scriptures, to be in any but believers. And he makes too bold with us also, in saying, in our name, 'That Christ is in all men;' for we choose rather to express ourselves otherwise, as, 'That a manifestation of Christ is in every man,' or 'That the light of Christ is within every man:' and in so saying, I have, by many plain scriptures, proved, that we speak but the truth, and that which is every man's blessing: and it were well all would prize it, and live up to it. For that is the gift of God to men for their salvation, and the convictions of it the day of their visitation; and though tradition, form, and formality, in many countries, as well as wickedness, have darkened the understandings of people, so that they seem more solicitous about their forms, than zealously obedient to this divine principle; yet there is none without a sense of the reproofs and convictions of it, more or less, at one time or other: which cannot be, without light; since all that is reproved is made manifest by the light, Ephes. v. 13. But before I close this subject, I must touch upon his interpretation of some of those texts before cited, p. 58, 59.

He says this passage of the apostle, "Christ in us, the hope of glory," is against me: because it was only to believers that he wrote. Grant it; yet why may not Christ be a condemner in the consciences of the wicked, as well as the hope of glory in believers? However, it is not against me, since I cited it only to show the enjoyment of believers: and since he allows Christ to be in believers, I hope his light and spirit are there with him; which is more than the effects of the perceptive powers of their souls, or outward ministerial help in the business of religion, a thing he has

so often denied to any but the holy penmen, and here and there an extraordinary person, that has had the power of miracles, to confirm the truth of their inspiration: "For if he has given us his Son, how much more with him shall he give us all things?" So that our adversary has herein granted, what he has so often denied and opposed.

The like in that passage of the apostle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. xiii. 15. "Unless Christ be in you, you are reprobates."—'This,' says he, 'proves, no reprobates have Christ in them: how, then, is Christ in every man, if he be in none of these?' But then, say I, he is in all but reprobates, by this man's concession: and we can say no more. For if by reprobates we are to understand a Judas's state; a seared conscience; one that has absolutely crucified to himself afresh the Lord of life and glory, and has sinned the sin against the Holy Ghost; in short, an apostate, or an obstinate opposer, and perverter of the right way of the Lord; then, I say, our principle of Christ being, in some sense, in every man (viz. as a light lightening every man) receives no disadvantage from his objection: for therefore reprobates have not Christ, because they have finally blown out the candle, extinguished conscience, and are become dead to all sense of religion; which is, because they have out-lived the day of God's love and mercy to them: they would not be gathered; they would have none of him; they would not have this man to reign over them. But then, all others, by this text, and this man's arguing from it, have Christ in them; and so it makes greatly for us, since it plainly concludes, 'That if all that have not Christ in them are reprobates, then those that are not reprobates have Christ in them: but such is every man that cometh into the world; therefore, every man that cometh into the world, hath Christ in him:' for, to be sure, men come not reprobates into the world. They have a day of grace; God calls; his Spirit strives; his long-suffering waiteth, as in the days of Noah, for their repentance. And this is that which will give the greatest weight in the scale against the rebellious, at the great judgment, that they had a talent; a seed was sown; grace did appear; and all had light, but such loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.

The last scripture he would turn upon us, is that in the Galatians; "My little children, of whom I travel in birth again until Christ be formed in you:" upon which he says, 'The persons spoken to then, had not Christ in them.' Thus does this man walk in a circle, and contradict himself. One time, all but reprobates have Christ; another while, the

Galatians, though not reprobates, had him not. But when he considers, that there is a great difference between a seed and an ear, a plant and a tree, he may better understand the apostle, and what he now says. For the poor man, after so often allowing Christ to be in the people of God, says, page 59. 'But neither in believers is Christ a light within.' I wonder, then, what he is there, since he is the light of the world, John i. 4, 9. and that true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world; and yet not to be a light within man, though he be within man, is surprizing. I shall leave it with my reader, to do our principle justice; and I hope he will find reason to think I have asserted no errors, nor prevaricated with my friends, nor lost my point, nor acted with legerdemain, or meditated temperament, to deceive; and that all the wards of my Key, after his many strainings, wrestings, and forcings, keep their places, and answer the end for which the Key was first made, viz. To open to every common understanding, the difference between the principles of the people called Quakers, and the perversions and misrepresentations of their enemies: wishing this adversary, for all his scoffs, scurrility, and abuse upon us and our religion, repentance to salvation.

His Exceptions to our Refusal of Oaths, and his Arguments for them, considered.

Page 62. 'To their (the Quakers) scruple about oaths, I shall only hint these few thoughts: because true speaking is not only a part of honesty, but religion: therefore not only honesty, but religion, is engaged, with its full force, to support itself: but if a man engage all his religion for the support of a true speech, he takes an oath.'

If this be true arguing, than we swear as often as we say yea and nay in evidence; since we acknowledge we stake the credit of our religion and conscience for the verity of it; and then, methinks, there needs no dispute in the matter: for it is certain we do, and that swearers can do no more: and since that is our principle, it is as binding on us, as swearing is upon those that give themselves the liberty of swearing. But pray let us hear what follows.

'I shall not,' says he, 'insist upon the nature of an oath, but consider its place in the political state of Christ's kingdom.'

If he will not insist upon the nature of an oath, I have no reason to insist upon the use or disuse of it at this time; since here it is an argument upon an *individuum vagum*; a nothing. He should first have ascertained us, what an oath

is; and when that had been adjusted and settled, then he should have proved such an oath lawful, and us unreasonable for refusing it upon all accounts. However, I will both observe, and answer, his notions of it.

First, he says, 'he cannot understand how swearing can be wholly put down, where people may swear by law, as in England.' True, unless that law be repealed, that requires it. But it is a great bull to say, that they who make a law cannot repeal it. If the legislative power is pleased to make yea and nay have the force and acceptance of an oath, they may have it in any government; and that is what the people called Quakers desire in this, for all of their communion: and to show him how much he is mistaken, the highest judicature in England sits upon honour, and not oaths, viz. the house of lords: so commissioners of *oyer* and *terminer*, that judge life, are rarely, if ever, upon oath. So that I have herein answered his question, page 63. 'If an order against all swearing were not, *ipso jure*, void.' He carries it higher than any body ever did, that I have met with. It is, with him, the great hinge or axle-tree upon which religion turns: and explodes my reason as false, that I gave for the rise of oaths, viz. want of faith, either in him that swears, or in him to whom the oath is sworn,

'For,' says he, 'God the Father swears to the Son, Heb. vii. where there is infinite faithfulness on both sides.'

But to this I say, that, strictly speaking, God cannot be said to swear; "for he that swears, swears by the greater," Heb. vi. 16. So that it is called swearing, that it might strike unbelieving man with the greater assurance of God's love to him. And though there was infinite faithfulness between God and Christ, yet it referring to man, it is termed an oath, to heighten and augment man's credit and confidence in God, as to the means of his salvation; and not that God did properly swear, or can do so.

But he tells us, 'that Christ answered upon adjuration before a judge, which is the way of swearing in our English courts.'

I cannot allow it, since he does not prove that Christ swore in his answer; for all he said was, "Thou hast said," Mat. xxvi. 63. Now that is putting it back to the high priest; as if he had said, 'What need I answer that upon oath, which thou thyself sayest? Dost thou first accuse me, and then query to confirm it? Thou hast said.' But next, if it be said, 'that it was an answer usual, and the propriety or peculiarity of that language so to speak,' he should have proved it: for, as the words are in the scripture, there appears no oath in them: but if it were as he says, (which I

cannot grant) yet it concludes nothing against us; for as he was in the state of a servant, a Jew of the Jews, made and born under the law, Gal. iv. 4. he was to fulfil the righteousness of it, and so might act as a Jew; as he did in the instance of circumcision, the passover, &c., yet after his resurrection, we hear nothing of an oath, any more in example than in doctrine; which, with all other customs of the Jews, that in old time were practised, was, as it were, left with the grave-clothes behind; and he ascended in his evangelical righteousness and glory, triumphing over principalities and powers, and vanquishing hell, death, and the grave, and brought in a better hope, sanctuary, and tabernacle, where yea and nay succeeded, and superseded all oaths. So that the very basis this man builds upon is unsound, and his premises precarious. How, then, can he build well, or conclude rightly against us? But he says, 'The angels swear;' which, I conceive, is more than he knows; for no body can think, by his writings, he is very conversant with good angels. However, I grant that the angels have sworn; but that is no reason to continue oaths among men, if Christ, the blessed author of the Christian religion, hath forbid them: for the angels, as well as men, must worship him, Heb. i. 6. and therefore Christ, and not the angels, is to be followed by us: but whenever an angel hath sworn, it hath been in condescension to the incredulity and diffidence of man, and to heighten his credit of the mind and will of God; and is therefore an instance for us, because it refers to a low and imperfect state, proposed as an expedient and remedy against untruth; which is out of the question; truth leaving no room for swearing; which, in its nature, is but a terrifying of the mind into true speaking; as, in some countries, in default of evidence, they use racks, to extort confessions from the suspected parties: an instance of which we have near us, in the Scotch boots and thummikins.

He alleges also, 'that the apostles swore:' but he has not mentioned any one of them, nor any place: however, that I may not leave my reader as much in the dark as he has done his, I refer him to my book intitled, 'The Spirit of Truth Vindicated,' from page 86, to page 91, where he may see how much softer translations may be given of the apostle's expressions, than that of our vulgar version. Nevertheless, those extraordinary ways of speaking were in extraordinary cases, and cannot be a rule to others, but under the same circumstances and authority: and till this author has given us an authentic definition of an oath, he cannot justly call the apostle's expressions oaths, or proofs of oaths; unless

he will allow that binding any affirmation, or negation, by the name of the Lord, is an oath: but, if that were the case, it differs mightily, to use the name of the Lord to inforce the verity of divine things, and to make it a witness and voucher for us in our low and temporal affairs: a distinction as old as some of the most eminent fathers of the primitive ages of the church.

But he adds, 'that all Christians take sacramental oaths:' which is not true in fact; for, among the protestants of the Low Countries, there is a great people, who, in any case, will not swear, as well as we; and yet we know no other name, blood, power, and spirit by which we can be saved, than that of the Lord Jesus Christ. Again, many of the followers of John Wickliff would not swear in any case; and divers also of our English martyrs refused to swear, upon the same principle. And if this man will call to mind, he may remember, that some of the best of the ancient fathers were of the same judgment, believing it unlawful for a Christian man to take an oath; which in my 'Treatise of Oaths' may be seen at large.

Now, for what he alleges, why Christ's prohibition, Mat. v. doth not extend to all oaths, I think it will not be hard to show it is slight, and concludes nothing against us.

First, He says, 'The expression whereby the particular law is supposed to forbid all oaths, does frequently, in the law-books, signify no more than false oaths, or swearing otherwise amiss; as may be seen by comparing Mat. v. 34. with Levit. v. 1. Eccles. ix. 2. Jer. xxiii. 10. Zech. v. 3. Hos. iv. 2.' But this is rather against him than for him; since if Christ only forbids what was not lawful before, his righteousness rises no higher than that of the law of Moses. But it is plain from the text, Mat. v. that Christ forbids such swearing as was lawful before, and therefore more than the texts before-mentioned express.

Secondly, page 64. He limits Christ's prohibition to those oaths which had no 'sacredness in them, but which the Pharisees thought they might make and violate without impiety.' This also is a mere conjecture, for which he offers us no proof; the contrary being evident, as before; for Christ treated of oaths that were to be performed to the Lord: were they not, then, sacred?

But, thirdly, for his third particular, it is as unintelligible as his 'gypsy gibberish' in page 10, and he must explain it before it can be answerable.

His fourth particular is this, 'When he divides this prohibition into its parts, Mat. v. 35, 36. he does not divide it as against swearing in all cases, but sets the bounds of his

distribution directly to oppose this corrupt gloss of the Pharisees: for he doth not say, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, ye shall swear in truth, in righteousness, and in judgment:" 'but "I say unto you, Swear not at all:" for so far as concerned swearing by God, the Pharisees' doctrine was sound: but what does Christ say? Why, "I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, nor by earth, or Jerusalem, or the head," 'directly contrary to swearing by the temple, the altar, the heavens, which the Pharisees taught to be lawful to do, and not be bound by such kind of oaths.' Which, in my opinion, is very weak and gross; for if it be plain, as it is, that Christ forbad such oaths as men ought not to break, but to perform to the Lord, then it was not such oaths as the Pharisees taught to be lawful to take, and not be bound by them when they had done. So that he forbids such oaths, as (he says) 'the Pharisees' doctrine was sound in;' because it was what they ought not to break, but perform to the Lord: so that Christ was so far from limiting his prohibition to the Pharisees' oaths, by heaven, earth, Jerusalem, or the head; which, this man says, they made not obligatory; that he forbids them, by forbidding those oaths, that, according to the ancient doctrine of the Jewish law, men ought not to break, but perform to the Lord; that as every major includes its minor, so Christ, by his prohibition of the use of lawful oaths, includes the prohibition of the practice of unlawful oaths.

Page 67. His fifth allegation is every whit as much beside the matter as what he said before, viz. 'that Christ did not condemn swearing by Jerusalem, the throne, the footstool, &c. holily, but as vainly and unholily used:' which is to exceed the bounds of all other writers; so very heartily does this man love swearing. But now I must tell him, that he has much wrested the text, and perverted the plain and obvious sense of it, and misrepresented the mind and doctrine of the Lord Jesus Christ; for it is evident, to every considerate reader, that Christ, in that chapter, was not reproving what was reproveable under the law; nor was he exhorting his auditors and disciples to live up to the righteousness of it, which was the way of the prophets, that were under that dispensation; but Christ plainly introduces a new one; even the dispensation of the gospel, the righteousness of his kingdom: and that is the difference between them, as in the case of killing, adultery, &c. as well as of swearing, Mat. v. 21, 22, 27, 28, 33, 34. "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, thou shalt not kill: but I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment; yea,

whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire. Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery; but I say unto you, that whosoever looketh upon a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." Again, "Ye have heard that it hath been said of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform thy oaths to the Lord; but I say unto you, swear not at all." Now I would fain know if Christ's prohibition goes no farther than Moses's; and if he does not intend by these words, that the righteousness of the gospel should exceed that of the law? The parallel runs thus: "Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery," says Moses: "Thou shalt not be angry, thou shalt not lust," says Christ. Now this was no false gloss of the Pharisees in that time, which Christ reprehended or reformed, as this adversary would suppose; but a plain improvement upon the righteousness of the law, viz. "Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform to the Lord thine oaths," says Moses. "But I say unto you, swear not at all," says Christ; "neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is his footstool; neither by Jerusalem, nor thy head; but let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil." Upon which, even Beza says, 'that by forswearing, we are not to understand a false oath; but, that it is best not to swear at all: and that what speech is of an higher natnre than this, is too much, and cometh of evil:' and Tremellius, out of Maimonides, says, 'He is the best man that will upon no account swear.' And the annotation upon this place, of a translation, anno 1599, says, 'Whatever ye vouch, vouch it barely; and whatsoever ye deny, deny it barely, without any more words;' that is, let your affirming and denying be simple, and upon the authority of your own word and truth, without going about to bind it by the authority of a greater and holier thing; which is not a bare and simple, but a compounded speech, and so more than yea, yea; and nay, nay; and therefore cometh of evil. To which that passage of the apostle James aptly refers, James v. 12. "But, above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath:" which is to say, 'As by nothing else, so not by God:' "but let your yea be yea; and nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation."

One would think this man had hardly ever read the Bible, to make oaths so essential a part of the religion and kingdom of Christ; when Christ himself makes it a part of the righteousness of his kingdom, not to swear at all. Or

is it candid in him, to limit Christ's prohibition to the then false glosses of the Pharisees, when Christ looks over their heads, back to the very decalogue, or ten commandments, for an instance, to show, by comparison, how much the righteousness of his kingdom excels that of the law, that came by Moses. I could wish there was nothing but weakness to be charged upon this man, in this particular, but his abilities look too considerable elsewhere, for that; as well as his disingenuity too frequent, not to conclude it of a 'meditated temperament' to force the text, rather than not have his ends upon us; but with what success he has managed it, we must leave to the judicious reader.

His Appendix about Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, (so called) considered: and the Key, with the People called Quakers, defended against his Exceptions in those two Particulars.

Of baptism he writes thus: 'Baptism is a rite of admission into the family of God, making persons citizens of heaven, and free of the kingdom of the Messias. It consists of an outward and visible sign, and an inward spiritual grace. These are the two parts of the same baptism, but not two baptisms.'

One would think that this man had never read the third of Matthew, or the first of the Acts. For, in the first, John distinguishes his baptism from Christ's, as plainly as he does his person (viz.) "I, indeed, baptize you with water to repentance: but He that cometh after me, is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire:" which shows their difference in nature, excellency, and efficacy. In the last scripture Christ himself, just before his parting with his disciples, does very expressly and emphatically distinguish betwixt his own baptism, and the baptism of John: "For," says he, "John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence."

I shall not insist upon the force of this place and context so fully as by and by; yet nothing can well be plainer, than that Christ's words imply two baptisms, that the water was John's, and the Holy Ghost his: and that his intention was to leave that distinction upon the minds of his people, not only that John's and his were two baptisms, but 'that water was John's, and not his.' And this too, after all, is granted by our opposer himself, page 89, where he says, 'Can any man believe that Jesus used John's baptism, and

not his own, in making of disciples?' But he adds, page 78, 'For neither is the visible part alone, or the invisible by itself; but both in union by the divine appointment:' but where this divine appointment is, he does not tell us. Again, page 87. 'John did the outward part, and Jesus the inward part the same moment.' But, surely, he is mistaken, when John tells us, the baptism of the Holy Ghost was to come after, not to go along with, his: and Christ told his disciples, "that it was to come," (so that his and John's went not together); and bid them "stay at Jerusalem till they received it," viz. "the promise of the Father;" which was "the pouring forth of the Holy Ghost;" as the first chapter of the Acts informs us: and that was nigh three years after they had been baptized, and baptized others, with water: so that both did not go together, as this man dreams.

But he proceeds, page 80. 'For John admitted men into the faith of the Messias; that is, into the state of subjects, owning, and acknowledging, allegiance to Christ. And Christ owns this grant and admission valid in his kingdom, and that they were legally instated in the rights of his kingdom, whom John baptized: this being done by a public authorized herald of his kingdom.'

But it is strange that John had the power to admit men into the faith of him, when, at first, he sent his disciples to him, "To know if he were the Messiah," or "they were to look for another." This is to give John the keys of David, and to make regeneration an absolute and necessary adjunct, or concomitant, of his water-baptism. But those baptized by John's baptism were so far from being admitted into the state of subjects, and enjoying the rights of Christ's kingdom, that in Acts xviii. Apollos is said "to know only John's baptism." And chap. xix. Certain disciples to John's baptism, declared to Paul, "they had not so much as heard if there were any such thing as the Holy Ghost;" so that when Paul asked them, "To what, then, were you baptized?" They answered, "To John's baptism," by way of distinction from Christ's. And the apostle's question led them to that answer, being founded upon a distinction between the baptism of John, and that of Christ. And lastly, I must take leave to wonder how he can think to word upon us so great an untruth; as that of 'Christ's owning an admission into his kingdom by John's baptism, and that such are legally instated in the rights thereof, because they were baptized of John,' when Christ himself says, "That the least in the kingdom of God, is greater than John;" which implies, that John himself was not of that kingdom: and

because that cannot be understood of the person, or soul of John, (for so he was certainly a glorious subject of it) it must refer to his administration, which, he himself tells us, also "must decrease, and Christ's increase." Besides, Christ told Nicodemus, "that unless a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God:" how then, is he a subject, and invested in the rights of that kingdom? Again, Did John's baptism regenerate? If it did, what need of fire and Holy Ghost, that John said was to come after? What need of any thing after John's, if it was so effectual, or was he always attended with such a power as is affirmed? Where, now, is our adversary's haughty assertion, 'that John's disciples, as such, were the subjects of Christ's kingdom, and legally invested in the rights thereof,' when it is plain, that the least of that kingdom is greater than their very baptizer, the great herald of the kingdom? But that expression itself gives away the cause, being well considered; for the forerunner ends in him he foreruns; and the herald in the presence of the King. He has forgot, sure, who it was that said, or that it was ever said, "The prophets lasted till John," and he ended them, but he did not begin the Christian dispensation; that was Christ's work. John's baptism left men in that old world of Jewish rites, where it found them; but it is Christ's "that makes all things new;" new heavens, new earth, and new creatures, to inherit them.

But says this author, 'Christ declares, that being baptized with water was a part of righteousness: which it could not be, unless there was a law of the kingdom for it.' As if it might not be righteousness without such a law: for, with his favour, there is as much to be said of Christ's circumcision, and eating the paschal lamb, &c. since that was to fulfil all righteousness too; and yet there was no law of the kingdom of Christ for them, unless this be one, 'That Christ was to fulfil the righteousness of the law,' which he did in general, to introduce the kingdom of God. For Christ's fulfilling of the law and the prophets, of which John was the last, made way for the kingdom to come, which was not of this world, nor are its rights, by consequence; but, of its own nature. That Christ did fulfil all righteousness, in condescending and conforming to divers rites, is so far from ratifying, or confirming the practice of them, as this man suggests, that it discharges and abolishes them. This appears very plain, in that Christ's performing the rites of the law, was in order to end them, being made under the law for that very purpose. So that his being baptized by John, does not establish, or any more confirm that baptism, than his being

circumcised after Moses does perpetuate circumcision. On the contrary, it rather ends John's baptism. Moses and the prophets were until John, and John was till Christ; both had their times, and both their periods in Him.

"I am not He," says John; but 'John's baptism is it,' says this opponent, which is to put John's baptism in the room of Christ's; and John's ministry, though not his person, in lieu of Christ's. Now Moses and the prophets were as the stars of the night; John as the morning star, the forerunner of the day. He rose last, but shined most: but though the morning star be the most burning and shining of all the celestial lights, and next to the rising of the sun himself, yet his time is shortest, his light is soon swallowed up of the sun.

Page 81. But this man tells us, 'That Christ gave commission to his disciples to baptize with water, Mat. xxviii. 19. And that they did understand it so by their practice.' But is it practicable or possible, that any scripture can reasonably be said to declare an institution, or be the commission, of any thing which it does not express? Now in that text there is not a word of water; how then is water-baptism instituted by it? I cannot help wondering, and this man must allow it me, that the only text to prove the commission of so celebrated a practice in our times, should not declare a word of it. But I shall next show, notwithstanding he produces following practice, to prove Christ meant, and his disciples understood it so, that the text means it no more than it expresses it; and that Christ, that gave that commission, never intended it to refer to water. This is the text, "Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost, Mat. xxviii. 19. Now Christ, by this commission, must mean his own baptism of the Spirit, and that from the nature and force of the words, as well as comparison of them with other places to which they relate, and that are also lately explanatory of them. The words are not, in the name, but, into the name, of the Father, &c. Which must refer to the power and Spirit of Christ; water being too feeble to change and wash a heart, which is the import of baptizing into the name, or nature, of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: that is, by the ministry which is from the Spirit. So Mark xvi. where Christ says, "They shall cast out devils in my name;" that is, by my power, or by the virtue or force of my Spirit, which shall attend you for that work and service, that many may be turned from the evil of their ways, and made heirs of an endless kingdom.

In fine, after you have received the Spirit, you shall teach

and baptize, or dip, plunge, and interest them that believe, into the name and power of God, unto holiness, righteousness, mercy, truth, &c. Qualifying them to bear the holy and excellent name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

And that this is not strained, but natural, and no allegory upon the text, I shall desire my reader to look forward, to the first of the Acts, and the first nine verses; which plainly expounds this commission, and consequently resolves us what baptism it refers to; particularly the 4th, 5th, 8th, and 9th verses, viz. "And being assembled together with them, he commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me. For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence. But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth. And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight."

In which three things are observable: first, that Christ distinguishes his baptism from John's.

Secondly, That he assigns water to John's, and the Holy Ghost to his own baptism. Not that John and he had two water-baptisms, yet two baptisms; but that John's was the water-baptism, and his the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Therefore his is not a water-baptism, but a baptism contradistinguished from that of water, as much as the person of John was from the person of Christ.

Thirdly, By comparing the 28th of Matthew with this place in the Acts, we may see that the commission in one, is to be construed by the qualification in the other, which is not expressed at all in Mat. xxviii. There they are bid to go; here they are bid to stay; that is, 'Stay before you go, and have your qualifications before you qualify; viz. the promise of the Father, to wit, the baptism of the Holy Ghost; that is to say, Power from on high. Why, had they been preaching two or three years, and been baptized, and baptizing, with water, which this man says, 'is followed, that moment, with the baptism of the Holy Ghost,' and yet had not been themselves baptized with it, nor as yet received power from on high to disciple and baptize any into Christ's kingdom, with Christ's baptism?

This must be strange to our opponent, and who can help it? But so it is, reader. For that as one evangelist, and one part of scripture, supplies and explains another, this in the Acts shows, that the commission in Matthew supposes

the qualification, mentioned in the first of the Acts, to precede it; else they were to go, before they were qualified to perform.

If, then, it is rational to suppose, that what passed at Christ's farewell, as rehearsed by the evangelists, should be all laid together, for our more plain and complete understanding of the import of it, we must needs conclude, that the disciples were to stay at Jerusalem, till they had received the promise of the Father; that is, till they were baptized with the Holy Ghost; and then the commission took place, for them to "Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

Now then, if in order of time, and from the nature of the discourse it must be so, how is the baptism in Matthew a water-baptism? "John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence:" then "Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," &c. It is plain, this is the true order of the discourse, not only from what I have already said, as to qualification preceding commission (for they needed no such to baptize with water, having done that two or three years before, without it) but for that baptizing stands alone in Mat. xxviii. 19. which would have been ambiguous, had not that passage in Acts i. 5. preceded, which made it needless to tell us what sort of baptism they were to baptize with, and what they were not; "for John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence:" 'Therefore not with John's baptism any more, but with the baptism of the Spirit, do you go teach all nations, baptizing them, through the Holy Spirit, into the name of the Father, of the Son, and Holy Ghost: make them true Jews, true Israelites, in whom there is no guile.' And it is certain it was a new scene and part they had to act; as much superior to what was before, as power is to form, spirit to letter, substance to shadow. "Greater things than these shall ye do," said our blessed Lord, "because I go to my Father." I think I have not strained the text, or extorted a wrong meaning. I write what I believe, and take to be, the genuine sense of the place, without partiality, or passion.

But our adversary will have it, that the apostles used water-baptism in pursuance of this commission; and instances the words of Peter, in the case of Cornelius, for proof thereof. The words are these, "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost, as well as we?" Upon which says our opponent, (page 82.) 'If it had not been an ordinance, any one

might have forbid it; therefore the apostles accounted themselves obliged by God to do so; and that it was not in their power to refuse it, unless they would resist God.' To which I say, as before: First, that water-baptism was John's, and not Christ's. Secondly, that practice is no institution. Thirdly, that the apostle Peter did but continue a practice introduced by John, not easily left among a ceremonious people; it having obtained reputation among them, and was the discriminating sign, or mark, of a change of dispensation at hand; and this Peter could not but know, after those distinguishing and emphatical words of his Lord and Master, Acts i. But the disciples having before been actually engaged in the practice of John's baptism, in order to call people to the expectation of a farther thing, continued it afterwards; not of authority, but in their Christian liberty and condescension; as what had a reference to the Christian dispensation; inasmuch as John, whose ministry concluded the prophets, became herein the forerunner of Christ, "whose kingdom," John said, "was at hand," and the more excellent dispensation thereof. Lastly, the reason of Peter's words, "Can any man forbid water," &c. referred not to the institution, authority, or force of water-baptism, but to Peter's caution about Cornelius, that was a Gentile, for fear he should give any public distaste to the Jews, whose prejudices against the Gentiles, like some Predestinarians of our times, excluded them any pretence to religion; insomuch that we see Peter himself, without a vision, was not yet large enough in his spirit, to credit Cornelius's convictions and devotion; as much as if he had said, 'Why may not this man, though a Gentile, be baptized with water, since he has received the Holy Ghost, which is the requisite qualification of a true Christian; and that the promise of the Father is to them that are afar off, even to all that the Lord our God shall call, as well as to the seed of Abraham, after the flesh?' So that the reason of Peter's using those words, was not to give authority to water-baptism, as an ordinance of Christ's kingdom, but to excuse himself against Jewish exceptions, that he feared would be scandalized at his owning of a Gentile, which, to them, was unclean, profane, and reprobate.

His other scripture in defence of what he asserts, is Acts ix. 18. which says, "that Paul received his sight, and was baptized by Ananias." But not a word of water is in the text, or in the foregoing or following verses. On the contrary, there is reason to believe it was not meant. "And Ananias putting his hands on him, said, Brother Saul, the Lord, (even Jesus that appeared unto thee in the way as

thou camest) hath sent me, that thou mayest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost: and immediately there fell from his eyes, as it had been scales, and he received his sight forthwith, and arose, and was baptized." Now here is, first, sight, and Holy Ghost, to be given to Saul, by the ministry of Ananias: next, he received sight, and was baptized. Now must not this be the baptism of the Holy Ghost? since, "being filled with the Holy Ghost," and "being baptized," are, by the text, made one and the same thing? especially, since it is past all controversy, that there was such a thing as the baptism of the Holy Ghost.

His other scripture, to prove the authority of water-baptism among Christians, is, Acts xi. 15, 16, 17. "And as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us at the beginning. Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water; but you shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost. Forasmuch, then, as God gave them the like gift, as he did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, what was I that I could resist God?"

Which is so far from weakening, that it confirms, our sense and assertion: for the bent of Peter's words is to justify himself, in going to, and communing with, the uncircumcision, and not to vindicate water-baptism. And that which he offered in his own vindication to his brethren, was, 1. His vision. 2. Cornelius's righteousness and devotion. And, 3. God's owning of him, in that the Holy Ghost fell upon him, as it had upon them in the beginning. "Forasmuch, then," says Peter, "as God gave them the like gift, what was I, that I could withstand God?" As if he had said, 'How could I refuse to own them, and have fellowship with them, that God owned, and had fellowship with, and gifted and sanctified, as well as the believing Jews?' Speaking not one word, in his account to the brethren, of water-baptism: but, on the contrary, he makes it John's, by way of distinction from Christ's baptism, by remembering, and repeating, the words of his Lord and Master, viz. "John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost." I appeal to every indifferent reader, if I have not done justice to the text.

I shall next consider his exceptions to what I say in my Key, in defence of our disuse, or cessation, of water-baptism, &c.

Page 83, 84. The first reason he makes me give for it, is, 'That all protestants are against figures and shadows.' To which he answers, 'But baptism and the Lord's supper, being

no figures nor shadows, all protestants are for them; unless the quakers are to be accounted protestants, that disown all protestant churches, and are owned by none.'

This is all he quotes of mine; and this is what he says, on what he has quoted: so that they may be of the nature of shadows and figures, for all him; and, consequently, protestants practise against judgment. For he only denies them to be figures and shadows, and leaves us there. But he had done well, if he had given us his reasons, and had also taken notice of what I say, page 22 in my Key, which immediately foregoes what he has cited out of it; viz. 'That practice only is no institution;' and that is all he can allege in favour of John's baptism. That which seems my part to perform, though he presses it not upon me, is to show, that water-baptism, and the Lord's supper (so called) are of the nature of figures and shadows, of which Christ was the substance.

Now, that they are so, we must consider, that if Christ was the end of John, (as John renders him, Mat. iii. 11. John iii. 30. and Christ himself suggests to us, Mat. xi. 7 to 12.) then water-baptism was but a forerunner, and showed forth what was to come, "that which the least in the kingdom of heaven exceeded," and therefore not of the kingdom; and, consequently, no longer of force in point of institution. Though, by being the observation peculiar to John's ministry, it had obtained credit, and therefore was continued, *ex gratiâ*. But it is plain, from Christ's own words, "The kingdom of God came not with observation," Luke xvii. 20. At least, therefore, protestants ought to be modest upon us, with respect to the reason we render for our cessation of water-baptism. And though he says, 'we ought not to be accounted protestants, that disown all protestant churches, and are owned by none of them:' I would have this author to know, we are true protestants: protestants upon those reasons, that were the first motives to that character; and can compare, in our negatives, with any species of protestants. And do challenge this author, without vanity, upon that head, begin when he will.

At the same time, we cannot but have charity for the persons of Roman-catholics, and would, by that, teach them the truth and greater excellency of our religion.

And next, 'for our disowning of all other protestant churches, and not being owned by them;' First, it is not upon the same grounds that the Roman-catholics disown them: and, secondly, experience tells us, it is what all sorts of protestants do to one another; and therefore not so singular in us, as is suggested by this ill-willing author.

But he is mightily displeased with me, 'for being against

all figures in the time of the gospel;' adding, 'that we, mortals, cannot think, or speak, or work without figures;' distinguishing between 'prenunciative and commemorative signs:' ridiculing me for such an assertion. But if my reader will turn to page 24 of my Key, cited by this author, he will find, I only deny, under the gospel, the necessity and service of prenunciative or forerunning signs; joining to signs, figures and shadows; and promiscuously using them to one and the same purpose, and therefore not all signs, but signs of something to come, and to be accomplished by the coming thereof; as the following words, he makes another quibble upon, plainly show; viz. 'That the nature of the gospel is inward, spiritual, and eternal.' But he leaves out, 'that therefore the continuing to practise figures, signs and shadows, as still in force, (which forerun Christ and his dispensation) make his coming of none effect.' For then he had given too strong a reason for our disuse, and disappointed himself of the unfair advantage he endeavours to gain upon me, by letting his reader see that I did not deny the continuance of all signs, but prenunciative or forerunning ones; such as are of the nature of figures and shadows, and therefore can have no commission to perpetuate them: of which I take water-baptism and the supper to be two. For Christ, as well as John, declares water-baptism a forerunner of a more excellent baptism. And one thing wherein that excellency of Christ's baptism consists, is the durableness of it: but if John's is to last as long as Christ's, Christ's does not excel John's in duration; quite contrary to John's own discrimination and testimony, viz. "He (Christ) shall increase, and I decrease."

But if it be considered, that this adversary would make me deny all signs, as Exodus vii. 8, 9. Numb. xi. Psalm lxxvii. Jer. xxxii. (just as his friend J. Faldo, and some of that ingenuity, have made us to deny all scripture commands, because some of us have said, (in temporary and extraordinary cases, as that of Jeremiah, Jonas, Amos, &c.) 'That which is a command to another, is no command to us, unless the same spirit require the same, or the like thing of us;' therefore the moral law, or decalogue, is no law or command to us, nor are we obliged to yield obedience to it, (though it be general and perpetual); I say, they that consider the justice of my parallel, and injustice of his insinuation, will perceive he is not a fair enemy, nor ought to have credit with his reader, to our prejudice.

I am, then, no more against figures, than against forms. We cannot, I know, live, speak, or act without them: but these are not forerunning signs or forms, temporary and

shadowy observations; but such necessary and essential ones, as are coupled to our very being, and requisite converse among men.

But from this he falls hard upon me, because I say, the gospel is inward, spiritual, and eternal:' 'For,' says he, 'without many figures, this is not sense; and with them, is either not true, or not to the purpose. The gospel, being the new covenant, is neither inward nor outward. Will W. P. never leave talking of inside and outside of things that have no sides?' This language, I doubt not, will sound harsh, as well as light, to other people's ears, as well as ours: and truly he is a daring and adventurous person; for till now, I thought truth had an inside: if he had read the 31st of Jeremiah, he would have found there, that the gospel is an inward state, and has an inside; where God, speaking by that prophet of the gospel, or new covenant time, says, "Behold, the days come that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt (which my covenant they brake, although I was an husband unto them, saith the Lord): but this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest of them, saith the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more." Now here is truth with both its sides: truth in its outward appearance, according to the low and carnal state of man: and this may be called, comparatively, the out-side of truth. Here, also, we may learn, that truth has an inside; a more spiritual and eternal part; and that is what I call the gospel-dispensation: or, that this more inward and spiritual appearance of the truth, is the new covenant, or gospel. What else did our Lord Jesus intend by the gospel of the kingdom, than the blessing of the power of God, to deliver man from the power of sin, and Satan the original of it? So the apostle phrases it, "The gospel is the power of God to salvation." That is, the power of the kingdom of God, and that is the gospel of the kingdom. Now if this be not of an inward, spiritual, and eternal nature, nothing can be: which, I presume, the reader will, with me, think an absurd, as well as unchristian conclusion.

But he says, 'It is partly inward and partly outward.' I say, it is inward, but it may be outwardly expressed by a godly conversation; and so far, and no otherwise, it may be said to be outward. Nor does this weaken my assertion, or the consequence I have observed from it; viz. that the gospel, and new covenant, came not with outward observations: and that water-baptism was such; therefore no ordinance of the kingdom of the Messiah.

But if it be an ordinance, as this author says, p. 87, and that the inward part keeps time with the outward (for there he allows of inside and outside), then it would do so to as many as have the outward part administered to them: but we have no evidence of such concurrence of the Holy Ghost. We have never found it in ourselves, nor do we see it in others, that are in the practice of it, but much the contrary; in that envy, pride, luxury, and covetousness prevail, and little of the true cross of Christ, self-denial, dying daily, or the new creature appears: how, then, does the inward grace make up but one baptism, if it accompany not water? But of that I have already treated before; and, it is plain, it is but *gratis dictum* on our adversary's side. He begs the question.

Lastly, page 90, finding himself a-ground about the passage of the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. i. 7. "For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel;" he endeavours to gloss away its force, what he can, from the end for which I cited it, and the apostle writ it. The first thing he opposes is, 'that since water-baptism was Peter's and his brethren's commission, which Christ gave them before his ascension, to the end of the world—it is not to be imagined that Matthias and Paul were without it.' But in this also he begs the question.

I have already showed that commission is mistaken by him, and that water is no ways concerned in that text; and that water-baptism was John's, and not Christ's; and that they were not one baptism, or inseparable in their administration. Also, that practice is no institution; and that water-baptism is a prenunciative sign, and had its accomplishment in that baptism of the Holy Ghost, as John had in Christ; the two administrators of the two baptisms.

But next, he says, 'Paul spoke an ellipsis, elegantly; meaning, that he was not sent only to baptize, but chiefly to preach;' citing two or three scriptures, that he imagines parallel, and illustrating that place, as Hos. vi. 6. "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice." And, "Let women adorn themselves, not with putting on apparel," &c. 1 Pet. iii. 3.

'Now,' says he, 'these places prove, that the Israelites were not to sacrifice to God, and women must go naked, &c. (as some Quakers did) with the same evidence that Paul's words teach, 'that Christ sent him not to baptize.' He might, if he had pleased, have cut it all short, and (like what L. Muggleton once said of Moses) have told us, Paul did not mean what he writ. But these places are ill applied by this man; for when God said, "He would have mercy, and not sacrifice," he meant not to have sacrifice at that time, and in those cases, wherein he called for mercy. He would not be so put off, nor have duties exchanged: that speech is limited to, and to be interpreted by, the present state of the people he spoke to, who were unqualified for sacrifice, because they were unmerciful and cruel; and the merciful God, in that state, would have none of their sacrifices. What is this to the apostle's words about baptism, that denies it any part in his commission? There is no parallel in the case; but if any, it is for us, rather than against us: for that of not putting on of apparel, it is evident, for so the apostle intended by Ἢ ἐνδύσεος Ἱματίων κόσμῳ, as the words themselves plainly import, viz. garments of finery and ornament, and not useful clothing. So that the apostle meant what he said, in the use of the word; for such apparel is not to be ever used by true Christians.

For his saying, 'that some of our women have gone naked;' it is affirmed with lightness; though some few of our friends have gone naked, for a sign to this generation, in token of God's stripping some persecutors of their power, and in particular that generation of the clergy, that preceded the restoration; which, having risen through persecution, forgot their pleas, when they had power, towards those that dissented from them; and testified against the same evils in them, that they had justly inveighed against in the former bishops' days. And now he may see we are not against all signs.

To conclude: It is plain the apostle had no obligation upon him to this expression, from a comparison any had made between water-baptism and the preaching of the gospel. Nor does he use any, though this man makes him to do so, to justify his imagined elegancy. The occasion of this expression, the text shows, was the vanity of some disciples, that were comparing and boasting of their baptizers: not a word of baptism itself, to over or undervalue that tradition. Why, then, does Paul take occasion, not only to strike at them, but baptism too? What had baptism done, to be so coarsely treated? 'So sacred an institution; the very rite or door of admission (says this man) into the kingdom of the

Messiah,' p. 80. Why, without doubt, it was to let them see, that they had so little cause to boast of their respective baptizers, (for, "who is Paul, and who is Apollos?") that they ought not to value themselves upon that very baptism, since it was not what he had in commission, but what he had used as a tradition, that had obtained some credit among them: else, the apostle must not have had the same commission that the other apostles had; who yet said, "he was behind none of the rest of the apostles."

Again, Baptizing, (in Mat. xxviii. 19.) was as much the apostle's commission as teaching or preaching: nay, the preferable part. For though preaching opened their understandings, it was baptism that gave them admission into the kingdom of the Messiah; made them subjects thereof; and instated them in the rights of it: yea, the seal of the covenant that God made by Christ with mankind, without which no remission of sins, or entering of God's kingdom. Can such a baptism (and such an one this adversary renders water-baptism) be no essential part of Paul's commission, or not upon equal terms with teaching, when by it people are to be interested in the sacred name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; that is, to be made, qualified, admitted, and sealed, true Christians, subjects of Christ's kingdom, citizens of heaven, and endowed with all the privileges thereof. How little is this man willing to allow baptism to be, that he may keep it any thing in force, and excuse it from the general sense of the apostle's words? Were there as much difference between preaching and baptism, as between mercy and sacrifice, it might have helped him better. But inasmuch as the apostle denies water-baptism to be in his commission, and that it is certain he had the same commission the rest had, whatever was his practice, in condescension (as in circumcising of Timothy) that baptism that is indeed in Christ's commission, Mat. xxviii. must be the baptism of the Holy Ghost. And this is the less to be doubted, since the same apostle that denies water-baptism any place in his commission (which he could never, if an ordinance of Christ, and the rite of admission into the kingdom of the Messiah) makes baptism an article in his epitome of Christianity. viz. That there is (Eph. iv. 5, 6.) "one Lord, one faith, one baptism: one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." This baptism being therefore essential, must be that of his commission, and consequently the baptism of the Holy Ghost, Acts i. 15.

But, after all, I know not what right this man has to argue upon the head of water-baptism against us; since, if I mistake him not, he is of those that make children the subjects

of that practice, who cannot believe, nor be taught, in order to it; and therefore, not within the scope and direction of the text. If it should be said, 'that children may be as well baptized as circumcised;' I say, no: for faith was not so personally required to circumcision, as it is to baptism: nor are the covenants, or kingdoms the same, to which they refer; therefore an improper and unjust allusion. Upon the whole matter, we let fall the baptism of water, as John's, and not Christ's; therefore, not in contempt of a Christian ordinance, the Lord knows, but in honour of the Christian dipensation: and the rather, because of the great abuse of it; both sprinklers and dippers laying, as we apprehend, a dangerous stress upon it: as indeed they do upon the use of the Lord's-supper; far beyond signs, and as if they were the inward graces themselves; too often referring thither, rather than to the obedience of faith in Christ; and falsly quieting their uneasy minds under disobedience, and neglect of the cross of Jesus, with the performance of these outward signs of inward graces; the generality of them being but too barren of any true sign of the power of grace upon them.

But to that little he has said about the Lord's-Supper, so called, I must say something before I close this treatise. He tells us.

Page 92. 'The same, in substance, may be said of the Lord's-supper as of baptism.'

Reply. Then the same, in substance, may serve in defence of the other. He adds,

'Christ celebrates it with his disciples, signifying, that his meaning was, they should perform this service at other times, after his death, by constraining them to do it in remembrance of him; which is a full institution of this service.'

Reply. That which Christ celebrated, was the Paschal Lamb, or Passover, which he told his disciples, "he so much longed to eat with them." And this was the Jews' great anniversary supper, in commemoration of their forefathers' mighty deliverance from Pharaoh, and passing at night out of Egypt, towards the land that God had promised their father Abraham he would give to his offspring. And it was also the conclusion or winding-up of the course of our Saviour's life; the fulfilling of the shadowy ordinances and ministration he was born under (he being the antitype); at the close of which he was graciously pleased to intimate to them that unwelcome and uneasy news of his departure and death, by bidding them eat of that bread, and drink that cup; and to do the like, as a "memorial, or in remembrance of him," viz. his death, "until he came to them again."

He did thereby,

I. Inform them of his departure and death, by giving them a memorial of him; which was so hard for them to think of.

II. He tells them, that he will not leave them comfortless; he will come to them again; and he will drink new wine with them in the kingdom of his Father; which, in its due season, should be made manifest to them.

III. That they were to look to that coming, as an accomplishment of that memorial.

IV. That this must refer to his spiritual coming, as the bread of life; and that it was only to hold them up in their minority, whose weakness, incredulity, and doubting, were well known to him, and which, Luke xxiv. 11, 25. are enough observed: even after all they had heard and seen of the power of Christ.

That this practice lasted longer, I grant; but that it lasted of authority, I find not, but rather of weakness: signs generally have a resemblance of the things they signify or represent: there seems none, in any other respect, to me so proper and suitable, as of Christ being the "bread that came down from heaven," John vi. and as such he came to his disciples some time after his ascension; for as yet they were, as before observed, in several respects weak, yea, carnal, and to be stirred up and instructed in sacred mysteries, by outward and sensible things.

Page 93. As to what this author says, 'that the apostle Paul had a commission to administer this sacrament,' 1 Cor. xi. 26. It is his mistake; for it was not a commission, but a tradition. He tells us what he received of the Lord's doings; but neither commands nor recommends it, only reproves indecency, and requires more respect in performing, "as often as they do it." But if that chapter be well read, the poor and mean condition of the people he writ to will be seen; to whom signs, well understood, might be of benefit. But that neither proves their continuance under the new covenant, nor their service to those that were come to discern well the Lord's body; what it is, and what it is made of; as chapter x. 15, 16, 17.

Pages 94, 95. But our adversary will have it, 'that Christ's coming is to judgment, at the end of all things; and until then, this sacrament, as he calls it, is to continue:' telling me, that when Christ said, he would not drink any more of the fruit of the vine, till he should drink it new, with them, in the kingdom of his Father, Christ indeed means it of a spiritual wine; but that the kingdom of his Father was heaven; and therefore the sign was not to cease, till that

kingdom began; which was not to be till Christ had delivered up the kingdom unto God, even his Father, at the end of the world.'

Reply. But he has forgot, surely, that in the same page he allows the kingdom of God was then among the Jews, though not in them; and so come before the end of the world. And if he would have called to mind the first sentence of John the Baptist's sermon, and the drift of the disciples' ministry, that Christ sent forth, he must have found that it was, "Repent, for the kingdom of God, or of heaven, is at hand," as Mat. iii. 2. and x. 7. Then, not so far off as the end of the world. Again, the apostle declared, Heb. xii. 22, 23, 24. the true believers of his day were "come to Mount Zion, to God, the judge of all, and to the spirits of the just made perfect;" and also, that they "sat in heavenly places in Christ Jesus;" which must be an attainment above signs of invisible grace; being the life and substance of religion, and so the period of consummation of types and shadows, and such sorts of signs or significations as are in question. They that personally enjoy their dearest friends will not repair to their pictures, (though drawn ever so much to the life) to quicken their remembrance of them.

Christ did promise his, that he would come again, he would not leave them comfortless, and that he would drink of the cup or fruit of the vine after a new, or other manner with them, even "in the kingdom of his Father." And in the Revelations, chap. iii. he makes an holy proclamation, as it were with an Oyez! "Behold," says he, "I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with me." This, we are not ashamed to say, is our supper, or the supper of the risen and glorified Jesus, which the people called Quakers do acknowledge, profess, and practise as the Lord's-supper; the true gospel, new covenant supper: the supper of and in the kingdom of God; which is come up in thousands, blessed be his name! and is coming more and more among, and in the hearts of, the children of men. And though the seed of this kingdom be sown in all; yet the good ground alone knows it to grow to advantage. Those that obey the manifestation of the light of the Lord Jesus in their souls, the "seed of the kingdom," are the true and sensible witnesses of it: the government of their hearts and affections being upon his shoulders, according to that blessed promise, Isaiah ix. 5, 6, 7. And such can say, "Thy kingdom is come, and thy will is done in earth, as it is in heaven."

Even so come, Lord Jesus! more and more set up thy kingdom in the souls of the children of men; that the holy will of thy Father may be done in earth; that mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, may embrace and kiss each other; so shall the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ; who is God over all, blessed for ever.

SOME

FRUITS OF SOLITUDE,

IN

REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS

RELATING TO THE

CONDUCT OF HUMAN LIFE.

IN TWO PARTS.

Published in the Year 1693.

THE PREFACE.

READER,

THIS enchiridion I present thee with, is the fruit of solitude: a school few care to learn in, though none instructs us better. Some parts of it are the result of serious reflection: others, the flashings of lucid intervals: written for private satisfaction, and now published for an help to human conduct.

The author blesseth God for his retirement, and kisses that gentle hand which led him into it: for though it should prove barren to the world, it can never do so to him.

He has now had some time he could call his own; a property he was never so much master of before: in which he has taken a view of himself and the world; and observed wherein he hath hit and missed the mark: what might have been done, what mended, and what avoided in his human conduct: together with the omissions and excesses of others, as well societies and governments, as private families and persons. And he verily thinks, were he to live over his life again, he could not only, with God's grace, serve Him, but his neighbour and himself, better than he hath done, and have seven years of his time to spare. And yet, perhaps, he hath not been the worst or the idlest man in the world; nor is he the oldest. And this is the rather said, that it might quicken thee, reader, to lose none of the time that is yet thine.

There is nothing of which we are apt to be so lavish as of time, and about which we ought to be more solicitous; since without it we can do nothing in this world. Time is what we want most, but what, alas! we use worst; and for which God will certainly most strictly reckon with us, when time shall be no more.

It is of that moment to us in reference to both worlds, that I can hardly wish any man better, than that he would seriously consider what he does with his time: how, and to what ends, he employs it; and what returns he makes to God, his neighbour, and himself for it. Will he never have a ledger for this? This, the greatest wisdom and work of life.

To come but once into the world, and trifle away our true enjoyment of it, and of ourselves in it, is lamentable indeed. This one reflection would yield a thinking person great instruction. And since nothing below man can so think; man, in being thoughtless, must needs fall below himself. And that, to be sure, such do, as are unconcerned in the use of their most precious time.

This is but too evident, if we will allow ourselves to consider, that there is hardly any thing we take by the right end, or improve to its just advantage.

We understand little of the works of God, either in nature or grace. We pursue false knowledge, and mistake education extremely. We are violent in our affections, confused and immethodical in our whole life; making that a burden, which was given for a blessing; and so of little comfort to ourselves or others: misapprehending the true notion of happiness, and so missing of the right use of life, and way of happy living.

And until we are persuaded to stop, and step a little aside, out of the noisy crowd, and incumbering hurry of the world, and calmly take a prospect of things, it will be impossible we should be able to make a right judgment of ourselves, or know our own misery. But after we have made the just reckonings which retirement will help us to, we shall begin to think the world in great measure mad, and that we have been in a sort of bedlam all this while.

Reader, whether young or old, think it not too soon, or too late, to turn over the leaves of thy past life: and be sure to fold down where any passage of it may affect thee: and bestow thy remainder of time, to correct those faults in thy future conduct: be it in relation to this or the next life. What thou wouldest do, if what thou hast done were to do again, be sure to do as long as thou livest, upon the like occasions.

Our resolutions seem to be vigorous, as often as we reflect upon our past errors: but, alas! they are apt to flag again upon fresh temptations to the same things.

The author does not pretend to deliver thee an exact piece; his business not being ostentation, but charity. It is miscellaneous in the matter of it, and by no means artificial in the composure. But it contains hints, that may serve thee for texts to preach to thyself upon, and which comprehend much of the course of human life: since, whether thou art parent or child, prince or subject, master or servant, single or married, public or private, mean or honourable, rich or poor, prosperous or improsperous, in peace or controversy, in business or solitude; whatever be thy inclination or aversion, practice or duty, thou wilt find something not unsuitably said for thy direction and advantage. Accept and improve what deserves thy notice; the rest excuse, and place to account of good-will to thee, and the whole creation of God.

REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS.

PART I.

Ignorance.

1. It is admirable to consider how many millions of people come into, and go out of the world, ignorant of themselves, and of the world they have lived in.

2. If one went to see Windsor-castle, or Hampton-court, it would be strange not to observe and remember the situation, the building, the gardens, fountains, &c. that make up the beauty and pleasure of such a seat: and yet few people know themselves: no, not their own bodies, the houses of their minds, the most curious structure of the world; a living, walking tabernacle: nor the world, of which it was made, and out of which it is fed; which would be so much our benefit, as well as our pleasure, to know. We cannot doubt of this, when we are told that the "invisible things of God are brought to light by the things that are seen;" and consequently we read our duty in them, as often as we look upon them, to Him that is the great and wise Author of them, if we look as we should do.

3. The world is certainly a great and stately volume of

natural things; and may be not improperly styled the hieroglyphics of a better: but, alas! how very few leaves of it do we seriously turn over! This ought to be the subject of the education of our youth: who, at twenty, when they should be fit for business, know little or nothing of it.

Education.

4. We are in pain to make them scholars, but not men! To talk, rather than to know; which is true canting.

5. The first thing obvious to children, is what is sensible; and that we make no part of their rudiments.

6. We press their memory too soon, and puzzle, strain and load them with words and rules; to know grammar and rhetoric, and a strange tongue or two, that it is ten to one may never be useful to them; leaving their natural genius to mechanical and physical, or natural knowledge uncultivated and neglected; which would be of exceeding use and pleasure to them through the whole course of their life.

7. To be sure, languages are not to be despised or neglected. But things are still to be preferred.

8. Children had rather be making of tools, and instruments of play; shaping, drawing, framing, and building, &c. than getting some rules of propriety of speech by heart: and those, also, would follow with more judgment, and less trouble and time.

9. It were happy if we studied nature more in natural things; and acted according to nature; whose rules are few, plain, and most reasonable.

10. Let us begin where she begins, go her pace, and close always where she ends, and we cannot miss of being good naturalists.

11. The creation would not be longer a riddle to us: the heavens, earth, and waters, with their respective, various, and numerous inhabitants; their productions, natures, seasons, sympathies and antipathies; their use, benefit, and pleasure, would be better understood by us: and an eternal wisdom, power, majesty, and goodness, very conspicuous to us, through those sensible and passing forms: the world wearing the mark of its Maker, whose stamp is every where visible, and the characters very legible to the children of wisdom.

12. And it would go a great way to caution and direct people in their use of the world, that they were better studied and knowing in the creation of it.

13. For how could men find the conscience to abuse it, while they should see the great Creator look them in the face, in all and every part thereof?

14. Therefore ignorance makes them insensible; and to that insensibility may be ascribed their hard usage of several parts of this noble creation, that has the stamp and voice of a DEITY every where, and in every thing, to the observing.

15. It is pity, therefore, that books have not been composed for youth, by some curious and careful naturalists, and also mechanics, in the Latin tongue, to be used in schools, that they might learn things with words: things obvious and familiar to them, and which would make the tongue easier to be attained by them.

16. Many able gardeners and husbandmen are yet ignorant of the reason of their calling; as most artificers are of the reason of their own rules that govern their excellent workmanship. But a naturalist and mechanic of this sort, is master of the reason of both, and might be of the practice too, if his industry kept pace with his speculation: which were very commendable; and without which, he cannot be said to be a complete naturalist or mechanic.

17. Finally, if man be the index or epitome of the world, as philosophers tell us, we have only to read ourselves well, to be learned in it. But because there is nothing we less regard, than the characters of the power that made us, which are so clearly written upon us, and the world he has given us, and can best tell us what we are and should be, we are even strangers to our own genius: the glass in which we should see that true, instructing, and agreeable variety, which is to be observed in nature, to the admiration of that wisdom, and adoration of that power, which made us all.

Pride.

18. And yet, we are very apt to be full of ourselves, instead of him that made what we so much value; and but for whom, we can have no reason to value ourselves. For we have nothing that we can call our own; no, not ourselves: for we are all but tenants, and at will too, of the great Lord of ourselves, and the rest of this great farm, the world that we live upon.

19. But, methinks, we cannot answer it to ourselves, as well as our Maker, that we should live and die ignorant of ourselves; and thereby of him, and the obligations we are under to him for ourselves.

20. If the worth of a gift sets the obligation, and directs the return of the party that receives it; he that is ignorant of it, will be at a loss to value it, and the giver for it.

21. Here is man, in his ignorance of himself. He knows not how to estimate his Creator, because he knows not how to value his creation. If we consider his make, and lovely

compositure; the several stories of his wonderful structure; his divers members, their order, function, and dependency; the instruments of food, the vessels of digestion, the several transmutations it passes; and how nourishment is carried and diffused throughout the whole body, by most intricate and imperceptible passages: how the animal spirit is thereby refreshed, and with an unspeakable dexterity and motion sets all parts at work to feed themselves: and, last of all, how the rational soul is seated in the animal, as its proper house, as is the animal in the body: I say, if this rare fabric alone were but considered by us, with all the rest by which it is fed and comforted, surely man would have a more reverent sense of the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, and of that duty he owes to him for it. But if he would be acquainted with his own soul, its noble faculties, its union with the body, its nature and end, and the providences by which the whole frame of humanity is preserved, he would admire and adore his good and great God. But man is become a strange contradiction to himself; but it is of himself; not being by constitution, but corruption, such.

22. He would have others to obey him, even his own kind; but he will not obey God, that is so much above him, and who made him.

23. He will lose none of his authority; no, not bate an ace of it: he is humourous to his wife, he beats his children, is angry with his servants, strict with his neighbours, revenges all affronts to extremity; but, alas! forgets all the while, that he is the man; and is more in arrear to God, that is so very patient with him, than they are to him, with whom he is so strict and impatient.

24. He is curious to wash, dress, and perfume his body, but careless of his soul. The one shall have many hours, the other not so many minutes. This shall have three or four new suits in a year, but that must wear its old clothes still.

25. If he be to receive or see a great man, how nice and anxious is he that all things be in order? And with what respect and address does he approach and make his court? But to God, how dry, and formal, and constrained in his devotion?

26. In his prayers he says, "Thy will be done;" but means his own: at least acts so.

27. It is too frequent to begin with God, and end with the world. But he is the good man's beginning and end; his *alpha* and *omega*.

Luxury.

28. Such is now become our delicacy, that we will not eat ordinary meat, nor drink small, palled liquor; we must have the best, and best-cooked, for our bodies, while our souls feed on empty or corrupted things.

29. In short, man is spending all upon a bare house, and hath little or no furniture to recommend it; which is preferring the cabinet before the jewel, a lease of seven years before an inheritance. So absurd a thing is man, after all his proud pretences to wit and understanding.

Inconsideration.

30. The want of due consideration is the cause of all the unhappiness man brings upon himself. For his second thoughts rarely agree with his first; which pass not without a considerable retrenchment or correction. And yet that sensible warning is, too frequently, not precaution enough for his future conduct.

31. Well may we say, 'Our infelicity is of ourselves;' since there is nothing we do that we should not do, but we know it, and yet do it.

Disappointments and Resignation.

32. For disappointments, that come not by our own folly, they are the trials or correction of heaven: and it is our own fault, if they prove not our advantage.

33. To repine at them, does not mend the matter: it is only to grumble at our Creator. But to see the hand of God in them, with an humble submission to his will, is the way to turn our water into wine, and engage the greatest love and mercy on our side.

34. We must needs disorder ourselves, if we only look at our losses. But if we consider how little we deserve what is left, our passions will cool, and our murmurs will turn into thankfulness.

35. If our hairs fall not to the ground, less do we, or our substance, without God's providence.

36. Nor can we fall below the arms of God, how low soever it be we fall.

37. For though our Saviour's passion is over, his compassion is not. That never fails his humble, sincere disciples: in him they find more than all that they lose in the world.

Murmuring.

38. Is it reasonable to take it ill, that any body desires of us that which is their own? All we have is the Almighty's: and shall not God have his own when he calls for it?

39. Discontentedness is not only in such a case ingratitude,

but injustice, for we are both unthankful for the time we had it, and not honest enough to restore it, if we could keep it.

40. But it is hard for us to look on things in such a glass, and at such a distance from this low world; and yet it is our duty, and would be our wisdom and our glory, to do so.

Censoriousness.

41. We are apt to be very pert at censuring others, where we will not endure advice ourselves. And nothing shows our weakness more, than to be so sharp-sighted at spying other men's faults, and so purblind about our own.

42. When the actions of a neighbour are upon the stage, we can have all our wits about us, are so quick and critical we can split an hair, and find out every failure and infirmity: but are without feeling, or have but very little sense of our own.

43. Much of this comes from ill-nature, as well as from an inordinate value of ourselves: for we love rambling better than home; and blaming the unhappy, rather than covering and relieving them.

44. In such occasions, some show their malice, and are witty upon misfortunes; others their justice, they can reflect apace; but few or none their charity; especially if it be about money-matters.

45. You shall see an old miser come forth with a set gravity, and so much severity against the distressed, to excuse his purse, that he will, ere he has done, put it out of all question, that riches is righteousness with him. 'This,' says he, 'is the fruit of your prodigality, (as if, poor man, covetousness were no fault) or, of your projects, or grasping after a great trade:' while he himself would have done the same thing, but that he had not the courage to venture so much ready money out of his own trusty hands, though it had been to have brought him back the Indies in return. But the proverb is just, 'Vice should not correct sin.'

46. They have a right to censure, that have an heart to help: the rest is cruelty, not justice.

Bounds of Charity.

47 Lend not beyond thy ability, nor refuse to lend out of thy ability; especially when it will help others more than it can hurt thee.

48. If thy debtor be honest and capable, thou hast thy money again, if not with increase, with praise: if he prove insolvent, do not ruin him to get that, which it will not ruin thee to lose; for thou art but a steward, and another is thy owner, master, and judge.

49. The more merciful acts thou dost, the more mercy thou wilt receive: and if with a charitable employment of thy temporal riches, thou gainest eternal treasure, thy purchase is infinite: thou wilt have found the art of multiplying indeed.

Frugality and Bounty.

50. Frugality is good, if liberality be joined with it. The first, is leaving-off superfluous expenses; the last, bestowing them to the benefit of others that need. The first without the last, begins covetousness; the last without the first, begins prodigality: both together make an excellent temper. Happy the place where that is found.

51. Were it universal, we should be cured of two extremes, want and excess: and the one would supply the other, and so bring both nearer to a mean; the just degree of earthly happiness.

52. It is a reproach to religion and government, to suffer so much poverty and excess.

53. Were the superfluities of a nation valued, and made a perpetual tax or benevolence, there would be more almshouses than poor; schools than scholars; and enough to spare for government besides.

54. Hospitality is good, if the poorer sort are the subjects of our bounty; else too near a superfluity.

Discipline.

55. If thou wouldst be happy and easy in thy family, above all things observe discipline.

56. Every one in it should know their duty; and there should be a time and place for every thing: and whatever else is done or omitted, be sure to begin and end with God.

Industry.

57. Love labour: for if thou dost not want it for food, thou mayest for physic. It is wholesome for thy body, and good for thy mind. It prevents the fruits of idleness, which many times comes of nothing to do, and leads too many to do what is worse than nothing.

58. A garden, an elaboratory, a work-house, improvements and breeding, are pleasant and profitable diversions to the idle and ingenious: for here they miss ill company, and converse with nature and art; whose varieties are equally grateful and instructing; and preserve a good constitution of body and mind.

Temperance.

59. To this a spare diet contributes much. Eat there-

fore to live, and do not live to eat. That is like a man, but this below a beast.

60. Have wholesome, but not costly food; and be rather cleanly than dainty, in ordering it.

61. The receipts of cookery are swelled to a volume; but a good stomach excels them all; to which nothing contributes more, than industry and temperance.

62. It is a cruel folly, to offer up to ostentation so many lives of creatures, as make up the state of our treats; as it is a prodigal one, to spend more in sauce than in meat.

63. The proverb says that, "Enough is as good as a feast:" but it is certainly better, if superfluity be a fault; which never fails to be at festivals.

64. If thou rise with an appetite, thou art sure never to sit down without one.

65. Rarely drink but when thou art dry; nor then, between meals, if it can be avoided.

66. The smaller the drink the clearer the head, and the cooler the blood; which are great benefits in temper and business.

67. Strong liquors are good at some times, and in small proportions; being better for physic, than food; for cordials, than common use.

68. The most common things are the most useful: which shows both the wisdom and goodness of the great Lord of the family of the world.

69. What, therefore, he has made rare, do not thou use too commonly; lest thou shouldest invert the use and order of things, become wanton and voluptuous, and thy blessings prove a curse.

70. "Let nothing be lost," said our Saviour: but that is lost that is misused.

71. Neither urge another to that thou wouldest be unwilling to do thyself; nor do thyself what looks to thee unseemly and intemperate in another.

72. All excess is ill; but drunkenness is of the worst sort: it spoils health, dismounts the mind, and unmans men: it reveals secrets, is quarrelsome, lascivious, impudent, dangerous and mad: in fine, he that is drunk is not a man; because he is so long void of reason, that distinguishes a man from a beast.

Apparel.

73. Excess in apparel is another costly folly: the very trimming of the vain world would clothe all the naked one.

74. Choose thy clothes by thine own eyes, not another's. The more plain and simple they are, the better: neither

unshapely, nor fantastical; and for use and decency, and not for pride.

75. If thou art clean and warm, it is sufficient; for more doth but rob the poor, and please the wanton.

76. It is said of the true church, "The king's daughter is all glorious within:" let our care, therefore, be of our minds, more than of our bodies, if we would be of her communion.

77. We are told, with truth, that, "Meekness and modesty are the rich and charming attire of the soul:" and the plainer the dress, the more distinctly, and with greater lustre, their beauty shines.

78. It is great pity such beauties are so rare, and those of Jezebel's forehead are so common: whose dresses are incentives to lust; but bars, instead of motives, to love or virtue.

Right Marriage.

79. Never marry but for love: but see that thou lovest what is lovely.

80. If love be not thy chiefest motive, thou wilt soon grow weary of a married state, and stray from thy promise, to search out thy pleasures in forbidden places.

81. Let not enjoyment lessen, but augment affection: it being the basest of passions to like, when we have not, what we slight when we possess.

82. It is the difference between lust and love, that this is fixed, that volatile. Love grows, lust wastes, by enjoyment: and the reason is, that one springs from an union of souls, and the other springs from an union of sense.

83. They have divers originals, and so are of different families: that inward and deep; this superficial: this transient, and that permanent.

84. They that marry for money, cannot have the true satisfaction of marriage; the requisite means being wanting.

85. Men are generally more careful of the breed of their horses and dogs, than of their children.

86. Those must be of the best sort, for shape, strength, courage, and good conditions: but as for these, their own posterity, money shall answer all things. With such, it makes the crooked straight, sets squint-eyes right, cures madness, covers folly, changes ill conditions, mends the skin, gives a sweet breath, repairs honours, makes young, works wonders.

87. O how sordid is man grown! Man, the noblest creature of the world, as a God on earth, and the image of him that made it; thus to mistake earth for heaven, and worship gold for God!

Avarice.

88. Covetousness is the greatest of monsters, as well as the root of all evil. I have once seen the man that died to save charges. What! Give ten shillings to a doctor, and have an apothecary's bill besides, that may come to I know not what! No, not he: valuing life less than twenty shillings. But, indeed, such a man could not, well, set too low a price upon himself; who, though he lived up to the chin in bags, had rather die than find in his heart to open one of them, to help to save his life.

89. Such a man is *felo de se*, and deserves not Christian burial.

90. He is a common nuisance, a weyer cross the stream, that stops the current: an obstruction, to be removed by a purge of the law. The only gratification he gives his neighbours, is to let them see that he himself is as little the better for what he has, as they are. For he always looks like lent; a sort of lay-minim. In some sense he may be compared to Pharaoh's lean kine; for all that he has does him no good. He commonly wears his clothes till they leave him, or that nobody else can wear them. He affects to be thought poor, to escape robbery and taxes; and, by looking as if he wanted an alms, excuse himself from giving any. He ever goes late to markets, to cover buying the worst: but does it because that is cheapest. He lives of the offal. His life were an insupportable punishment to any temper but his own: and no greater torment to him on earth, than to live as other men do. But the misery of his pleasure is, that he is never satisfied with getting, and always in fear of losing what he cannot use.

91. How vilely he has lost himself, that becomes a slave to his servant, and exalts him to the dignity of his Maker! gold is the god, the wife, the friend, of the money-monger of the world. But in

Marriage,

92. Do thou be wise: prefer the person before money, virtue before beauty, the mind before the body: then thou hast a wife, a friend, a companion, a second-self; one that bears an equal share with thee, in all thy toils and troubles.

93. Choose one that measures her satisfaction, safety, and danger, by thine; and of whom thou art sure, as of thy secretest thoughts: a friend, as well as a wife; which, indeed, a wife implies: for she is but half a wife that is not, or is not capable of being, such a friend.

94. Sexes make no difference; since in souls there is none: and they are the subjects of friendship.

95. He that minds a body, and not a soul, has not the better part of that relation; and will consequently want the noblest comfort of a married life.

96. The satisfaction of our senses is low, short, and transient: but the mind gives a more raised and extended pleasure, and is capable of an happiness founded upon reason; not bounded and limited by the circumstances that bodies are confined to.

97. Here it is we ought to search out our pleasure, where the field is large, and full of variety, and of an enduring nature: sickness, poverty, or disgrace, being not able to shake it, because it is not under the moving influences of worldly contingencies.

98. The satisfaction of those that do so, is in well-doing, and in the assurance they have of a future reward: that they are best loved of those they love most, and that they enjoy and value the liberty of their minds above that of their bodies; having the whole creation for their prospect; the most noble and wonderful works and providences of God, the histories of the ancients, and in them the actions and examples of the virtuous; and lastly, themselves, their affairs, and family, to exercise their minds and friendship upon.

99. Nothing can be more entire and without reserve; nothing more zealous, affectionate and sincere; nothing more contented and constant, than such a couple; nor no greater temporal felicity than to be one of them.

100. Between a man and his wife, nothing ought to rule but love. Authority is for children and servants; yet not without sweetness.

101. As love ought to bring them together, so it is the best way to keep them well together.

102. Wherefore use her not as a servant, whom thou wouldst, perhaps, have served seven years to have obtained.

103. An husband and wife that love and value one another, show their children and servants that they should do so too. Others, visibly lose their authority in their families, by their contempt of one another; and teach their children to be unnatural, by their own examples.

104. It is a general fault, not to be more careful to preserve nature in children; who, at least in the second descent, hardly have the feeling of their relation: which must be an unpleasant reflection to affectionate parents.

105. Frequent visits, presents, intimate correspondence, and intermarriages within allowed bounds, are means of keeping up the concern and affection that nature requires from relations.

Friendship.

106. Friendship is the next pleasure we may hope for: and where we find it not at home, or have no home to find it in, we may seek it abroad. It is an union of spirits, a marriage of hearts, and the bond thereof virtue.

107. There can be no friendship where there is no freedom. Friendship loves a free air, and will not be penned up in straight and narrow inclosures. It will speak freely, and act so too; and take nothing ill, where no ill is meant; nay, where it is, it will easily forgive, and forget too, upon small acknowledgments.

108. Friends are true twins in soul; they sympathize in every thing, and have the same love and aversion.

109. One is not happy without the other; nor can either of them be miserable alone. As if they could change bodies, they take their turns in pain as well as in pleasure; relieving one another in their most adverse conditions.

110. What one enjoys, the other cannot want. Like the primitive Christians, they have all things in common, and no property, but in one another.

Qualities of a Friend.

111. A true friend unbosoms freely, advises justly, assists readily, adventures boldly, takes all patiently, defends courageously, and continues a friend unchangeably.

112. These being the qualities of a friend, we are to find them, before we choose one.

113. The covetous, the angry, the proud, the jealous, the talkative, cannot but make ill friends, as well as false.

114. In short, choose a friend as thou dost a wife, 'till death separate you.'

115. Yet be not a friend beyond the altar: but let virtue bound thy friendship: else it is not friendship, but an evil confederacy.

116. If my brother, or kinsman, will be my friend, I ought to prefer him before a stranger; or I show little duty or nature to my parents.

117. And as we ought to prefer our kindred in point of affection, so too in point of charity, if equally needing and deserving.

Caution and Conduct.

118. Be not easily acquainted: lest, finding reason to cool, thou makest an enemy, instead of a good neighbour.

119. Be reserved, but not sour; grave, but not formal; bold, but not rash; humble, but not servile; patient, not insensible; constant, not obstinate; cheerful, not light;

rather sweet, than familiar; familiar, than intimate; and intimate with very few, and upon very good grounds.

120. Return the civilities thou receivest; and be ever grateful for favours.

Reparation.

121. If thou hast done an injury to another, rather own it, than defend it. One way thou gainest forgiveness; the other, thou doublest the wrong and reckoning.

122. Some oppose honour to submission; but it can be no honour to maintain, what it is dishonourable to do.

123. To confess a fault that is none, out of fear, is indeed mean: but not to be afraid of standing in one, is brutish.

124. We should make more haste to right our neighbour, than we do to wrong him; and instead of being vindictive, we should leave him to judge of his own satisfaction.

125. True honour will pay treble damages, rather than justify one wrong by another.

126. In such controversies, it is but too common for some to say, 'Both are to blame,' to excuse their own unconcernedness; which is a base neutrality! Others will cry, 'They are both alike;' thereby involving the injured with the guilty, to mince the matter for the faulty, or cover their own injustice to the wronged party.

127. Fear and gain are great perverters of mankind; and where either prevails, the judgment is violated.

Rules of Conversation.

128. Avoid company, where it is not profitable or necessary: and in those occasions, speak little, and last.

129. Silence is wisdom, where speaking is folly, and always safe.

130. Some are so foolish, as to interrupt and anticipate those that speak, instead of hearing and thinking before they answer: which is uncivil as well as silly.

131. If thou thinkest twice, before thou speakest once, thou wilt speak twice the better for it.

132. Better say nothing, than not to the purpose. And to speak pertinently, consider both what is fit, and when it is fit, to speak.

133. In all debates, let truth be thy aim; not victory, or an unjust interest: and endeavour to gain, rather than to expose, thy antagonist.

134. Give no advantage in argument, nor lose any that is offered. This is a benefit which arises from temper.

135. Do not use thyself to dispute against thine own judgment, to show wit, lest it prepare thee to be indifferent about what is right: nor against another man, to vex him,

or for mere trial of skill; since to inform, or to be informed, ought to be the end of all conferences.

136. Men are too apt to be more concerned for their credit, than for the cause.

Eloquence.

137. There is a truth and beauty in rhetoric; but it oftener serves ill turns than good ones.

138. Elegancy is a good mien and address given to matter, be it by proper or by figurative speech: where the words are apt, and allusions very natural, certainly it has a moving grace: but it is too artificial for simplicity, and oftentimes for truth. The danger is, lest it delude the weak; who, in such cases, may mistake the handmaid for the mistress, if not error for truth.

139. It is certain, truth is least indebted to it, because she has least need of it, and least uses it.

140. But it is a reproveable delicacy, in them that despise truth in plain clothes.

141. Such luxuriants have but false appetites; like those gluttons, that by sauces force them, where they have no stomach, and sacrifice to their palate, not their health: which cannot be, without great vanity; nor that, without some sin.

Temper.

142. Nothing does reason more right, than the coolness of those that offer it: for truth often suffers more by the heat of its defenders, than from the arguments of its opposers.

143. Zeal ever follows an appearance of truth; and the assured are too apt to be too warm: but it is their weak side in argument; zeal being better shown against sin, than persons, or their mistakes.

Truth.

144. Where thou art obliged to speak, be sure to speak the truth: for equivocation is half-way to lying; as lying, the whole way to hell.

Justice.

145. Believe nothing against another, but upon good authority: nor report what may hurt another, unless it be a greater hurt to others to conceal it.

Secrecy.

146. It is wise not to seek a secret; and honest, not to reveal one.

147. Only trust thyself, and another shall not betray thee.

148. Openness has the mischief, though not the malice, of treachery.

Complacency.

149. Never assent merely to please others. For that is, beside flattery, oftentimes untruth; and discovers a mind liable to be servile and base: nor contradict to vex others; for that shows an ill temper, and provokes, but profits no body.

Shifts.

150. Do not accuse others to excuse thyself; for that is neither generous nor just. But let sincerity and ingenuousness be thy refuge, rather than craft and falshood: for cunning borders very near upon knavery.

151. Wisdom never uses nor wants it. Cunning to wise, is an ape to a man.

Interest.

152. Interest has the security, though not the virtue, of a principle. As the world goes, it is the surer side: for men daily leave both relations and religion to follow it.

153 It is an odd sight, but very evident, that families and nations, of cross religions and humours, unite against those of their own, where they find an interest to do it.

154. We are tied down by our senses to this world; and where that is in question, it can be none with worldly men, whether they should not forsake all other considerations for it.

Inquiry.

155. Have a care of vulgar errors; dislike, as well as allow, reasonably.

156. Inquiry is human; blind obedience, brutal. Truth never loses by the one, but often suffers by the other.

157. The usefullest truths are plainest: and while we keep to them, our differences cannot rise high.

158. There may be wantonness in search, as well as a stupidity in trusting. It is great wisdom equally to avoid the extremes.

Right-Timing.

159. Do nothing improperly. Some are witty, kind, cold, angry, easy, stiff, jealous, careless, cautious, confident, close, open, but all in the wrong place.

160. It is ill mistaking, where the matter is of importance.

161. It is not enough that a thing be right, if it be not fit to be done. If not prudent, though just, it is not adviseable. He that loses by getting, had better lose than get.

Knowledge.

162. Knowledge is the treasure, but judgment the treasurer, of a wise man.

163. He that has more knowledge than judgment, is made for another man's use, more than his own.

164. It cannot be a good constitution, where the appetite is great, and the digestion weak.

165. There are some men like dictionaries, to be looked into upon occasion; but have no connection, and are little entertaining.

166. Less knowledge than judgment, will always have the advantage upon the injudicious knowing man.

167. A wise man makes what he learns his own; the other shows he is but a copy, or a collection at most.

Wit.

168. Wit is an happy and striking way of expressing a thought.

169. It is not often, though it be lively and mantling, that it carries a great body with it.

170. Wit, therefore, is fitter for diversion than business, being more grateful to fancy than judgment.

171. Less judgment than wit, is more sail than ballast.

172. Yet it must be confessed, that wit gives an edge to sense, and recommends it extremely.

173. Where judgment has wit to express it, there is the best orator.

Obedience to Parents.

174. If thou wouldst be obeyed, being a father; being a son, be obedient.

175. He that begets thee, owns thee; and has a natural right over thee.

176. Next to God, thy parents; next them, the magistrate.

177. Remember that thou art not more indebted to thy parents for thy nature, than for their love and care.

178. Rebellion, therefore, in children, was made death by God's law, and in the people, the next sin to idolatry; which is renouncing of God, the great Parent of all.

179. Obedience to parents is not only our duty, but our interest. If we received our life from them, we prolong it by obeying them: for obedience is the first commandment with promise.

180. The obligation is as indissoluble as the relation.

181. If we must not disobey God to obey them, at least we must let them see, that there is nothing else in our refusal. For some unjust commands cannot excuse the general neglect of our duty. They will be our parents, and we must be their children still: and if we cannot act for them against God, neither can we act against them for ourselves, or any thing else.

Bearing.

182. A man in business must put up many affronts, if he loves his own quiet.

183. We must not pretend to see all that we see, if we would be easy.

184. It were endless to dispute upon every thing that is disputable.

185. A vindictive temper is not only uneasy to others, but to them that have it.

Promising.

186. Rarely promise. But, if lawful, constantly perform.

187. Hasty resolutions are of the nature of vows; and to be equally avoided.

188. 'I will never do this,' says one, yet does it: 'I am resolved to do that,' says another; but flags upon second thoughts: or does it, though aukwardly, for his word's sake: as if it were worse to break his word, than to do amiss in keeping it.

189. Wear none of thine own chains; but keep free, whilst thou art free.

190. It is an effect of passion, that wisdom corrects, to lay thyself under resolutions that cannot be well made, and worse performed.

Fidelity.

191. Avoid all thou canst being intrusted: but do thy utmost to discharge the trust thou undertakest: for carelessness is injurious, if not unjust.

192. The glory of a servant is fidelity; which cannot be without diligence, as well as truth.

193. Fidelity has enfranchised slaves, and adopted servants to be sons.

194. Reward a good servant well: and rather quit, than disquiet thyself with, an ill one.

Master.

195. Mix kindness with authority; and rule more by discretion than rigour.

196. If thy servant be faulty, strive rather to convince him of his error, than discover thy passion: and when he is sensible, forgive him.

197. Remember he is thy fellow-creature; and that God's goodness, not thy merit, has made the difference betwixt thee and him.

198. Let not thy children domineer over thy servants: nor suffer them to slight thy children.

199. Suppress tales in the general: but where a matter requires notice, encourage the complaint, and right the aggrieved.

200. If a child, he ought to intreat, and not to command: and if a servant, to comply, where he does not obey.

201. Though there should be but one master and mistress in a family, yet servants should know that children have the reversion.

Servant.

202. Indulge not unseemly things in thy master's children, nor refuse them what is fitting: for one is the highest unfaithfulness; and the other, indiscretion, as well as disrespect.

203 Do thine own work, honestly and cheerfully: and when that is done, help thy fellow; that so another time he may help thee.

204. If thou wilt be a good servant, thou must be true; and thou canst not be true, if thou defraudest thy master.

205. A master may be defrauded many ways by a servant: as in time, care, pains, money, trust.

206. But, a true servant is the contrary: he is diligent, careful, trusty. He tells no tales, reveals no secrets, refuses no pains: not to be tempted by gain, or awed by fear, to unfaithfulness.

207. Such a servant serves God, in serving his master; and has double wages for his work, to wit, here and hereafter.

Jealous.

208. Be not fancifully jealous; for that is foolish: as, to be reasonably so, is wise.

209. He that superfines upon other men's actions, cozens himself, as well as injures them.

210. To be very subtle and scrupulous in business, is as hurtful as being over-confident and secure.

211. In difficult cases, such a temper is timorous; and in dispatch irresolute.

212. Experience is a safe guide; and a practical head is a great happiness in business.

Posterity.

213. We are too careless of posterity; not considering that as they are, so the next generation will be.

214. If we would amend the world, we should mend ourselves; and teach our children to be, not what we are, but what they should be.

215. We are too apt to awaken and tune up their passions by the example of our own; and to teach them to be pleased, not with what is best, but with what pleases best.

216. It is our duty, and ought to be our care, to ward against that passion in them, which is more especially our own weakness and affliction: for we are in great measure accountable for them, as well as for ourselves.

217. We are in this, also, true turners of the world upside down: for money is first, and virtue last, and least in our care.

218. It is not how we leave our children, but what we leave them.

219. To be sure, virtue is but a supplement, and not a principal, in their portion and character: and therefore we see so little wisdom, or goodness, among the rich, in proportion to their wealth.

A Country Life.

220. The country life is to be preferred; for there we see the works of God; but in cities, little else but the works of men: and the one makes a better subject for our contemplation than the other.

221. As puppets are to men, and babes to children, so is man's workmanship to God's. we are the picture, He the reality.

222. God's works declare his power, wisdom, and goodness: but man's works, for the most part, his pride, folly, and excess. The one is for use, the other, chiefly, for ostentation and lust.

223. The country is both the philosopher's garden and library, in which he reads and contemplates the power, wisdom, and goodness of God.

224. It is his food, as well as study; and gives him life, as well as learning.

225. A sweet and natural retreat from noise and talk; and allows opportunity for reflection, and gives the best subjects for it.

226. In short, it is an original; and the knowledge and improvement of it, man's oldest business and trade, and the best he can be of.

Art and Project.

227. Art is good, where it is beneficial. Socrates wisely bounded his knowledge and instruction by practice.

228. Have a care therefore of projects; and yet despise nothing rashly, or in the lump.

229. Ingenuity, as well as religion, sometimes suffers between two thieves; pretenders and despisers.

230. Though injudicious and dishonest projectors often discredit art; yet the most useful and extraordinary inventions have not, at first, escaped the scorn of ignorance; as

their authors rarely have cracking of their heads, or breaking of their backs.

231. Undertake no experiment in speculation, that appears not true in art; nor then, at thine own cost, if costly or hazardous in making.

232. As many hands make light work; so several purses make cheap experiments.

Industry.

233. Industry is certainly very commendable, and supplies the want of parts.

234. Patience and diligence, like faith, remove mountains.

235. Never give out while there is hope: but hope not beyond reason; for that shows more desire than judgment.

236. It is a profitable wisdom, to know when we have done enough: much time and pains are spared, in not flattering ourselves against probabilities.

Temporal Happiness.

237. Do good with what thou hast, or it will do thee no good.

238. Seek not to be rich, but happy. The one lies in bags, the other in content; which wealth can never give.

239. We are apt to call things by wrong names. We will have prosperity to be happiness, and adversity to be misery; though that is the school of wisdom, and oftentimes the way to eternal happiness.

240. If thou wouldst be happy, bring thy mind to thy condition, and have an indifferency for more than what is sufficient.

241. Have but little to do, and do it thyself: and do to others as thou wouldst have them do to thee: so, thou canst not fail of temporal felicity.

242. The generality are the worse for their plenty. The voluptuous consumes it, the miser hides it: it is the good man that uses it, and to good purposes. But such are hardly found among the prosperous.

243. Be rather bountiful, than expensive.

244. Neither make nor go to feasts; but let the laborious poor bless thee at home in their solitary cottages.

245. Neither voluntarily want what thou hast in possession; nor so spend it, as to involve thyself in want unavoidable.

246. Be not tempted to presume by success: for many that have got largely, have lost all, by coveting to get more.

247. To hazard much to get much, has more of avarice than wisdom.

248. It is great prudence, both to bound and use prosperity.

249. Too few know when they have enough; and fewer know how to employ it.

250. It is equally adviseable not to part lightly with what is hardly gotten, and not to shut up closely what flows in freely.

251. Act not the shark upon thy neighbour; nor take advantage of the ignorance, prodigality, or necessity of any one: for that is next door to fraud, and, at best, makes but an unblessed gain.

252. It is oftentimes the judgment of God upon greedy rich men, that he suffers them to push on their desires of wealth to the excess of over-reaching, grinding, or oppression, which poisons all they have gotten: so that it commonly runs away as fast, and by as bad ways, as it was heaped up together.

Respect.

253. Never esteem any man, or thyself, the more for money; nor think the meaner of thyself or another, for want of it: virtue being the just reason of respecting, and the want of it of slighting, any one.

254. A man, like a watch, is to be valued for his goings.

255. He that prefers him upon other accounts, bows to an idol.

256. Unless virtue guide us, our choice must be wrong.

257. An able bad man is an ill instrument, and to be shunned as the plague.

258. Be not deceived with the first appearances of things; but give thyself time, to be in the right.

259. Show is not substance: realities govern wise men.

260. Have a care, therefore, where there is more sail than ballast.

Hazard.

261. In all business, it is best to put nothing to hazard: but where it is unavoidable, be not rash, but firm and resigned.

262. We should not be troubled for what we cannot help: but if it was our fault, let it be so no more. Amendment is repentance, if not reparation.

263. As a desperate game needs an able gamester; so consideration often would prevent, what the best skill in the world cannot recover.

264. Where the probability of advantage exceeds not that of loss, wisdom never adventures.

265. To shoot well flying, is well; but to choose it, has more of vanity than judgment.

266. To be dextrous in danger, is a virtue; but to court danger to show it, is weakness.

Detraction.

267. Have a care of that base evil, detraction. It is the fruit of envy, as that is of pride; the immediate offspring of the devil: who, of an angel, a Lucifer, a son of the morning, made himself a serpent, a devil, a Beelzebub, and all that is obnoxious to the Eternal Goodness.

268. Virtue is not secure against envy. Men will lessen, what they will not imitate.

269. Dislike what deserves it: but never hate: for that is of the nature of malice; which is almost ever to persons, not things; and is one of the blackest qualities sin begets in the soul.

Moderation.

270. It were an happy day, if men could bound and qualify their resentments with charity to the offender: for then, our anger would be without sin, and better convict and edify the guilty: which alone can make it lawful.

271. Not to be provoked, is best: but if moved, never correct till the fume is spent: for every stroke our fury strikes, is sure to hit ourselves at last.

272. If we did but observe the allowances our reason makes upon reflection, when our passion is over, we could not want a rule how to behave ourselves again on the like occasions.

273. We are more prone to complain than redress, and to censure than excuse.

274. It is next to unpardonable, that we can so often blame what we will not once mend. It shows that we know, but will not do, our Master's will.

275. They that censure, should practise: or else, let them heave the first stone, and the last too.

Trick.

276. Nothing needs a trick, but a trick; sincerity loathes one.

277. We must take care to do things rightly: for a just sentence may be unjustly executed.

278. Circumstances give great light to true judgment, if well weighed.

Passion.

279. Passion is a sort of fever in the mind, which ever leaves us weaker than it found us.

280. But being intermitting, to be sure it is curable with care.

281. It more than any thing deprives us of the use of our judgment; for it raises a dust very hard to see through.

282. Like wine, whose lees fly up, being jogged, it is too muddy to drink.

283 It may not unfitly be termed the mob of the man, that commits a riot upon his reason.

284. I have oftentimes thought, that a passionate man is like a weak spring, that cannot stand long locked.

285. And it is as true, that those things are unfit for use, that cannot bear small knocks without breaking.

286. He that will not hear, cannot judge; and he that cannot bear contradiction, may, with all his wit, miss the mark.

287. Objection and debate sift out truth; which needs temper, as well as judgment.

288. But, above all, observe it in resentments; for there passion is most extravagant.

289. Never chide for anger, but instruction.

290. He that corrects out of passion, raises revenge sooner than repentance.

291. It has more of wantonness than wisdom; and resembles those that eat to please their palate, rather than their appetite.

292. It is the difference between a wise and a weak man; this judges by the lump; that, by parts and their connection.

293. The Greeks used to say, All cases are governed by their circumstances. The same thing may be well and ill, as they change or vary the matter.

294. A man's strength is shown by his bearing. *Bonum agere, & male pati, regis est.*

Personal Cautions.

295. Reflect without malice, but never without need.

296. Despise no body, nor no condition; lest it come to be thine own.

297. Never rail, nor taunt. The one is rude, the other is scornful; and both evil.

298. Be not provoked by injuries, to commit them.

299. Upbraid only ingratitude.

300. Haste makes work, which caution prevents.

301. Tempt no man; lest thou fall for it.

302. Have a care of presuming upon after-games: for if that miss, all is gone.

303. Opportunities should never be lost, because they can hardly be regained.

304. It is well to cure, but better to prevent a distemper. The first shows more skill, but the last more wisdom.

305. Never make a trial of skill in difficult or hazardous cases.

306. Refuse not to be informed: for that shows pride, or stupidity.

307. Humility and knowledge in poor clothes, excel pride and ignorance in costly attire.

308. Neither despise, nor oppose, what thou dost not understand.

Balance.

309. We must not be concerned above the value of the thing that engages us; nor raised above reason, in maintaining what we think reasonable.

310. It is too common an error, to invert the order of things, by making an end of that which is a means, and a means of that which is an end.

311. Religion and government escape not this mischief: the first is too often made a means, instead of an end; the other an end, instead of a means.

312. Thus men seek wealth, rather than subsistence; and the end of clothes, is the least reason of their use. Nor is the satisfying of our appetite our end in eating, so much as the pleasing of our palate. The like may be also said of building, furniture, &c. where the man rules not the beast, and appetite submits not to reason.

313. It is great wisdom, to proportion our esteem to the nature of the thing: for as that way things will not be undervalued, so neither will they engage us above their intrinsic worth.

314. If we suffer little things to have great hold upon us, we shall be as much transported for them, as if they deserved it.

315. It is an old proverb, *Maxima bella ex levissimis causis:* the greatest feuds have had the smallest beginnings.

316. No matter what the subject of dispute be, but what place we give it in our minds. For that governs our concern and resentment.

317. It is one of the fatalest errors of our lives, when we spoil a good cause by an ill management: and it is not impossible but we may mean well in an ill business; but that will not defend it.

318. If we are but sure the end is right, we are too apt to gallop over all bounds to compass it; not considering that lawful ends may be very unlawfully attained.

319. Let us be careful to take just ways to compass just things, that they may last in their benefits to us.

320. There is a troublesome humour some men have, that if they may not lead, they will not follow; but had rather a thing were never done, than not done their own way, though otherwise very desirable.

321. This comes of an over-fulness of ourselves, and shows we are more concerned for praise, than the success of what we think a good thing.

Popularity.

322. Affect not to be seen, and men will less see thy weakness.

323. They that show more than they are, raise an expectation they cannot answer; and so lose their credit, as soon as they are found out.

324. Avoid popularity. It has many snares, and no real benefit to thyself; and uncertainty to others.

Privacy.

325. Remember the proverb, *Benè qui latuit, benè vixit*: They are happy, that live retiredly.

326. If this be true, princes and their grandees, of all men, are the unhappiest: for they live least alone: and they that must be enjoyed by every body, can never enjoy themselves as they should.

327. It is the advantage little men have upon them; they can be private, and have leisure for family comforts, which are the greatest worldly contents men can enjoy.

328. But they that place pleasure in greatness, seek it there: and, we see, rule is as much the ambition of some natures, as privacy is the choice of others.

Government.

329. Government has many shapes: but it is sovereignty, though not freedom, in all of them.

330. *Rex & tyrannus*, are very different characters: one rules his people by laws, to which they consent; the other, by his absolute will and power. That is called freedom; this, tyranny.

331. The first is endangered by the ambition of the populace, which shakes the constitution: the other, by an ill administration, which hazards the tyrant and his family.

332. It is great wisdom, in princes of both sorts, not to strain points too high with their people: for whether the people have a right to oppose them or not, they are ever sure to attempt it, when things are carried too far: though the remedy oftentimes proves worse than the disease.

333. Happy that king who is great by justice, and that people who are free by obedience.

334. Where the ruler is just, he may be strict; else it is two to one it turns upon him: and though he should prevail, he can be no gainer, where his people are the losers.

335. Princes must not have passions in government, nor resent beyond interest and religion.

336. Where example keeps pace with authority, power hardly fails to be obeyed, and magistrates to be honoured.

337. Let the people think they govern, and they will be governed.

338. This cannot fail, if those they trust, are trusted.

339. That prince who is just to them in great things, and humours them oftentimes in small ones, is sure to have and keep them from all the world.

340. For the people is the politic wife of the prince, that may be better managed by wisdom, than ruled by force.

341. But where the magistrate is partial, and serves ill turns, he loses his authority with the people; and gives the populace opportunity to gratify their ambition: and so lays a stumbling-block for his people to fall.

342. It is true, that where a subject is more popular than the prince, the prince is in danger: but it is as true, that it is his own fault: for nobody has the like means, interest or reason, to be popular as he.

343. It is an unaccountable thing, that some princes incline rather to be feared than loved; when they see that fear does not oftener secure a prince against the dissatisfaction of his people, than love makes a subject too many for such a prince.

344. Certainly service upon inclination, is like to go farther, than obedience upon compulsion.

345. The Romans had a just sense of this, when they placed *optimus* before *maximus*, to their most illustrious captains and Cæsars.

346. Besides, experience tells us, that goodness raises a nobler passion in the soul, and gives a better sense of duty, than severity.

347. What did Pharaoh get by increasing the Israelites' task? Ruin to himself in the end.

348. Kings, chiefly in this, should imitate God: their mercy should be above all their works.

349. The difference between the prince and the peasant, is in this world: but a temper ought to be observed by him that has the advantage here, because of the judgment of the next.

350. The end of every thing should direct the means: now that of government being the good of the whole, nothing less should be the aim of the prince.

351. As often as rulers endeavour to attain just ends by just mediums, they are sure of a quiet and easy government; and as sure of convulsions, where the natures of things are violated, and their order over-ruled.

352. It is certain, princes ought to have great allowances made them for faults in government; since they see by other people's eyes, and hear by their ears. But ministers of state, their immediate confidents and instruments, have much to answer for, if, to gratify private passions, they misguide the prince to do public injury.

353. Ministers of state should undertake their posts at their peril. If princes over-rule them, let them show the law, and humbly resign: if fear, gain, or flattery prevail, let them answer it to the law.

354. The prince cannot be preserved, but where the minister is punishable: for people, as well as princes, will not endure *imperium in imperio.*

355. If ministers are weak or ill men, and so spoil their places, it is the prince's fault that chose them: but if their places spoil them, it is their own fault to be made worse by them.

356. It is but just that those that reign by their princes, should suffer for their princes: for it is a safe and necessary maxim, not to shift heads in government, while the hands are in being that should answer for them.

357. And yet it were intolerable to be a minister of state, if every body may be accuser and judge.

358. Let, therefore, the false accuser no more escape an exemplary punishment, than the guilty minister.

359. For it profanes government to have the credit of the leading men in it subject to a vulgar censure; which is often ill-grounded.

360. The safety of a prince, therefore, consists in a well-chosen council: and that only can be said to be so, where the persons that compose it are qualified for the business that comes before them.

261. Who would send to a tailor to make a lock? or to a smith to make a suit of clothes?

362. Let there be merchants for trade, seamen for the admiralty, travellers for foreign affairs, some of the leading men of the country for home-business, and common and civil lawyers to advise of legality and right: who should always keep to the strict rules of law.

363. Three things contribute much to ruin government: looseness, oppression, and envy.

364. Where the reins of government are too slack, there the manners of the people are corrupted: and that destroys

industry, begets effeminacy, and provokes heaven against it.

365. Oppression makes a poor country, and a desperate people, who always wait an opportunity to change.

366. "He that ruleth over men, must be just, ruling in the fear of God," said an old and wise king.

267. Envy disturbs and distracts government, clogs the wheels, and perplexes the administration: and nothing contributes more to this disorder, than a partial distribution of rewards and punishments in the sovereign.

368. As it is not reasonable that men should be compelled to serve; so those that have employments should not be endured to leave them humourously.

369. Where the state intends a man no affront, he should not affront the state.

A Private Life.

370. A private life is to be preferred; the honour and gain of public posts bearing no proportion with the comfort of it. The one is free and quiet, the other servile and noisy.

371. It was a great answer of the Shunamite woman "I dwell among my own people."

372. They that live of their own, neither need, nor often list, to wear the livery of the public.

373. Their subsistence is not during pleasure, nor have they patrons to please or present.

374. If they are not advanced, neither can they be disgraced. And as they know not the smiles of majesty, so they feel not the frowns of greatness, or the effects of envy.

375. If they want the pleasures of a court, they also escape the temptations of it.

376. Private men, in fine, are so much their own, that, paying common dues, they are sovereigns of all the rest.

A Public Life.

377. Yet the public must and will be served; and they that do it well, deserve public marks of honour and respect.

378. To do so, men must have public minds, as well as salaries; or they will serve private ends at the public cost.

379. Government can never be well administered, but where those intrusted make conscience of well discharging their places.

Qualifications.

380. Five things are requisite to a good officer; ability, clean hands, dispatch, patience, and impartiality.

Capacity.

381. He that understands not his employment, whatever else he knows, must be unfit for it; and the public suffer by his inexpertness.

382. They that are able, should be just too; or the government may be the worse for their capacity.

Clean Hands.

383. Covetousness in such men prompts them to prostitute the public for gain.

384. The taking of a bribe or gratuity, should be punished with as severe penalties as the defrauding of the state.

385. Let men have sufficient salaries, and exceed them at their peril.

386. It is a dishonour to government, that its officers should live of benevolence; as it ought to be infamous for officers to dishonour the public, by being twice paid for the same business.

387. But to be paid, and not do business, is rank oppression.

Dispatch.

388. Dispatch is a great and good quality in an officer; where duty, not gain, excites it. But of this too many make their private market, and overplus to their wages. Thus the salary is for doing, and the bribe for dispatching the business: as if business could be done before it were dispatched: or they were to be paid apart, one by the government, the other by the party.

389. Dispatch is as much the duty of an officer, as doing; and very much the honour of the government he serves.

390. Delays have been more injurious than direct injustice.

391. They too often starve those they dare not deny.

392. The very winner is made a loser, because he pays twice for his own; like those that purchase estates mortgaged before to the full value.

393. Our law says well, 'To delay justice, is injustice.'

394. Not to have a right, and not to come at it, differs little.

395. Refusal, or dispatch, is the duty and wisdom of a good officer.

Patience.

396. Patience is a virtue every where; but it shines with greatest lustre in the men of government.

397. Some are so proud or testy, they will not hear what they should redress.

398. Others so weak, they sink, or burst, under the weight of their office, though they can lightly run away with the salary of it.

399. Business can never be well done, that is not well understood: which cannot be, without patience.

400. It is cruelty, indeed, not to give the unhappy an hearing, whom we ought to help: but it is the top of oppression, to brow-beat the humble and modest miserable, when they seek relief.

401. Some, it is true, are unreasonable in their desires and hopes: but then we should inform, not rail at and reject them.

402. It is therefore as great an instance of wisdom, as a man in business can give, to be patient under the impertinences and contradictions that attend it.

403. Method goes far to prevent trouble in business: for it makes the task easy, hinders confusion, saves abundance of time, and instructs those that have business depending, what to do, and what to hope.

Impartiality.

404. Impartiality, though it be the last, is not the least part of the character of a good magistrate.

405. It is noted as a fault, in holy writ, even to regard the poor in judgment: how much more the rich?

406. If our compassions must not sway us; less should our fears, profits, or prejudices.

407. Justice is justly represented blind, because she sees no difference in the parties concerned

408. She has but one scale and weight, for rich and poor, great and small.

409. Her sentence is not guided by the person, but the cause.

410. The impartial judge, in judgment, knows nothing but the law: the prince, no more than the peasant; his kindred, than a stranger. Nay, his enemy is sure to be upon equal terms with his friend, when he is upon the bench.

411. Impartiality is the life of justice, as that is of government.

412. Nor is it only a benefit to the state, for private families cannot subsist comfortably without it.

413. Parents that are partial, are ill obeyed by their children; and partial masters not better served by their servants.

414. Partiality is always indirect, if not dishonest: for it

shows a bias, where reason would have none; if not an injury, which justice every where forbids.

415. As it makes favourites without reason, so it uses no reason in judging of actions: confirming the proverb, 'The crow thinks her own bird the fairest.'

416. What some see to be no fault in one, they will have criminal in another.

417. Nay, how ugly do our failings look to us in the persons of others; which yet we see not in ourselves.

418. And but too common it is, for some people not to know their own maxims and principles in the mouths of other men, when they give occasion to use them.

419. Partiality corrupts our judgment of persons and things, of ourselves and others.

420. It contributes more than any thing to factions in the government, and feuds in families.

421. It is a prodigal passion, that seldom returns till it is hunger-bit, and disappointments bring it within bounds.

422. And yet we may be indifferent, to a fault.

Indifferency.

423. Indifference is good in judgment, but bad in relation, and stark naught in religion.

424. And even in judgment, our indifferency must be to the persons, not causes; for none, to be sure, is right.

Neutrality.

425. Neutrality is something else than indifferency: and yet of kin to it too.

426. A judge ought to be indifferent; and yet he cannot be said to be neutral.

427. The one being to be even in judgment, and the other not to meddle at all.

428. And where it is lawful, to be sure, it is best to be neutral.

429. He that espouses parties, can hardly divorce himself from their fate; and more fall with their party, than rise with it.

430. A wise neuter joins with neither; but uses both, as his honest interest leads him.

431. A neuter only has room to be a peace-maker: for being of neither side, he has the means of mediating a reconciliation of both.

A Party.

432. And yet where right or religion gives a call, a neuter must be a coward or an hypocrite.

433. In such cases, we should never be backward; nor yet mistaken.

434. When our right or religion is in question, then is the fittest time to assert it.

435. Nor must we always be neutral, where our neighbour is concerned: for though meddling is a fault, helping is a duty.

436. We have a call to do good, as often as we have the power and occasion.

437. If heathens could say, 'We are not born for ourselves;' surely Christians should practise it.

438. They are taught so by his example, as well as doctrine, from whom they have borrowed their name.

Ostentation.

439. Do what good thou canst unknown; and be not vain of what ought rather to be felt than seen.

440. The humble, in the parable of the day of judgment, forgot their good works, "Lord, when did we so and so?"

441. He that does good, for good's sake, seeks neither praise nor reward, though sure of both at last.

Complete Virtue.

442. Content not thyself that thou art virtuous in the general: for one link being wanting, the chain is defective.

443. Perhaps thou art rather innocent than virtuous, and owest more to thy constitution, than thy religion.

444. Innocent, is not to be guilty: but virtuous, is to overcome our evil inclinations.

445. If thou hast not conquered thyself in that which is thy own particular weakness, thou hast no title to virtue, though thou art free of other men's.

446. For a covetous man to inveigh against prodigality, an atheist against idolatry, a tyrant against rebellion, or a liar against forgery, and a drunkard against intemperance, is for the pot to call the kettle black.

447. Such reproof would have but little success; because it would carry but little authority with it.

448. If thou wouldst conquer thy weakness, thou must never gratify it.

449. No man is compelled to evil; his consent only makes it his.

450. It is no sin to be tempted, but to be overcome.

451. What man, in his right mind, would conspire his own hurt? Men are beside themselves, when they transgress their convictions.

452. If thou wouldst not sin, do not desire; and if thou wouldst not lust, do not embrace the temptation: no, not look at it, nor think of it.

453. Thou wouldst take much pains to save thy body: take some, prithee, to save thy soul.

Religion.

454. Religion is the fear of God, and its demonstration, good works; and faith is the root of both: "For without faith we cannot please God," nor can we fear what we do not believe.

455. The devils also believe and know abundance: but in this is the difference, their faith works not by love, nor their knowledge by obedience; and therefore they are never the better for them. And if ours be such, we shall be of their church, not of Christ's: for as the head is, so must the body be.

456 He was holy, humble, harmless, meek, merciful, &c. when among us; to teach us what we should be, when he was gone: and yet he is among us still, and in us too, a living and perpetual preacher of the same grace, by his spirit in our consciences.

457. A minister of the gospel ought to be one of Christ's making, if he would pass for one of Christ's ministers.

458. And if he be one of his making, he knows and does, as well as believes.

459. That minister, whose life is not the model of his doctrine, is a babbler rather than a preacher, a quack rather than a physician of value.

460. Of old time, they were made ministers by the Holy Ghost: and the more that is an ingredient now, the fitter they are for that work.

461. Running streams are not so apt to corrupt; nor itinerant, as settled preachers: but they are not to run before they are sent.

462. As they freely receive from Christ, so they give.

463. They will not make that a trade, which they know ought not, in conscience, to be one.

464. Yet there is no fear of their living, that design not to live by it.

465. The humble and true teacher meets with more than he expects.

466. He accounts content with godliness great gain, and therefore seeks not to make a gain of godliness.

467. As the ministers of Christ are made by him, and are like him, so they beget people into the same likeness.

468. To be like Christ, then, is to be a Christian. And

regeneration is the only way to the kingdom of God, which we pray for.

469. Let us to-day, therefore, hear his voice, and not harden our hearts; who speaks to us many ways. In the scriptures, in our hearts, by his servants, and providences; and the sum of all is holiness and charity.

470. St. James gives a short draught of the matter, but very full and reaching, "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father, is this, to visit the fatherless and the widows in their affliction, and to keep themselves unspotted from the world." Which is comprized in these two words, charity and piety.

471. They that truly make these their aim, will find them their attainment; and with them, the peace that follows so excellent a condition.

472. Amuse not thyself, therefore, with the numerous opinions of the world, nor value thyself upon verbal orthodoxy, philosophy, or thy skill in tongues, or knowledge of the fathers; (too much the business and vanity of the world) but in this rejoice, "That thou knowest God, that is the Lord, who exerciseth loving kindness, and judgment, and righteousness in the earth."

473. Public worship is very commendable, if well performed. We owe it to God and good example. But we must know, that God is not tied to time or place, who is everywhere at the same time: and this we shall know, as far as we are capable, if wherever we are, our desires are to be with him.

474. Serving God, people generally confine to the acts of public and private worship: and those the more zealous do often repeat, in hopes of acceptance.

475. But if we consider that God is an infinite spirit, and, as such, every-where; and that our Saviour has taught us, that he will be worshipped in spirit and in truth; we shall see the shortness of such a notion.

476. For serving God concerns the frame of our spirits, in the whole course of our lives; in every occasion we have, in which we may show our love to his law.

477. For as men in battle are continually in the way of shot, so we, in this world, are ever within the reach of temptation: and herein do we serve God, if we avoid what we are forbid, as well as do what he commands.

478. God is better served in resisting a temptation to evil, than in many formal prayers.

479. This is but twice or thrice a day: but that every hour and moment of the day. So much more is our continual watch, than our evening and morning devotion.

480. Wouldst thou, then, serve God? Do not that alone, which thou wouldst not that another shouldst see thee do.

481. Do not take God's name in vain, or disobey thy parents, or wrong thy neighbour, or commit adultery, even in thine heart.

482. Neither be vain, lascivious, proud, drunken, revengeful, or angry: nor lie, detract, backbite, over-reach, oppress, deceive, or betray; but watch vigorously against all temptations to these things; as knowing that God is present, the overseer of all thy ways and most inward thoughts, and the avenger of his own law upon the disobedient, and thou wilt acceptably serve God.

483. Is it not reason, if we expect the acknowledgments of those to whom we are bountiful, that we should reverently pay ours to God, our most munificent and constant benefactor?

484. The world represents a rare and sumptuous palace; mankind, the great family in it; and God, the mighty Lord and Master of it.

485. We are all sensible what a stately seat it is; the heavens adorned with so many glorious luminaries; and the earth with groves, plains, valleys, hills, fountains, ponds, lakes, and rivers; and variety of fruits, and creatures for food, pleasure, and profit. In short, how noble an house he keeps, and the plenty, and variety, and excellency of his table: his orders, seasons, and suitableness of every time and thing. But we must be as sensible, or at least ought to be, what careless and idle servants we are, and how short and disproportionable our behaviour is to his bounty and goodness: how long he bears, how often he reprieves and forgives us: who, notwithstanding our breach of promises, and repeated neglects, has not yet been provoked to break up house, and send us to shift for ourselves. Should not this great goodness raise a due sense in us of our undutifulness, and a resolution to alter our course, and mend our manners; that we may be for the future more worthy communicants at our Master's good and great table? Especially since it is not more certain that we deserve his displeasure, than that we shall feel it, if we continue to be unprofitable servants.

486. But though God has replenished this world with abundance of good things for man's life and comfort, yet they are all but imperfect goods. He only is the perfect good to whom they point. But, alas! men cannot see him for them; though they should always see him in them.

487. I have often wondered at the unaccountableness of man in this, among other things; that though he loves

changes so well, he should care so little to hear or think of his last, great, and best change too, if he pleases.

488. Being, as to our bodies, composed of changeable elements, we, with the world, are made up of and subsist by revolution: but our souls being of another and nobler nature, we should seek our rest in a more enduring habitation.

489. The truest end of life, is to know the life that never ends.

490. He that makes this his care, will find it his crown at last.

491. Life, else, were a misery, rather than a pleasure; a judgment, not a blessing.

492. For to know, regret, and resent; to desire, hope, and fear more than a beast, and not live beyond him, is to make a man less than a beast.

493. It is the amends of a short and troublesome life, that doing well, and suffering ill, entitles man to one longer and better.

494. This ever raises the good man's hope, and gives him tastes beyond the other world.

495. As it is his aim, so none else can hit the mark.

496. Many make it their speculation, but it is the good man's practice.

497. His work keeps pace with his life, and so leaves nothing to be done when he dies.

498. And he that lives to live for ever, never fears dying.

499. Nor can the means be terrible to him, that heartily believes the end.

500. For though death be a dark passage, it leads to immortality; and that is recompense enough for suffering of it.

501. And yet faith lights us, even through the grave; being the evidence of things not seen.

502. And this it the comfort of the good, that the grave cannot hold them, and that they live as soon as they die.

503. For death is no more than a turning of us over from time to eternity.

504. Nor can there be a revolution without it; for it supposes the dissolution of one form, in order to the succession of another.

505. Death, then, being the way and condition of life, we cannot love to live, if we cannot bear to die.

506. Let us, then, not cozen ourselves with the shells and husks of things; nor prefer form to power, nor shadows to substance: pictures of bread will not satisfy hunger, nor those of devotion please God.

507. This world is a form; our bodies are forms; and no visible acts of devotion can be without forms. But yet the less form in religion the better, since God is a Spirit: for the more mental our worship, the more adequate to the nature of God; the more silent, the more suitable to the language of a spirit.

508. Words are for others, not for ourselves: nor for God, who hears not as bodies do, but as spirits should.

509. If we would know this dialect, we must learn of the divine principle in us. As we hear the dictates of that, so God hears us.

510. There we may see him, too, in all his attributes; though but in little, yet as much as we can apprehend or bear: for as he is in himself, he is incomprehensible, and "dwelleth in that light no eye can approach." But in his image we may behold his glory; enough to exalt our apprehensions of God, and to instruct us in that worship which pleaseth him.

511. Men may tire themselves in a labyrinth of search, and talk of God; but if we would know him indeed, it must be from the impressions we receive of him; and the softer our hearts are, the deeper and livelier those will be upon us.

512. If he has made us sensible of his justice, by his reproof; of his patience, by his forbearance; of his mercy, by his forgiveness; of his holiness, by the sanctification of our hearts through his Spirit; we have a grounded knowledge of God. This is experience, that speculation; this enjoyment, that report. In short, this is undeniable evidence, with the realities of religion, and will stand all winds and weathers.

513. As our faith, so our devotion, should be lively. Cold meat will not serve at those repasts.

514. It is a coal from God's altar must kindle our fire: and without fire, true fire, no acceptable sacrifice.

515. "Open thou my lips, and then," said the royal prophet, "my mouth shall praise God." But not till then.

516. The preparation of the heart, as well as answer of the tongue, is of the Lord: and to have it, our prayers must be powerful, and our worship grateful.

517. Let us choose, therefore, to commune where there is the warmest sense of religion; where devotion exceeds formality, and practice most corresponds with profession: and where there is, at least, as much charity as zeal: for where this society is to be found, there shall we find the church of God.

518. As good, so ill men, are all of a church; and every body knows who must be head of it.

519. The humble, meek, merciful, just, pious, and devout souls, are every where of one religion; and when death has taken off the mask, they will know one another, though the diverse liveries they wear here, make them strangers.

520. Great allowances are to be made for education and personal weaknesses: but it is a rule with me, that man is truly religious, that loves the persuasion he is of for the piety, rather than the ceremony of it.

521. They that have one end, can hardly disagree when they meet. At least their concern in the greater, moderates their value and difference about the lesser things.

522. It is a sad reflection, that many men hardly have any religion at all; and most men have none of their own: for that which is the religion of their education, and not of their judgment, is the religion of another and not theirs.

523. To have religion upon authority, and not upon conviction, is like a finger-watch, to be set forwards or backwards, as he pleases that has it in keeping.

524. It is a preposterous thing, that men can venture their souls, where they will not venture their money: for they will take their religion upon trust, but not trust a synod about the goodness of half a crown.

525. They will follow their own judgment when their money is concerned, whatever they do for their souls.

526. But, to be sure, that religion cannot be right, that a man is the worse for having.

527. No religion, is better than an unnatural one.

528. Grace perfects, but never sours or spoils nature.

529. To be unnatural in defence of grace, is a contradiction.

530. Hardly any thing looks worse, than to defend religion by ways that show it has no credit with us.

531. A devout man is one thing, a stickler is quite another.

532. When our minds exceed their just bounds, we must needs discredit what we would recommend.

533. To be furious in religion, is to be irreligiously religious.

534. If he, that is without bowels, is not a man; how, then, can he be a Christian.

535. It were better to be of no church, than to be bitter for any.

536. Bitterness comes very near to enmity, and that is Beelzebub; because the perfection of wickedness.

537. A good end cannot sanctify evil means; nor must we ever do evil, that good may come of it.

538. Some folk think they may scold, rail, hate, rob, and kill too; so it be but for God's sake.

539. But nothing in us, unlike him, can please him.

540. It is as great presumption to send our passions upon God's errands, as it is to palliate them with God's name.

541. Zeal dropt in charity, is good; without it, good for nothing: for it devours all it comes near.

542. They must first judge themselves, that presume to censure others: and such will not be apt to overshoot the mark.

543. We are too ready to retaliate, rather than forgive, or gain by love and information.

544. And yet we could hurt no man that we believe loves us.

545. Let us, then, try what love will do: for if men do once see we love them, we should soon find they would not harm us.

546. Force may subdue, but love gains: and he that forgives first, wins the laurel.

547. If I am even with my enemy, the debt is paid: but if I forgive it, I oblige him for ever.

548. Love is the hardest lesson in Christianity; but, for that reason, it should be most our care to learn it. *Difficilia quæ pulchra.*

549. It is a severe rebuke upon us, that God makes us so many allowances, and we make so few to our neighbour: as if charity had nothing to do with religion; or love with faith, that ought to work by it.

550. I find all sorts of people agree, whatsoever were their animosities, when humbled by the approaches of death: then they forgive, then they pray for, and love one another: which shows us, that it is not our reason, but our passion, that makes and holds up the feuds that reign among men in their health and fullnes. They therefore, that live nearest to that which they should die, must certainly live best.

551. Did we believe a final reckoning and judgment, or did we think enough of what we do believe, we would allow more love in religion than we do; since religion itself is nothing else but love to God and man.

552. "He that lives in love, lives in God," says the beloved disciple: and, to be sure, a man can live nowhere better.

553. It is most reasonable men should value that benefit which is most durable. Now tongues shall cease, and pro-

phecy fail, and faith shall be consummated in sight, and hope in enjoyment; but love remains.

554. Love is indeed heaven upon earth; since heaven above would not be heaven without it: for where there is not love, there is fear: but "perfect love casts out fear," And yet we naturally fear most to offend what we most love.

555. What we love, we will hear; what we love, we will trust; and what we love, we will serve, aye, and suffer for too. "If you love me," says our blessed Redeemer, "keep my commandments." Why? Why then he will love us; then we shall be his friends; then he will send us the Comforter; then whatever we ask, we shall receive; and then, where he is, we shall be also, and that for ever. Behold the fruits of love, the power, virtue, benefit and beauty of love!

556. Love is above all; and when it prevails in us all, we shall all be lovely, and in love with God, and one with another. Amen.

MORE

FRUITS OF SOLITUDE:

BEING

THE SECOND PART

OF

REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS

ON THE

CONDUCT OF HUMAN LIFE.

The Introduction to the Reader.

THE title of this treatise shows there was a former of the same nature; and the author hopes he runs no hazard in recommending both to his reader's perusal.

He is well aware of the low reckoning the labours of indifferent authors are under, at a time when hardly any thing passes for current, that is not calculated to flatter the sharpness of contending parties. He is also sensible, that books grow a very drug, where they cannot raise and support their credit by their own usefulness; and how far this will be able to do it, he knows not; yet he thinks himself tolerably safe in making it public, in three respects.

First, That the purchase is small, and the time but little, that is requisite to read it.

Next, Though some men should not find it relished high enough for their finer wits, or warmer palates, it may not perhaps be useless to those of lower flights, and who are less engaged in public heats.

Lastly, The author honestly aims at as general a benefit as the thing will bear: to youth especially, whether he hits the mark or not, and that without the least ostentation, or any private regards.

Let not envy misinterpret his intention, and he will be accountable for all other faults.

PART II.

The Right Moralist.

1. A RIGHT moralist is a great and good man; but for that reason, he is rarely to be found.

2. There are a sort of people that are fond of the character, who, in my opinion, have but little title to it.

3. They think it enough, not to defraud a man of his pay, or betray his friend; but never consider, that the law forbids the one at his peril, and that virtue is seldom the reason of the other.

4. But certainly he that covets, can no more be a moral man, than he that steals; since he does so in his mind. Nor can he be one that robs his neighbour of his credit, or that craftily undermines him of his trade or office.

5. If a man pays his tailor, but debauches his wife, is he a current moralist?

6. But what shall we say of the man that rebels against his father, is an ill husband, or an abusive neighbour; one that is lavish of his time, of his health, and of his estate, in which his family is so nearly concerned? Must he go for a right moralist, because he pays his rent well?

7. I would ask some of those men of morals, Whether he that robs God and himself too, though he should not defraud his neighbour, be the moral man?

8. Do I owe myself nothing? And do I not owe all to God? And if paying what we owe make the moral man, is it not fit we should begin to render our dues where we owe our very beginning; aye, our all?

9 The complete moralist begins with God; he gives him his due, his heart, his love, his service; the bountiful giver of his well-being, as well as being.

10. He that lives without a sense of this dependency and obligation, cannot be a moral man, because he does not know his returns of love and obedience, as becomes an honest and a sensible creature: which very term implies he is not his own; and it cannot be very honest to misemploy another's goods.

11. But how can there be no debt, but to a fellow-creature? Or, will our exactness in paying those dribbling ones, while we neglect our weightier obligations, cancel the bonds we lie under, and render us right and thorough moralists?

12. As judgments are paid before bonds, and bonds before bills or book-debts; so the moralist considers his obligations according to their several dignities.

In the first place, him to whom he owes himself. Next, himself, in his health and livelihood. Lastly, his other obligations, whether rational or pecuniary; doing to others, to the extent of his ability, as he would have them do unto him.

13. In short, the moral man is he that loves God above all, and his neighbour as himself, which fulfils both tables at once.

The World's Able Man.

14. It is by some thought the character of an able man, to be dark, and not understood. But I am sure that is not fair play.

15. If he be so by silence, it is better: but if by disguises, it is insincere and hateful.

16. Secrecy is one thing; false lights are another.

17. The honest man, that is rather free than open, is ever to be preferred; especially when sense is at helm.

18. The glorying of the other humour, is in a vice: for it is not human to be cold, dark, and unconversable. I was going to say, they are like pickpockets in a crowd, where a man must ever have his hand on his purse; or as spies in a garrison, that, if not prevented, betray it.

19. They are the reverse of human nature: and yet this is the present world's wise man and politician: excellent qualities for Lapland! where, they say, witches, though not many conjurors, dwell.

20. Like highwaymen, that rarely rob without vizards, or in the same wigs and clothes, but have a dress for every enterprize.

21. At best, he may be a cunning-man, which is a sort of lurcher in politics.

22. He is never too hard for the wise man upon the square; for that is out of his element, and puts him quite by his skill. Nor are wise men ever catched by him, but when they trust him.

23. But as cold and close as he seems, he can and will please all, if he gets by it: though it should neither please God nor himself at bottom.

24. He is for every cause that brings him gain: but implacable, if disappointed of success.

25. And what he cannot hinder, he will be sure to spoil, by over-doing it.

26. None so zealous then as he, for that which he cannot abide.

27. What is it he will not, or cannot do, to hide his true sentiments!

28. For his interest, he refuses no side or party; and will take the wrong by the hand, when the other will not do, with as good a grace as the right.

29. Nay, he commonly chooses the worst, because that brings the best bribe: his cause being ever money.

30. He sails with all winds, and is never out of his way, where any thing is to be had.

31. A privateer, indeed; and every-where a bird of prey.

32. True to nothing, but himself, and safe to all persons and parties, to serve his own turn.

33. Talk with him as often as you please, he will never pay you in good coin; for it is either false or clipped.

34. But to give a false reason for any thing, let my reader never learn of him, no more than to give a brass half-crown for a good one: not only because it is not true, but because it deceives the person to whom it is given; which I take to be an immorality.

35. Silence is much more preferable; for it saves the secret, as well as the person's honour.

36. Such as give themselves the latitude of saying what they do not mean, come to be errant-jockeys at more things than one: but in religion and politics, it is pernicious.

37. To hear two men talk the reverse of their own sentiments, with all the good-breeding and appearance of friendship imaginable, on purpose to cozen or pump each other, is, to a man of virtue and honour, one of the melancholiest, as well as most nauseous things in the world.

38. But that it should be the character of an able man, is to disinherit wisdom, and paint out our degeneracy to the life, by setting up fraud, an errant impostor, in her room.

39. The trial of skill between these two is, who shall believe least of what the other says: and he that has the weakness, or good-nature, to give out first, (viz. to believe any thing the other says) is looked upon to be tricked.

40. I cannot see the policy, any more than the necessity, of a man's mind always giving the lie to his mouth; or his mouth ever giving false alarms of his mind: for no man can be long believed, that teaches all men to distrust him: and since the ablest have sometimes need of credit, where lies the advantage of their politic cant or banter upon mankind?

41. I remember a passage of one of queen Elizabeth's great men, as advice to his friend: 'The advantage,' says he, 'I had upon others at court, was, that I always spoke as I thought; which being not believed by them, I both pre-

served a good conscience, and suffered no damage from that freedom:' which, as it shows the vice to be older than our times, so that gallant man's integrity to be the best way of avoiding it.

42. To be sure it is wise, as well as honest, neither to flatter other men's sentiments, nor dissemble, and less contradict, our own.

43. To hold one's tongue, or speak truth, or talk only of indifferent things, is the fairest conversation.

44. Women that rarely go abroad without vizard masks, have none of the best reputation. But when we consider, what all this art and disguise are for, it equally heightens the wise man's wonder and aversion: perhaps it is to betray a father, a brother, a master, a friend, a neighbour, or one's own party.

45. A fine conquest! what noble Grecians and Romans abhorred: as if government could not subsist without knavery, and that knaves were the usefullest props to it; though the basest, as well as greatest, perversions of the ends of it.

46. But that is should become a maxim, shows but too grossly the corruptions of the times.

47. I confess I have heard the style of, an useful knave, but ever took it to be a silly or a knavish saying; at least an excuse for knavery.

48. It is as reasonable to think a whore makes the best wife, as a knave the best officer.

49. Besides, employing knaves encourages knavery, instead of punishing it; and alienates the reward of virtue. Or, at least, must make the world believe the country yields not honest men enough, able to serve her.

50. Art thou a magistrate? Prefer such as have clean characters where they live; and of estates, to secure a just discharge of their trusts; that are under no temptation to strain points for a fortune: for sometimes such may be found, sooner than they are employed.

51. Art thou a private man? Contract thy acquaintance in a narrow compass, and choose those for the subjects of it, that are men of principles; such as will make full stops, where honour will not lead them on; and that had rather bear the disgrace of not being thorough-paced men, than forfeit their peace and reputation by a base compliance.

The Wise Man.

52. The wise man governs himself by the reason of his case, and because what he does is best: best, in a moral and prudent, not a sinister sense.

53. He proposes just ends, and employs the fairest and probablest means and methods to attain them.

54. Though you cannot always penetrate his design, or his reasons for it, yet you shall ever see his actions of a piece, and his performances like a workman: they will bear the touch of wisdom and honour, as often as they are tried.

55. He scorns to serve himself by indirect means, or to be an interloper in government; since just enterprizes never want any unjust ways to succeed them.

56. To do evil, that good may come of it, is for bunglers, in politics as well as morals.

57. Like those surgeons, that will cut off an arm they cannot cure, to hide their ignorance and save their credit.

58. The wise man is cautious, but not cunning; judicious, but not crafty; making virtue the measure of using his excellent understanding in the conduct of his life.

59. The wise man is equal, ready, but not officious; has in every thing an eye to sure-footing: he offends no body, nor easily is offended; and always willing to compound for wrongs, if not forgive them.

60. He is never captious, nor critical; hates banter and jests; he may be pleasant, but not light; he never deals but in substantial ware, and leaves the rest for the toy-pates, (or shops) of the world; which are so far from being his business, that they are not so much as his diversion.

61. He is always for some solid good, civil or moral: as, to make his country more virtuous; preserve her peace and liberty; employ her poor; improve land; advance trade; suppress vice; encourage industry, and all mechanic knowledge; and that they should be the care of the government, and the blessing and praise of the people.

62. To conclude, he is just, and fears God, hates covetousness, and eschews evil, and loves his neighbour as himself.

Of the Government of Thoughts.

63. Man being made a reasonable and so a thinking creature; there is nothing more worthy of his being, than the right direction and employment of his thoughts; since upon this depends both his usefulness to the public, and his own present and future benefit, in all respects.

64. The consideration of this, has often obliged me to lament the unhappiness of mankind, that, through too great a mixture and confusion of thoughts, have been hardly able to make a right or mature judgment of things.

65. To this is owing the various uncertainty and confusion we see in the world, and the intemperate zeal that occasions them.

66. To this, also, is to be attributed the imperfect knowledge we have of things, and the slow progress we make in attaining to a better: like the children of Israel, that were forty years upon their journey, from Egypt to Canaan, which might have been performed in less than one.

67. In fine, it is to this we ought to ascribe, if not all, at least most of the infelicities we labour under.

68. Clear, therefore, thy head, and rally and manage thy thoughts rightly, and thou wilt save time, and see and do thy business well; for thy judgment will be distinct, thy mind free, and thy faculties strong and regular.

69. Always remember to bound thy thoughts to the present occasion.

70. If it be thy religious duty, suffer nothing else to share in them. And if any civil or temporal affair, observe the same caution, and thou wilt be a whole man to every thing, and do twice the business in the same time.

71. If any point over-labours thy mind, divert and relieve it by some other subject, of a more sensible or manual nature, rather than what may affect the understanding: for this were to write one thing upon another, which blots out our former impressions, or renders them illegible.

72. They that are least divided in their care, always give the best account of their business.

73. As, therefore, thou art always to pursue the present subject, till thou hast mastered it, so if it fall out that thou hast more affairs than one upon thy hand, be sure to prefer that which is of most moment, and will least wait thy leisure.

74. He that judges not well of the importance of his affairs, though he may be always busy, he must make but a small progress.

75. But make not more business necessary than is so; and rather lessen than augment work for thyself.

76. Nor yet be over-eager in pursuit of any thing; for the mercurial too often happen to leave judgment behind them, and sometimes make work for repentance.

77. He that over-runs his business, leaves it for him that follows more leisurely to take it up; which has often proved a profitable harvest to them that never sowed.

78. It is the advantage that slower tempers have upon the men of lively parts, that though they do not lead, they will follow well, and glean clean.

79. Upon the whole matter, employ thy thoughts as thy business requires, and let that have place according to merit and urgency; giving every thing a review and due digestion, and thou wilt prevent many errors and vexations as well as save much time to thyself, in the course of thy life.

Of Envy.

80. It is the mark of an ill nature, to lessen good actions, and aggravate ill ones.

81. Some men do as much begrudge others a good name, as they want one themselves; and perhaps that is the reason of it.

82. But certainly they are in the wrong, that can think they are lessened, because others have their due.

83. Such people generally have less merit than ambition, that covet the reward of other men's; and, to be sure, a very ill nature, that will rather rob others of their due, than allow them their praise.

84. It is more an error of our will, than our judgment: for we know it to be an effect of our passion, not our reason; and therefore we are the more culpable in our partial estimates.

85. It is as envious as unjust, to under-rate another's actions, where their intrinsic worth recommends them to disengaged minds.

86. Nothing shows more the folly, as well as fraud of man, than clipping of merit and reputation.

87. And as some think it an allay to themselves, that others have their right; so they know no end of pilfering, to raise their own credit.

88. This envy is the child of pride; and mis-gives, rather than mis-takes.

89. It will have charity to be ostentation; sobriety, covetousness; humility, craft; bounty, popularity. In short, virtue must be design, and religion, only interest. Nay, the best of qualities must not pass without a but to allay their merit, and abate their praise. Basest of tempers! and they that have it, the worst of men.

90. But just and noble minds rejoice in other men's success, and help to augment their praise.

91. And, indeed, they are not without a love to virtue, that take a satisfaction in seeing her rewarded; and such deserve to share her character, that do abhor to lessen it.

Of Man's Life.

92. Why is man less durable than the works of his hands, but because this is not the place of his rest?

93. And it is a great and just reproach upon him, that he should fix his mind where he cannot stay himself.

94. Were it not more his wisdom to be concerned about those works that will go with him, and erect a mansion for him, where time has power neither over him nor it?

95. It is a sad thing, for man so often to miss his way to his best, as well as most lasting home.

Of Ambition.

96. They that soar too high, often fall hard; which makes a low and level dwelling preferable.

97. The tallest trees are most in the power of the winds; and ambitious men of the blasts of fortune.

98. They are most seen and observed, and most envied: least quiet, but most talked of, and not often to their advantage.

99. Those builders had need of a good foundation, that lie so much exposed to weather.

100. Good works are a rock, that will support their credit: but ill ones a sandy foundation, that yields to calamities.

101. And truly they ought to expect no pity in their fall, who, when in power, had no bowels for the unhappy.

102. The worst of distempers; always craving and thirsty, restless and hated: a perfect delirium in the mind: insufferable in success, and in disappointments most revengeful.

Of Praise or Applause.

103. We are apt to love praise, but not to deserve it.

104. But if we would deserve it, we must love virtue more than that.

105. As there is no passion in us sooner moved, or more deceivable, so for that reason there is none over which we ought to be more watchful, whether we give or receive it: for if we give it, we must be sure to mean it, and measure it too.

106. If we are penurious, it shows emulation; if we exceed, flattery.

107. Good measure belongs to good actions; more looks nauseous, as well as insincere: besides, it is a persecuting of the meritorious, who are out of countenance to hear, what they deserve.

108. It is much easier for him to merit applause, than hear of it: and he never doubts himself more, or the person that gives it, than when he hears so much of it.

109. But, to say true, there needs not many cautions on this hand; since the world is rarely just enough to the deserving.

110. However, we cannot be too circumspect how we receive praise: for if we contemplate ourselves in a false glass, we are sure to be mistaken about our dues: and because we are too apt to believe what is pleasing, rather than what is true, we may be too easily swelled beyond our just proportion, by the windy compliments of men.

111. Make ever, therefore, allowances for what is said on such occasions; or thou exposest, as well as deceivest thyself.

112. For an over-value of ourselves, gives us but a dangerous security in many respects.

113. We expect more than belongs to us; take all that is given us, though never meant us; and fall out with those that are not as full of us as we are of ourselves.

114. In short, it is a passion that abuses our judgment, and makes us both unsafe and ridiculous.

115. Be not fond, therefore, of praise; but seek virtue, that leads to it.

116. And yet no more lessen or dissemble thy merit, than over-rate it: for though humility be a virtue, an affected one is none.

Of Conduct in Speech.

117. Inquire often, but judge rarely, and thou wilt not often be mistaken.

118. It is safer to learn, than teach; and he who conceals his opinion, has nothing to answer for.

119. Vanity or resentment often engage us, and it is two to one but we come off losers; for one shows a want of judgment and humility, as the other does of temper and discretion.

120. Not that I admire the reserved: for they are next to unnatural that are not communicable. But if reservedness be at any time a virtue, it is in throngs, or ill company.

121. Beware also of affectation in speech; it often wrongs matter, and ever shows a blind side.

122. Speak properly, and in as few words as you can, but always plainly: for the end of speech is not ostentation, but to be understood.

123. They that affect words more than matter, will dry up that little they have.

124. Sense never fails to give them that have it, words enough to make them understood.

125. But it too often happens in some conversations, as in apothecaries' shops, that those pots that are empty, or have things of small value in them, are as gaudily dressed and flourished, as those that are full of precious drugs.

126. This labouring of slight matter with flourished turns of expression, is fulsome; and worse than the modern imitation of tapestry, and East-India goods, in stuffs and linens. In short, it is but tawdry talk, and next to very trash.

Union of Friends.

127. They that love beyond the world, cannot be separated by it.

128. Death cannot kill what never dies.

129. Nor can spirits ever be divided, that love and live in the same divine principle; the root and record of their friendship.

130. If absence be not death, neither is theirs.

131. Death is but crossing the world, as friends do the seas; they live in one another still.

132. For they must needs be present, that love and live in that which is omnipresent.

133. In this divine glass, they see face to face; and their converse is free, as well as pure.

134. This is the comfort of friends, that though they may be said to die, yet their friendship and society are, in the best sense, ever present, because immortal.

Of being easy in Living.

135. It is an happiness to be delivered from a curious mind, as well as from a dainty palate.

136. For it is not only a troublesome but slavish thing to be nice.

137. They narrow their own freedom and comforts, that make that requisite to enjoy them.

138. To be easy in living, is much of the pleasure of life: but difficult tempers will always want it.

139. A careless and homely breeding, is therefore preferable to one nice and delicate.

140. And he that is taught to live upon little, owes more to his father's wisdom, than he that has a great deal left him, does to his father's care.

141. Children cannot well be too hardly bred: for besides that it fits them to bear the roughest providences, it is more masculine, active and healthy.

142. Nay, it is certain, that the liberty of the mind is mightily preserved by it: for so it is served, instead of being a servant, indeed a slave, to sensual delicacies.

143. As nature is soon answered, so are such satisfied.

144. The memory of the ancients is hardly in any thing more to be celebrated; than in a strict and useful institution of youth.

145. By labour they prevented luxury in young people, till wisdom and philosophy had taught them to resist and despise it.

146. It must be therefore a gross fault, to strive so hard

for the pleasure of our bodies, and be so insensible and careless of the freedom of our souls.

Of Man's Inconsiderateness and Partiality.

147. It is very observable, if our civil rights are invaded or encroached upon, we are mightily touched, and fill every place with our resentment and complaint; while we suffer ourselves, our better and nobler selves, to be the property and vassals of sin, the worst of invaders.

148. In vain do we expect to be delivered from such troubles, till we are delivered from the cause of them; our disobedience to God.

149. When he has his dues from us, it will be time enough for him to give us ours out of one another.

150. It is our great happiness, if we could understand it, that we meet with such checks in the career of our worldly enjoyments, lest we should forget the Giver, adore the gift, and terminate our felicity here, which is not man's ultimate bliss.

151. Our losses are often made judgments by our guilt, and mercies by our repentance.

152. Besides, it argues great folly in men, to let their satisfaction exceed the true value of any temporal matter: for disappointments are not always to be measured by the loss of the thing, but the over-value we put upon it.

153. And thus men improve their own miseries, for want of an equal and just estimate of what they enjoy or lose.

154. There lies a proviso upon every thing in this world, and we must observe it at our own peril, viz. To love God above all, and act for judgment, the last I mean.

Of the Rule of Judging.

155. In all things reason should prevail: it is quite another thing to be stiff than steady in opinion.

156. This may be reasonable, but that is ever wilfull.

157. In such cases it always happens, that the clearer the argument, the greater the obstinacy, where the design is, not to be convinced.

158. This is to value humour more than truth, and prefer a sullen pride to a reasonable submission.

159. It is the glory of a man to vail to truth; as it is the mark of a good nature to be easily intreated.

160. Beasts act by sense, man should by reason; else he is a greater beast than ever God made: and the proverb is verified, 'The corruption of the best things is the worst, and most offensive.'

161. A reasonable opinion must ever be in danger, where reason is not judge.

162. Though there is a regard due to education, and the tradition of our fathers, truth will ever deserve, as well as claim, the preference.

163. If, like Theophilus and Timothy, we have been brought up in the knowledge of the best things, it is our advantage: but neither they nor we lose by trying the truth; for so we learn their, as well as its, intrinsic worth.

164. Truth never lost ground by inquiry, because she is, most of all, reasonable.

165. Nor can that need another authority, that is self-evident.

166. If my own reason be on the side of a principle, with what can I dispute or withstand it?

167. And if men would once consider one another reasonably, they would either reconcile their differences, or more amicably maintain them.

168. Let that, therefore, be the standard, that has most to say for itself: though of that let every man be judge for himself.

169. Reason, like the sun, is common to all: and it is for want of examining all by the same light and measure, that we are not all of the same mind: for all have it to that end, though all do not use it so.

Of Formality.

170. Form is good, but not formality.

171. In the use of the best of forms, there is too much of that, I fear.

172. It is absolutely necessary, that this distinction should go along with people in their devotion; for too many are apter to rest upon what they do, than how they do their duty.

173. If it were considered, that it is the frame of the mind that gives our performances acceptance, we would lay more stress on our inward preparation than outward action.

Of the mean Notion we have of God.

174. Nothing more shows the low condition man is fallen into, than the unsuitable notion we must have of God, by the ways we take to please him.

175. As if it availed any thing to him, that we performed so many ceremonies and external forms of devotion: who never meant more by them, than to try our obedience, and, through them, to show us something more excellent and durable beyond them.

176. Doing, while we are undoing, is good for nothing.

177. Of what benefit is it to say our prayers regularly, go to church, receive the sacraments, and may be go to confessions too; aye, feast the priest, and give alms to the poor, and yet lie, swear, curse, be drunk, covetous, unclean, proud, revengeful, vain, and idle, at the same time?

178. Can one excuse or balance the other? Or will God think himself well served, where his law is violated? Or well used, where there is so much more show than substance?

179. It is a most dangerous error, for a man to think to excuse himself in the breach of a moral duty, by a formal performance of positive worship: and less, when of human invention.

180. Our blessed Saviour most rightly and clearly distinguished and determined this case, when he told the Jews, "that they were his mother, his brethren, and sisters, who did the will of his Father."

Of the Benefit of Justice.

181. Justice is a great support of society, because an insurance to all men of their property: this violated, there is no security, which throws all into confusion to recover it.

182. An honest man is a fast pledge in dealing. A man is sure to have it, if it be to be had.

183. Many are so, merely of necessity: others not so, only for the same reason: but such an honest man is not to be thanked; and such a dishonest man is to be pitied.

184. But he that is dishonest for gain, is next to a robber, and to be punished for example.

185. And indeed there are few dealers, but what are faulty; which makes trade difficult, and a great temptation to men of virtue.

186. It is not what they should, but what they can get: faults or decays must be concealed: big words given, where they are not deserved; and the ignorance or necessity of the buyer imposed upon, for unjust profit.

187. These are the men that keep their words for their own ends; and are only just for fear of the magistrate.

188. A politic rather than a moral honesty; a constrained, not a chosen justice: according to the proverb, 'Patience per force, and thank you for nothing.'

189. But of all injustice, that is the greatest, that passes under the name of law. A cut-purse in Westminster-Hall exceeds: for that advances injustice to oppression, where law is alleged for that which it should punish.

Of Jealousy.

190. The jealous are troublesome to others, but a torment to themselves.

191. Jealousy is a kind of civil war in the soul, where judgment and imagination are at perpetual jars.

192. This civil dissention in the mind, like that of the body politic, commits great disorders, and lays all waste.

193. Nothing stands safe in its way: nature, interest, religion, must yield to its fury.

194. It violates contracts, dissolves society, breaks wedlock, betrays friends and neighbours: no body is good, and every one is either doing or designing them a mischief.

195. It has a venom, that more or less wrankles wherever it bites: and as it reports fancies for facts, so it disturbs its own house as often as other folks'.

196. Its rise is guilt or ill-nature; and by reflection it thinks its own faults to be other men's, as he that is overrun with the jaundice takes others to be yellow.

197. A jealous man only sees his own *spectrum*, when he looks upon other men, and gives his character in theirs.

Of State.

198. I love service, but not state: one is useful, the other superfluous.

199. The trouble of this, as well as charge, is real; but the advantage only imaginary.

200. Besides, it helps to set us up above ourselves, and augments our temptation to disorder.

201. The least thing out of joint, or omitted, makes us uneasy; and we are ready to think ourselves ill served, about that which is of no real service at all: or so much better than other men, as we have the means of greater state.

202. But this is all for want of wisdom, which carries the truest and most forcible state along with it.

203. He that makes not himself cheap by indiscreet conversation, puts value enough upon himself everywhere.

204. The other is rather pageantry than state.

Of a good Servant.

205. A true and a good servant are the same thing.

206. But no servant is true to his master, that defrauds him.

207. Now there are many ways of defrauding a master, as, of time, care, pains, respect, and reputation, as well as money.

208. He that neglects his work, robs his master, since he is fed and paid as if he did his best: and he that is not as

diligent in the absence, as in the presence of his master, cannot be a true servant.

209. Nor is he a true servant, that buys dear to share in the profit with the seller.

210. Nor yet he that tells tales without-doors; or deals basely, in his master's name, with other people; or connives at others' loiterings, wastings, or dishonourable reflections.

211. So that a true servant is diligent, secret, and respectful: more tender of his master's honour and interest, than of his own profit.

212. Such a servant deserves well; and, if modest under his merit, should liberally feel it at his master's hand.

Of an Immoderate Pursuit of the World.

213. It shows a depraved state of mind, to cark and care for that which one does not need.

214. Some are as eager to be rich, as ever they were to live: for superfluity as for subsistence.

215. But that plenty should augment covetousness, is a perversion of providence: and yet the generality are the worse for their riches.

216. But it is strange, that old men should excel: for generally money lies nearest them, that are nearest their graves: as if they would augment their love, in proportion to the little time they have left to enjoy it: and yet their pleasure is without enjoyment, since none enjoy what they do not use.

217. So that instead of learning to leave their great wealth easily, they hold the faster, because they must leave it: so sordid is the temper of some men.

218. Where charity keeps pace with gain, industry is blessed: but to slave to get, and keep it sordidly, is a sin against providence, a vice in government, and an injury to their neighbours.

219. Such are they as spend not one-fifth of their income; and, it may be, give not one-tenth of what they spend to the needy.

220. This is the worst sort of idolatry, because there can be no religion in it, nor ignorance pleaded in excuse of it; and that it wrongs other folks, that ought to have a share therein.

Of the Interest of the Public in our Estates.

221. Hardly any thing is given us for ourselves, but the public may claim a share with us. But of all we call ours, we are most accountable to God, and the public, for our

estates: in this we are but stewards; and to hoard up all to ourselves, is great injustice, as well as ingratitude.

222. If all men were so far tenants to the public, that the superfluities of gain and expense were applied to the exigencies thereof, it would put an end to taxes, leave never a beggar, and make the greatest bank for national trade in Europe.

223. It is a judgment upon us, as well as weakness, though we will not see it, to begin at the wrong end.

224. If the taxes we give are not to maintain pride, I am sure there would be less, if pride were made a tax to the government.

225. I confess I have wondered that so many lawful and useful things are excised by laws, and pride left to reign free over them and the public.

226. But since people are more afraid of the laws of man than of God, because their punishment seems to be nearest; I know not how magistrates can be excused in their suffering such excess with impunity.

227. Our noble English patriarchs, as well as patriots, were so sensible of this evil, that they made several excellent laws, commonly called sumptuary, to forbid, at least limit, the pride of the people; which because the execution of them would be our interest and honour, their neglect must be our just reproach and loss.

228. It is but reasonable that the punishment of pride and excess should help to support the government; since it must otherwise inevitably be ruined by them.

229. But some say, 'it ruins trade, and will make the poor burdensome to the public:' but if such trade, in consequence, ruins the kingdom, is it not time to ruin that trade? Is moderation no part of our duty, and temperance an enemy to government?

230. He is a Judas, that will get money by any thing.

231. To wink at a trade that effeminates the people, and invades the ancient discipline of the kingdom, is a crime capital, and to be severely punished, instead of being excused, by the magistrate.

232. Is there no better employment for the poor than luxury? Miserable nation!

233. What did they, before they fell into these forbidden methods? Is there not land enough in England to cultivate, and more and better manufactures to be made?

234. Have we no room for them in our plantations, about things that may augment trade, without luxury?

235. In short, let pride pay, and excess be well excised: and if that will not cure the people, it will help to keep the kingdom.

The Vain Man

236. But a vain man is a nauseous creature: he is so full of himself, that he has no room for any thing else, be it ever so good or deserving.

237. It is I, at every turn, that does this, or can do that. And as he abounds in his comparisons, so he is sure to give himself the better of every body else; according to the proverb, 'All his geese are swans.

238. They are certainly to be pitied, that can be so much mistaken at home.

239. And yet I have sometimes thought, that such people are, in a sort, happy, that nothing can put out of countenance with themselves, though they neither have, nor merit, other people's.

240. But, at the same time, one would wonder they should not feel the blows they give themselves, or get from others, for this intolerable and ridiculous temper, nor show any concern at that, which makes others blush for, as well as at, them; viz. their unreasonable assurance.

241. To be a man's own fool is bad enough; but the vain man is every body's.

242. This silly disposition comes of a mixture of ignorance, confidence, and pride: and as there is more or less of the last, so it is more or less offensive, or entertaining.

243. And yet, perhaps, the worst part of this vanity is its unteachableness. Tell it any thing, and it has known it long ago; and out-runs information and instruction, or else proudly puffs at it.

244. Whereas the greatest understandings doubt most, are readiest to learn, and least pleased with themselves; this, with no body else.

245. For though they stand on higher ground, and so see farther than their neighbours, they are yet humbled by their prospect, since it shows them something so much higher, and above their reach.

246. And truly then it is, that sense shines with the greatest beauty, when it is set in humility.

247. An humble able man, is a jewel worth a kingdom: it is often saved by him, as Solomon's poor wise man did the city.

248. May we have more of them, or less need of them!

The Conformist.

249. It is reasonable to concur, where conscience does not forbid a compliance; for conformity is at least a civil virtue.

250. But we should only press it in necessaries; the rest may prove a snare or temptation to break society.

251. But, above all, it is a weakness in religion and government, where it is carried to things of an indifferent nature; since besides that it makes way for scruples, liberty is always the price of it.

252. Such conformists have little to boast of, and therefore the less reason to reproach others, that have more latitude.

253. And yet the latitudinarian that I love, is one that is only so in charity: for the freedom I recommend is no scepticism in judgment, and much less so in practice.

The Obligation of Great Men to Almighty God.

254. It seems but reasonable that those whom God has distinguished from others by his goodness, should distinguish themselves to him by their gratitude.

255. For though he has made of one blood all nations, he has not ranged or dignified them upon the level, but in a sort of subordination and dependency.

256. If we look upwards, we find it in the heavens, where the planets have their several degrees of glory; and so the other stars, of magnitude and lustre.

257. If we look upon the earth, we see it among the trees of the wood, from the cedar to the bramble; among the fishes, from the leviathan to the sprat; in the air, among the birds, from the eagle to the sparrow; among the beasts, from the lion to the cat; and among mankind, from the king to the scavenger.

258. Our great men, doubtless, were designed, by the wise framer of the world, for our religious, moral, and politic talents, for lights and directions to the lower ranks of the numerous company of their own kind, both in precepts and examples; and they were well paid for their pains too, who have the honour and service of their fellow-creatures, and the marrow and fat of the earth, for their share.

259. But is it not a most unaccountable folly, that men should be proud of the providences, that should humble them? Or think the better of themselves, instead of Him that raised them so much above the level; or of being so in their lives, in return of his extraordinary favours.

260. But it is but too near a-kin to us, to think no farther than ourselves, either in the acquisition, or use, of our wealth and greatness: when, alas! they are the preferments of heaven, to try our wisdom, bounty, and gratitude.

261. It is a dangerous perversion of the end of providence, to consume the time, power, and wealth he has given us above other men, to gratify our sordid passions, instead of

playing the good stewards, to the honour of our great Benefactor, and the good of our fellow-creatures.

262. But it is an injustice too; since those higher ranks of men are but the trustees of heaven, for the benefit of lesser mortals; who, as minors, are intitled to all their care and provision.

263. For though God has dignified some men above their brethren, it never was to serve their pleasures, but that they might take pleasure to serve the public.

264. For this cause, doubtless, it was that they were raised above necessity, or any trouble to live, that they might have more time and ability to care for others: and it is certain, where that use is not made of the bounties of providence, they are embezzled and wasted.

265. It has often struck me with a serious reflection, when I have observed the great inequality of the world; that one man should have such numbers of his fellow-creatures to wait upon him, who have souls to be saved as well as he; and this not for business, but state. Certainly a poor employment of his money, and a worse of their time.

266. But that any one man should make work for so many, or rather keep them from work, to make up a train, has a levity or luxury in it very reprovable, both in religion and government.

267. But even in allowable services, it has an humbling consideration, and what should raise the thankfulness of the great men to him, that has so much bettered their circumstances, and moderate the use of their dominion over those of their own kind.

268. When the poor Indians hear us call any of our family by the name of servants, they cry out, 'What! call brethren, servants! We call our dogs servants, but never men.' The moral certainly can do us no harm, but may instruct us to abate our height, and narrow our state and attendance.

269. And what has been said of their excess, may, in some measure, be applied to other branches of luxury, that set ill examples to the lesser world, and rob the needy of their pensions.

270. God Almighty touch the hearts of our grandees with a sense of his distinguished goodness, and the true end of it; that they may better distinguish themselves in their conduct, to the glory of him that has thus liberally preferred them, and to the benefit of their fellow-creatures.

Of Refining upon other Men's Actions or Interests.

271. This seems to be the master-piece of our politicians: but no body shoots more at random, than those refiners.

272. A perfect lottery, and mere hap-hazard! Since the true spring of the actions of men, is as invisible as their hearts; and so are their thoughts, too, of their several interests.

273. He that judges of other men by himself, does not always hit the mark; because all men have not the same capacity, nor passions in interest.

274. If an able man refines upon the proceedings of an ordinary capacity, according to his own, he must ever miss it: but much more the ordinary man, when he shall pretend to speculate the motives to the able man's actions: for the able man deceives himself, by making the other wiser than he is in the reason of his conduct; and the ordinary man makes himself so, in presuming to judge of the reasons of the abler man's actions.

275. It is, in short, a wood, a maze; and of nothing are we more uncertain, nor in any thing do we oftener befool ourselves.

276. The mischiefs are many that follow this humour, and dangerous: for men misguide themselves, act upon false measures, and meet frequently with mischievous disappointments.

277. It excludes all confidence in commerce; allows of no such a thing as a principle in practice; supposes every man to act upon other reasons than what appear, and that there is no such thing as uprightness or sincerity among mankind: a trick, instead of truth.

278. Neither allowing nature, or religion, but some worldly fetch or advantage, the true, the hidden motive, to all men to act or do.

279. It is hard to express its uncharitableness, as well as uncertainty; and has more of vanity than benefit in it.

280. This foolish quality gives a large field; but let what I have said, serve for this time.

Of Charity.

281. Charity has various senses, but is excellent in all of them.

282. It imports, first, the commiseration of the poor and unhappy of mankind, and extends an helping-hand to mend their condition.

283. They that feel nothing of this, are, at best, not above half akin to human race; since they must have no bowels.

which makes such an essential part thereof, who have no more nature.

284. A man! and yet not have the feeling of the wants or needs of his own flesh and blood! A monster rather! And may he never be suffered to propagate such an unnatural stock in the world!

285. Such an uncharitableness spoils the best gains; and two to one but it entails a curse upon the possessors.

286. Nor can we expect to be heard of God in our prayers, that turn the deaf ear to the petitions of the distressed amongst our fellow-creatures.

287. God sends the poor to try us; as well as he tries them, by being such: and he that refuses them a little, out of the great deal that God has given him, lays up poverty in store for his own posterity.

288. I will not say these works are meritorious; but I dare say they are acceptable; and go not without their reward: though, to humble us in our fulness, and liberality too, we only give what is given us to give, as well as use: for if we ourselves are not our own, less is that so which God has intrusted us with.

289. Next, charity makes the best construction of things and persons; and is so far from being an evil spy, a backbiter, or a detractor, that it excuses weakness, extenuates miscarriages, makes the best of every thing, forgives every body, serves all, and hopes to the end.

290. It moderates extremes, is always for expedients, labours to accommodate differences, and had rather suffer than revenge: and is so far from exacting the utmost farthing, that it had rather lose, than seek its own violently.

291. As it acts freely, so zealously too; but it is always to do good, for it hurts nobody.

292. An universal remedy against discord, and an holy cement for mankind.

293. And, lastly, it is love to God and the brethren, which raises the soul above all worldly considerations: and as it gives a taste of heaven upon earth, so it is heaven, in the fulness of it, to the truly charitable here.

294. This is the noblest sense charity has; after which all should press, as that more excellent way.

295. Nay, most excellent: for as faith, hope, and charity were the more excellent way that the great apostle discovered to the Christians (too apt to stick in outward gifts and church performances) so, of that better way, he preferred charity as the best part, because it would out-last the rest, and abide for ever.

296. Wherefore a man can never be a true and good Christian without charity, even in the lowest sense of it: and yet he may have that part thereof, and still be none of the apostle's true Christian; since he tells us, "that though we should give all our goods to the poor, and want charity (in her other and higher senses) it would profit us nothing."

297. Nay, "Though we had all tongues, all knowledge, and even gifts of prophecy, and were preachers to others, aye, and had zeal enough to give our bodies to be burned, yet if we wanted charity, it would not avail us for salvation."

298. It seems it was his (and indeed ought to be our) *unum necessarium*, or the "one thing needful:" which our Saviour attributed to Mary, in preference to her sister Martha, that seems not to have wanted the lesser parts of charity.

299. Would God this divine virtue were more implanted and diffused among mankind, the pretenders to Christianity especially; and we should certainly mind piety more than controversy, and exercise love and compassion, instead of censuring and persecuting one another, in any manner whatsoever.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF

THE PEOPLE

CALLED

QUAKERS,

IN WHICH

Their Fundamental Principle, Doctrines, Worship, Ministry, and Discipline, are plainly Declared.

By WILLIAM PENN.

Published in the Year 1694.

AN EPISTLE TO THE READER.

This following account of the people called Quakers, &c. was writ in the fear and love of God: first, as a standing testimony to that ever-blessed truth, in the inward parts, with which God, in my youthful time, visited my soul, and for the sense and love of which I was made willing, in no ordinary way, to relinquish the honours and interests of the world: secondly, as a testimony for that despised people, that God has, in his great mercy, gathered and united, by his own blessed Spirit, in the holy profession of it; whose fellowship I value above all worldly greatness: thirdly, in love and honour to the memory of that worthy servant of God, G. Fox, the first instrument thereof, and therefore styled by me, the great and blessed apostle of our day.

As this gave birth to what is here presented to thy view, in the first edition of it, by way of preface to G. Fox's excellent journal; so the consideration of the present usefulness of the following account of the people called Quakers,

(by reason of the unjust reflections of some adversaries, that once walked under the profession of friends) and the exhortations that conclude it, prevailed with me to consent that it should be republished in a smaller volume; knowing also full well, that great books, especially in these days, grow burthensome, both to the pockets and minds of too many; and that there are not a few that desire (so it be at an easy rate) to be informed about this people, that have been so much, every where, spoken against: but, blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, it is upon no worse grounds, than it was said of old time of the primitive Christians; as I hope will appear to every sober and considerate reader. Our business, after all the ill usage we have met with, being the realities of religion, and effectual change, before our last and great change: that all may come to an inward, sensible, and experimental knowledge of God, through the convictions and operation of the light and Spirit of Christ in themselves; the sufficient and blessed means given to all, and that thereby all may come savingly to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent to enlighten and redeem the world; which knowledge is, indeed, eternal life. And that thou, reader, mayest obtain it, is the earnest desire of him that is ever

Thine in so good a work,

W. PENN.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT, &c.

CHAP. I.

Containing a brief account of divers dispensations of God in the world, to the time he was pleased to raise this despised people, called Quakers.

Divers have been the dispensations of God, since the creation of the world, unto the sons of men: but the great end of all of them has been, the renown of his own excellent name, in the creation and restoration of man: man, the emblem of himself, as a god on earth, and the glory of all his works.

The world began with innocency: all was then good that the good God had made: and as he blessed the works of

his hands, so their nature and harmony magnified him, their Creator. Then the morning stars sang together for joy, and all parts of his works said amen to his law. Not a jar in the whole frame; but man in paradise, the beasts in the field, the fowl in the air, the fish in the sea, the lights in the heavens, the fruits of the earth, yea, the air, the earth, the water and fire, worshipped, praised, and exalted his power, wisdom, and goodness. O holy sabbath, O holy day to the Lord!

But this happy state lasted not long: for man, the crown and glory of the whole, being tempted to aspire above his place, unhappily yielded against command and duty, as well as interest and felicity, and so fell below it; lost the divine image, the wisdom, power, and purity he was made in. By which, being no longer fit for paradise, he was expelled that garden of God, his proper dwelling and residence, and was driven out, as a poor vagabond, from the presence of the Lord, to wander in the earth, the habitation of beasts.

Yet God, that made him, had pity on him: for he, seeing man was deceived, and that it was not of malice, or an original presumption in him, but through the subtlety of the serpent (who had first fallen from his own state, and by the mediation of the woman, man's own nature and companion, whom the serpent had first deluded) in his infinite goodness and wisdom, found out a way to repair the breach, recover the loss, and restore fallen man again, by a nobler and more excellent Adam, promised to be born of a woman; that as, by means of a woman, the evil one had prevailed upon man, by a woman also He should come into the world, who would prevail against him and bruise his head, and deliver man from his power: and which, in a signal manner, by the dispensation of the Son of God in the flesh, in the fulness of time, was personally and fully accomplished by him, and in him, as man's Saviour and Redeemer.

But his power was not limited, in the manifestation of it, to that time; for both before, and since, his blessed manifestation in the flesh, he has been the light and life, the rock and strength, of all that ever feared God: was present with them in their temptations, followed them in their travels and afflictions, and supported and carried them through and over the difficulties that have attended them in their earthly pilgrimage. By this Abel's heart excelled Cain's, and Seth obtained the pre-eminence, and Enoch walked with God. It was this that strove with the old world, and which they rebelled against, and which sanctified and instructed Noah to salvation.

But the outward dispensation that followed the benighted

state of man, after his fall, especially among the patriarchs, was generally that of angels; as the scriptures of the Old Testament do in many places express, as to Abraham, Jacob, &c. The next was that of the law by Moses, which was also delivered by angels, as the apostle tells us. This dispensation was much outward, and suited to a low and servile state; called therefore, by the apostle Paul, that of a schoolmaster, which was to point out, and prepare that people to look and long for, the Messiah, who would deliver them from the servitude of a ceremonious and imperfect dispensation, by knowing the realities of those mysterious representations in themselves. In this time, the law was written on stone, the temple built with hands, attended with an outward priesthood and external rites and ceremonies, that were shadows of the good things that were to come, and were only to serve till the Seed came, (or the more excellent and general manifestation of Christ) to whom was the promise, and to all men only in him, in whom it was yea and amen, even life from death, immortality, and eternal life.

This the prophets foresaw; and comforted the believing Jews in the certainty of it; which was the top of the Mosaical dispensation, and which ended in John's ministry, the fore-runner of the Messiah, as John's was finished in him, the fulness of all. And then God, that at sundry times, and in divers manners, had spoken to the fathers by his servants the prophets, spoke to men by his Son, Christ Jesus, who is Heir of all things; being the gospel-day, which is the dispensation of sonship; bringing in thereby a nearer testament and a better hope; even the beginning of the glory of the latter days, and of the restitution of all things; yea, the restoration of the kingdom unto Israel.

Now the Spirit, that was more sparingly communicated in former dispensations, began to be poured forth upon all flesh, according to the prophet Joel, and the light, that shined in darkness, or but dimly, before, the most gracious God caused to shine out of darkness, and the day-star began to arise in the hearts of believers, giving unto them the knowledge of God in the face (or appearance) of his Son Christ Jesus.

Now the poor in spirit, the meek, the true mourners, the hungry and thirsty after righteousness, the peace-makers, the pure in heart, the merciful and persecuted, came more especially in remembrance before the Lord, and were sought out and blessed by Israel's true Shepherd. Old Jerusalem with her children grew out of date, and the new Jerusalem into request, the mother of the sons of the gospel-day.

Wherefore no more at old Jerusalem, nor at the mountain of Samaria, will God be worshipped above other places; for, behold, he is, by his own Son, declared and preached a Spirit, and that he will be known as such, and worshipped in the spirit and in the truth! He will now come nearer than of old time, and he will "write his law in the heart, and put his fear and spirit in the inward parts," according to his promise. Then signs, types, and shadows flew away, the day having discovered their insufficiency in not reaching to the inside of the cup, to the cleansing of the conscience; and all elementary services were ended in and by Him that is the substance of all.

And to this great and blessed end of the dispensation of the Son of God, did the apostles testify, whom he had chosen and anointed by his Spirit, to turn the Jews from their prejudice and superstition, and the Gentiles from their vanity and idolatry, to Christ's light and Spirit that shined in them; that they might be quickened from the sins and trespasses in which they were dead, to serve the living God, in the newness of the Spirit of life, and walk as children of the light, and of the day, even the day of holiness: for such "put on Christ," the light of the world, and "make no more provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." So that the light, spirit, and grace, that come by Christ, and appear in man, were that divine principle the apostles ministered from, and turned people's minds unto, and in which they gathered and built up the churches of Christ in their day. For which cause they advise them not to quench the Spirit, but to wait for the Spirit, and speak by the Spirit, and pray by the Spirit, and walk in the Spirit too, as that which approved them the truly begotten children of God, "born not of flesh and blood, or of the will of man, but of the will of God;" by doing his will, and denying their own; by drinking of Christ's cup, and being baptized with His baptism of self-denial; the way and path that all the heirs of life have ever trod to blessedness.

But, alas! even in the apostles' days, (those bright stars of the first magnitude of the gospel light) some clouds, foretelling an eclipse of this primitive glory, began to appear; and several of them gave early caution of it to the Christians of their time, that even then there was, and yet would be more and more, a falling-away from the power of godliness, and the purity of that spiritual dispensation, by such as sought to make a fair show in the flesh, but with whom the offence of the cross ceased; yet with this comfortable conclusion, that they saw, beyond it, a more glorious time than ever to the true church.

Their sight was true, and what they foretold to the churches, gathered by them in the name and power of Jesus, came to pass; for Christians degenerated apace into outsides, as days and meats, and divers other ceremonies. And, which was worse, they fell into strife and contention about them; separating one from another, then envying, and, as they had power, persecuting one another, to the shame and scandal of their common Christianity, and grievous stumbling and offence of the heathen, among whom the Lord had so long and so marvellously preserved them. And having got at last the worldly power into their hands, by kings and emperors embracing the Christian profession, they changed, what they could, the kingdom of Christ, "which is not of this world," into a worldly kingdom; or at least styled the worldly kingdom, that was in their hands, the kingdom of Christ; and so they became worldly, and not true Christians. Then human inventions and novelties, both in doctrine and worship, crowded fast into the church; a door being opened thereunto, by the grossness and carnality that appeared then among the generality of Christians, who had long since left the guidance of God's meek and heavenly Spirit, and given themselves up to superstition, will-worship, and voluntary humility. And as superstition is blind, so it is heady and furious; for all must stoop to its blind and boundless zeal, or perish by it: in the name of the Spirit, persecuting the very appearance of the Spirit of God in others, and opposing that in others, which they resisted in themselves, viz. the light, grace, and Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ; but always under the notion of innovation, heresy, schisms, or some such plausible name: though Christianity allows of no name, or pretence whatever, for persecuting of any man for matters of mere religion, being, in its very nature, meek, gentle, and forbearing; and consists of faith, hope, and charity, which no persecutor can have, whilst he remains a persecutor; in that a man cannot believe well, or hope well, or have a charitable or tender regard to another, whilst he would violate his mind, or persecute his body, for matters of faith or worship towards his God.

Thus the false church sprang up, and mounted the chair: but though she lost her nature, she would needs keep her good name of the Lamb's bride, the true church, and mother of the faithful; constraining all to receive her mark, either in her forehead, or right hand; that is, publicly or privately: but, in deed and in truth, she was "mystery Babylon, the mother of harlots," mother of those, that, with all their show and outside of religion, were adulterated and gone

from the spirit, nature, and life of Christ, and grown vain, worldly, ambitious, covetous, cruel, &c. which are the fruits of the flesh, and not of the Spirit.

Now it was, that the true church fled into the wilderness; that is, from superstition and violence, to a retired, solitary, and lonely state; hidden, and, as it were, out of sight of men, though not out of the world. Which shows, that her wonted visibility was not essential to the being of a true church, in the judgment of the Holy Ghost; she being as true a church in the wilderness, though not as visible and lustrious, as when she was in her former splendor of profession.

In this state many attempts she made to return; but the waters were yet too high, and her way blocked up; and many of her excellent children, in several nations and centuries, fell, by the cruelty of superstition, because they would not fall from their faithfulness to the truth.

The last age did set some steps towards it, both as to doctrine, worship, and practice. But practice quickly failed; for wickedness flowed in a little time, as well among the professors of the reformation, as those they reformed from; so that by the fruits of conversation they were not to be distinguished: and the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themselves, betook themselves, very early, to earthly policy and power, to uphold and carry on their reformation, that had been begun with spiritual weapons; which, I have often thought, has been one of the greatest reasons the reformation made no better progress, as to the life and soul of religion. For whilst the reformers were lowly and spiritually-minded, and trusted in God, and looked to him, and lived in his fear, and consulted not with flesh and blood, nor sought deliverance in their own way, there were daily added to the church, such as one might reasonably say should be saved: for they were not so careful to be safe from persecution, as to be faithful and inoffensive under it: being more concerned to spread the truth by their faith and patience in tribulation, than to get the worldly power out of their hands that inflicted those sufferings upon them: and it will be well if the Lord suffer them not to fall, by the very same way they took to stand.

In doctrine, they were in some things short; in other things, to avoid one extreme, they ran into another: and for worship, there was, for the generality, more of man in it than of God. They owned the Spirit, inspiration, and revelation, indeed, and grounded their separation and reformation upon the sense and understanding they received from it, in the reading of the scriptures of truth. And this was their plea,

'The scripture is the text, the Spirit the interpreter, and that to every one for himself.' But yet there was too much of human invention, tradition, and art, that remained, both in praying and preaching; and of worldly authority, and worldly greatness, in their ministers; especially in this kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, and some parts of Germany. God was therefore pleased, in England, to shift us from vessel to vessel; and the next remove humbled the ministry, so that they were more strict in preaching, devout in praying, and zealous for keeping the Lord's day, and catechizing of children and servants, and repeating at home in their families, what they had heard in public. But even as these grew into power, they were not only for whipping some out, but others into the temple: and they appeared rigid in their spirits, rather than severe in their lives, and more for a party, than for piety: which brought forth another people, that were yet more retired and select.

They would not communicate at large, or in common with others; but formed churches among themselves, of such as could give some account of their conversion; at least, of very promising experiences of the work of God's grace upon their hearts; and under mutual agreements and covenants of fellowship, they kept together. These people were somewhat of a softer temper, and seemed to recommend religion by the charms of its love, mercy, and goodness, rather than by the terrors of its judgments and punishments; by which the former party would have awed people into religion.

They also allowed greater liberty to prophesy than those before them; for they admitted any member to speak and pray, as well as their pastor, whom they always chose, and not the civil magistrate. If such found any thing pressing upon them to either duty, even without the distinction of clergy or laity, persons of any trade had their liberty, be it ever so low and mechanical. But, alas! even these people suffered great loss: for tasting of worldly empire, and the favour of princes, and the gain that ensued, they degenerated but too much. For though they had cried down national churches and ministry, and maintenance too, some of them, when is was their own turn to be tried, fell under the weight of worldly honour and advantage, got into profitable parsonages too much, and outlived and contradicted their own principles: and, which was yet worse, turned, some of them, absolute persecutors of other men for God's sake, that but so lately came themselves out of the furnace; which drove many a step farther, and that was into the water; another baptism, as believing they were not scripturally baptized: and hoping to find that presence and power of God, in sub-

mitting to this watery ordinance, which they desired and wanted.

These people also made profession of neglecting, if not renouncing and censuring, not only the necessity, but use, of all human learning, as to the ministry; and all other qualifications to it, besides the helps and gifts of the Spirit of God, and those natural and common to men: and, for a time, they seemed, like John of old, a burning and a shining light to other societies.

They were very diligent, plain, and serious; strong in scripture, and bold in profession; bearing much reproach and contradiction. But that which others fell by, proved their snare: for worldly power spoiled them too; who had enough of it to try them what they would do if they had more: and they rested also too much upon their watery dispensation, instead of passing on more fully to that of the fire and Holy Ghost, which was His baptism, who came with "a fan in his hand, that he might thoroughly (and not in part only) purge his floor, and take away the dross and the tin of his people, and make a man finer than gold." Withal, they grew high, rough, and self-righteous; opposing farther attainment; too much forgetting the day of their infancy and littleness, which gave them something of a real beauty: insomuch that many left them, and all visible churches and societies, and wandered up and down, as sheep without a shepherd, and as doves without their mates; seeking their Beloved, but could not find him (as their souls desired to know him) whom their souls loved above their chiefest joy.

These people were called Seekers by some, and the Family of Love, by others; because, as they came to the knowledge of one another, they sometimes met together, not formally to pray or preach at appointed times or places, in their own wills, as in times past they were accustomed to do; but waited together in silence, and as any thing rose in any one of their minds that they thought savoured of a divine spring, they sometimes spoke. But so it was, that some of them, not keeping in humility, and in the fear of God, after the abundance of revelation, were exalted above measure; and for want of staying their minds in an humble dependence upon him that opened their understandings "to see great things in his law," they ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with those divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth, to the scandal of those that feared God, and waited daily, in the "temple not made with hands," for the consolation of Israel; the Jew inward, and circumcision in spirit.

This people obtained the name of Ranters, from their ex-

travagant discourses and practices. For they interpreted Christ's fulfilling of the law for us, to be a discharging of us from any obligation and duty the law required of us; instead of the condemnation of the law for sins past, upon faith and repentance; and that now it was no sin to do that, which before it was a sin to commit; the slavish fear of the law being taken off by Christ; and all things good that man did, if he did but do them with the mind and persuasion that it was so. Insomuch that divers fell into gross and enormous practices; pretending, in excuse thereof, that they could, without evil, commit the same act, which was sin in another to do; thereby distinguishing between the action and the evil of it, by the direction of the mind and intention in the doing of it. Which was to make sin super-abound by the aboundings of grace, and to turn from the grace of God into wantonness; a securer way of sinning than before: as if Christ came not to save us from our sins, but in our sins; not to take away sin, but that we might sin more freely at his cost, and with less danger to ourselves. I say, this ensnared divers, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loss as to their eternal state; and they grew very troublesome to the better sort of people, and furnished the looser with an occasion to profane.

CHAP. II.

Of the rise of this People; their fundamental principle, doctrine, and practice, in twelve points resulting from it: their progress and sufferings: an expostulation with England thereupon.

It was about that very time, as you may see in G. F.'s annals, that the eternal, wise, and good God was pleased, in his infinite love, to honour and visit this benighted and bewildered nation, with his glorious day-spring from on high; yea, with a most sure and certain sound of the word of light and life, through the testimony of a chosen vessel, to an effectual and blessed purpose, can many thousands say: glory be to the name of the Lord for ever!

For as it reached the conscience, and broke the heart, and brought many to a sense and search; so that which people had been vainly seeking without, with much pains and cost, they, by this ministry, found within, where it was they wanted what they sought for, viz. the right way to peace with God. For they were directed to the light of Jesus Christ within them, as the seed and leaven of the kingdom of God; near all, because in all, and God's talent to all: a faithful and true witness, and just monitor, in every bosom: the gift

and grace of God, to life and salvation, that appears to all, though few regard it. This, the traditional Christian, conceited of himself, and strong in his own will and righteousness, overcome with blind zeal and passion, either despised as a low and common thing, or opposed as a novelty, under many hard names, and opprobrious terms; denying, in his ignorant and angry mind, any fresh manifestations of God's power and spirit in man, in these days, though never more needed to make true Christians. Not unlike those Jews of old, that rejected the Son of God, at the very same time that they blindly professed to wait for the Messiah to come; because, alas! he appeared not among them according to their carnal mind and expectation.

This brought forth many abusive books, which filled the greater sort with envy, and lesser with rage; and made the way and progress of this blessed testimony strait and narrow indeed to those that received it. However, God owned his own work, and this testimony did, effectually, reach, gather, comfort, and establish the weary and heavy-laden, the hungry and thirsty, the poor and needy, the mournful and sick of many maladies, that had spent all upon physicians of no value, and waited for relief from heaven; help only from above; seeing, upon a serious trial of all things, nothing else would do but Christ himself; the light of his countenance, a touch of his garment, and help from his hand; who cured the poor woman's issue, raised the centurion's servant, the widow's son, the ruler's daughter, and Peter's mother: and, like her, they no sooner felt his power and efficacy upon their souls, but they gave up to obey him in a testimony to his power; and that with resigned wills and faithful hearts, through all mockings, contradictions, confiscations, beatings, prisons, and many other jeopardies that attended them for his blessed name's sake.

And truly they were very many, and very great! So that, in all human probability, they must have been swallowed up quick of the proud and boisterous waves that swelled and beat against them, but that the God of all their tender mercies was with them in his glorious authority; so that the hills often fled, and the mountains melted, before the power that filled them; working mightily for them, as well as in them, one ever following the other: by which they saw plainly, to their exceeding great confirmation and comfort, "that all things were possible with him with whom they had to do:" and that the more that which God required seemed to cross man's wisdom, and expose them to man's wrath, the more God appeared to help and carry them through all to his glory.

Insomuch that if ever any people could say in truth, "Thou art our sun and our shield, our rock and sanctuary; and by thee we have leaped over a wall, and by thee we have run through a troop, and by thee we have put the armies of the aliens to flight," these people had a right to say it. And as God had delivered their souls of the wearisome burdens of sin and vanity, and enriched their poverty of spirit, and satisfied their great hunger and thirst after eternal righteousness, and filled them with the good things of his own house, and made them stewards of his manifold gifts; so they went forth to all quarters of these nations, to declare to the inhabitants thereof, "what God had done for them;" what they had found, and where and how they had found it, viz. the way to peace with God: inviting all to come, and see, and taste, for themselves, the truth of what they declared unto them.

And as their testimony was to the principle of God in man, the precious pearl and leaven of the kingdom, as the only blessed means appointed of God to quicken, convince, and sanctify man; so they opened to them what it was in itself, and what it was given to them for: how they might know it from their own spirit, and that of the subtle appearance of the evil one: and what it would do for all those, whose minds should be turned off from the vanity of the world, and its lifeless ways and teachers, and adhere to this blessed light in themselves, which discovers and condemns sin in all its appearances, and shows how to overcome it, if minded and obeyed in its holy manifestations and convictions: giving power to such to avoid and resist those things that do not please God, and to grow strong in love, faith, and good works: that so man, whom sin has made as a wilderness, over-run with briars and thorns, might become as the garden of God, cultivated by his divine power, and replenished with the most virtuous and beautiful plants of God's own right-hand planting, to his eternal praise.

But these experimental preachers of glad tidings of God's truth and kingdom, could not run when they list, or pray or preach when they pleased, but as Christ, their redeemer, prepared and moved them by his own blessed spirit; for which they waited, in their services and meetings, and spoke as that gave them utterance; and which was as those having authority, and not like the dreaming, dry, and formal Pharisees. And so it plainly appeared to the serious-minded, whose spiritual eye the Lord Jesus had in any measure opened: so that to one was given the word of exhortation, to another the word of reproof, to another the word of con-

solation, and all by the same Spirit, and in the good order thereof, to the convincing and edifying of many.

And truly they waxed strong and bold through faithfulness; and by the power and spirit of the Lord Jesus became very fruitful; thousands, in a short time, being turned to the truth in the inward parts, through their testimony, in ministry and sufferings: insomuch as in most counties, and many of the considerable towns of England, meetings were settled, and daily there were added such as should be saved. For they were diligent to plant and to water, and the Lord blessed their labours with an exceeding great increase; notwithstanding all the opposition made to their blessed progress, by false rumours, calumnies, and bitter persecutions; not only from the powers of the earth, but from every-one that listed to injure and abuse them: so that they seemed, indeed, to be as "poor sheep appointed to the slaughter, and as people killed all the day long."

It were fitter for a volume than a preface, but so much as to repeat the contents of their cruel sufferings from professors, as well as from profane, and from magistrates as well as the rabble: so that it may be said of this abused and despised people, they went forth weeping and sowed in tears, bearing testimony to the precious seed, even the seed of the kingdom, which stands not in words, the finest, the highest that man's wit can use, but in power; the power of Christ Jesus, to whom God the Father hath given all power in heaven and in earth, that he might rule angels above, and men below: who impowered them, as their work witnesseth, by the many that were turned, through their ministry, from darkness to the light, and out of the broad into the narrow way of life and peace; bringing people to a weighty, serious, and godlike conversation; the practice of that doctrine which they taught.

And as without this secret divine power, there is no quickening and regenerating of dead souls; so the want of this generating and begetting power and life, is the cause of the little fruit that the many ministries, that have been and are in the world, bring forth. O that both ministers and people were sensible of this! My soul is often troubled for them, and sorrow and mourning compass me about for their sakes. O that they were wise! O that they would consider, and lay to heart, the things that truly and substantially make for their lasting peace!

Two things are to be considered, the doctrine they taught, and the example they led, among all people. I have already touched upon the fundamental principle, which is the corner

stone of their fabric; and, indeed, to speak eminently and properly, their characteristic, or main distinguishing point or principle, viz. the light of Christ within, as God's gift for man's salvation: this, I say, is as the root of the goodly tree of doctrine, that grew and branched out from it, which I shall now mention in their natural and experimental order.

First, "Repentance from dead works, to serve the living God:" which comprehends three operations. First, a sight of sin. Secondly, a sense and godly sorrow for sin. Thirdly, an amendment for the time to come. This was the repentance they preached and pressed, and a natural result from the principle they turned all people unto. For of light came sight; and of sight came sense and sorrow; and of sense and sorrow, came amendment of life. Which doctrine of repentance leads to justification; that is, forgiveness of the sins that are past, through Christ, the alone propitiation; and the sanctification or purgation of the soul, from the defiling nature and habits of sin present, by the Spirit of Christ in the soul: which is justification in the complete sense of that word; comprehending both justification from the guilt of the sins that are past, as if they had never been committed, through the love, and mercy of God in Christ Jesus; and the creature's being made inwardly just through the cleansing and sanctifying power and Spirit of Christ revealed in the soul; which is commonly called sanctification: but that none can come to know Christ to be their sacrifice, that reject him as their sanctifier: the end of his coming being to save his people from the nature and defilement, as well as guilt of sin; and that therefore those that resist his Light and Spirit, make his coming and offering of none effect to them.

From hence sprang a second doctrine they were led to declare, as the "mark of the prize of the high calling," to all true Christians, viz. Perfection from sin, according to the scriptures of truth; which testify it to be the end of Christ's coming, and the nature of his kingdom, and for which his Spirit was and is given, viz. to be "perfect, as our heavenly Father is perfect; and holy, because God is holy." And this the apostle laboured for, that the Christians should be "sanctified throughout, in body, soul, and spirit." But they never held a perfection in wisdom and glory in this life, or from natural infirmities, or death; as some have, with a weak or ill mind, imagined, and insinuated against them.

This they call a 'redeemed state, regeneration, or the new-birth:' teaching every-where, according to their foun-

dation, that without this work were known, there was no inheriting the kingdom of God.

Thirdly, this leads to an acknowledgment of eternal rewards and punishments, as they have had good reason; for else, of all people, certainly they must be the most miserable; who, for above forty years, have been exceeding great sufferers for their profession; and, in some cases, treated worse than the worst of men; yea, as the "refuse and off-scouring of all things."

This was the purport of their doctrine and ministry; which, for the most part, is what other professors of Christianity pretend to hold in words and forms, but not in the power of godliness; which, generally speaking, has been long lost, by men's departing from that principle and seed of life that is in man, and which man has not regarded, but lost the sense of; and in and by which only he can be quickened in his mind to serve the living God in newness of life. For as the life of religion was lost, and the generality lived and worshipped God after their own wills, and not after the will of God, nor the mind of Christ, which stood in the works and fruits of the Holy Spirit; so that which they pressed, was not notion, but experience; not formality, but godliness; as being sensible in themselves, through the work of God's righteous judgments, that "without holiness, no man shall ever see the Lord, with comfort."

Besides these general doctrines, as the larger branches, there sprang forth several particular doctrines, that did exemplify and farther explain the truth and efficacy of the general doctrine before observed, in their lives and examples. As,

I. Communion, and loving one another. This is a noted mark in the mouth of all sorts of people concerning them: 'They will meet, they will help and stick one to another.' Whence it is common to hear some say, 'Look how the Quakers love and take care of one another.' Others, less moderate, will say, 'The Quakers love none but themselves.' And if loving one another, and having an intimate communion in religion, and constant care to meet to worship God, and help one another, be any mark of primitive Christianity, they had it, blessed be the Lord! in an ample manner.

II. To love enemies. This they both taught and practised. For they did not only refuse to be avenged for injuries done them, and condemned it, as of an unchristian spirit, but they did freely forgive, yea, help and relieve, those that had been cruel to them, when it was in their power to have been even with them; of which many and singular instances might be given: endeavouring, through faith and patience, to over-

come all injustice and oppression, and preaching this doctrine as Christian, for others to follow.

III. Another was the sufficiency of truth-speaking, according to Christ's own form of sound words, of yea, yea, nay, nay, among Christians, without swearing; both from Christ's express prohibition, to swear at all, Mat. v. and for that they being under the tie and bond of truth in themselves, there was no necessity for an oath; and it would be a reproach to their Christian veracity to assure their truth by such an extraordinary way of speaking: simple and uncompounded answers, as yea and nay, (without asseverations, attestations, or supernatural vouchers) being most suitable to evangelical righteousness. But offering, at the same time, to be punished to the full, for false-speaking, as others for perjury, if ever guilty of it: and hereby they exclude, with all true, all false, and profane swearing; for which the land did and doth mourn, and the great God was, and is, not a little offended with it.

IV. Not fighting, but suffering, is another testimony peculiar to this people: they affirm that Christianity teacheth people, "to beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and to learn war no more; that so the wolf may lie down with the lamb, and the lion with the calf, and nothing that destroys be entertained in the hearts of people;" exhorting them to employ their zeal against sin, and turn their anger against Satan, and no longer war one against another; because, "all wars and fightings come of men's own hearts' lusts," according to the apostle James, and not of the meek Spirit of Christ Jesus, who is captain of another warfare, and which is carried on with other weapons. Thus as truth-speaking succeeded swearing, so faith and patience succeeded fighting, in the doctrine and practice of this people. Nor ought they, for this, to be obnoxious to civil government; since, if they cannot fight for it, neither can they fight against it; which is no mean security to any state. Nor is it reasonable that people should be blamed for not doing more for others, than they can do for themselves. And, Christianity set aside, if the costs and fruits of war were well considered, peace, with all its inconveniences, is generally preferable. But though they were not for fighting, they were for submitting to government; and that, not only for fear, but for conscience-sake, where government doth not interfere with conscience: believing it to be an ordinance of God, and, where it is justly administered, a great benefit to mankind. Though it has been their lot, through blind zeal in some, and interest in others, to have felt the strokes of it with greater weight and rigour, than any other persuasion

in this age; whilst they, of all others, religion set aside, have given the civil magistrate the least occasion of trouble in the discharge of his office.

V. Another part of the character of this people, was, and is, they refuse to pay tithes, or maintenance, to a national ministry; and that for two reasons: the one is, they believe all compelled maintenance, even to gospel-ministers, to be unlawful, because expressly contrary to Christ's command, who said, "Freely you have received, freely give:" at least, that the maintenance of gospel-ministers should be free, and not forced. The other reason of their refusal is, because those ministers are not gospel ones, in that the Holy Ghost is not their foundation, but human arts and parts. So that it is not matter of humour or sullenness, but pure conscience towards God, that they cannot help to support national ministries where they dwell; which are but too much, and too visibly, become ways of worldly advantage and preferment.

VI. Not to respect persons, was, and is, another of their doctrines and practices, for which they were often buffetted and abused. They affirmed it to be sinful to give flattering titles, or to use vain gestures and compliments of respect. Though to virtue and authority they ever made a difference; but after their plain and homely manner, yet sincere and substantial way: well remembering the examples of Mordecai and Elihu: but, more especially, the command of their Lord and Master Jesus Christ, who forbad his followers to call men Rabbi, which implies lord or master; also the fashionable greetings and salutations of those times; that so self-love and honour, to which the proud mind of man is incident, in his fallen estate, might not be indulged, but rebuked. And though this rendered their conversation disagreeable, yet they that will remember what Christ said to the Jews, "How can you believe in me, who receive honour one of another," will abate of their resentment, if his doctrine has any credit with them.

VII. They also used the plain language of thee and thou, to a single person, whatever was his degree among men. And, indeed, the wisdom of God was much seen, in bringing forth this people in so plain an appearance: for it was a close and distinguishing test upon the spirits of those they came among; showing their insides, and what predominated, notwithstanding their high and great profession of religion. This, among the rest, sounded so harsh to many of them, and they took it so ill, that they would say, 'Thou me, thou my dog! If thou thou'st me, I'll thou thy teeth down thy throat:' forgetting the language they use to God in their

own prayers, and the common style of the scriptures, and that it is an absolute and essential propriety of speech. And what good, alas! had their religion done them, who were so sensibly touched with indignation, for the use of this plain, honest, and true speech.

VIII. They recommended silence by their example, having very few words upon all occasions. They were at a word in dealing: nor could their customers, with many words, tempt them from it, having more regard to truth than custom, to example than gain: they sought solitude; but when in company, they would neither use, nor willingly hear, unnecessary, as well as unlawful discourses: whereby they preserved their minds pure and undisturbed from unprofitable thoughts, and diversions. Nor could they humour the custom of good night, good morrow, God speed; for they knew the night was good, and the day was good, without wishing of either; and that, in the other expression, the holy name of God was too lightly and unthankfully used, and therefore taken in vain. Besides, they were words and wishes of course, and are usually as little meant, as are love and service in the custom of cap and knee; and superfluity in those, as well as in other things, was burdensome to them; and therefore they did not only decline to use them, but found themselves often pressed to reprove the practice.

IX. For the same reason they forbore drinking to people or pledging of them, as the manner of the world is: a practice that is not only unnecessary, but, they thought, evil in the tendencies of it, being a provocation to drink more than did people good, as well as that it was in itself vain and heathenish.

X. Their way of marriage is peculiar to them; and shows a distinguishing care, above other societies professing Christianity. They say, 'that marriage is an ordinance of God; and that God only can rightly join man and woman in marriage.' Therefore they use neither priest nor magistrate; but the man and woman concerned, take each other, as husband and wife, in the presence of divers credible witnesses, promising to each other, with God's assistance, to be loving and faithful in that relation, till death shall separate them. But, antecedent to this, they first present themselves to the monthly meeting, for the affairs of the church, where they reside; there declaring their intentions to take one another as husband and wife, if the said meeting have nothing material to object against it. They are constantly asked the necessary questions, as in case of parents or guardians, if they have acquainted them with their intention, and have

their consent, &c. The method of the meeting is, to take a minute thereof, and to appoint proper persons to enquire of their conversation and clearness from all others, and whether they have discharged their duty to their parents or guardians; and to make report thereof to the next monthly meeting, where the same parties are desired to give their attendance. In case it appears they have proceeded orderly, the meeting passes their proposal, and so records it in their meeting-book. And in case the woman be a widow, and hath children, due care is there taken, that provision also be made by her for the orphans, before the meeting pass the proposals of marriage: advising the parties concerned, to appoint a convenient time and place, and to give fitting notice to their relations, and such friends and neighbours, as they desire should be the witnesses of their marriage: where they take one another by the hand, and, by name, promise reciprocally love and fidelity, after the manner before expressed. Of all which proceedings, a narrative, in way of certificate, is made, to which the said parties first set their hands, thereby making it their act and deed; and then divers relations, spectators, and auditors set their names, as witnesses of what they said and signed. And this certificate is afterwards registered in the record belonging to the meeting where the marriage is solemnized. Which regular method has been, as it deserves, adjudged, in courts of law, a good marriage; where it has been by cross and ill people disputed and contested, for want of the accustomed formalities of priest and ring, &c. Ceremonies they have refused; not out of humour, but conscience reasonably grounded; inasmuch as no scripture-example tells us, that the priest had any other part, of old time, than that of a witness among the rest, before whom the Jews used to take one another: and therefore this people look upon it as an imposition, to advance the power and profits of the clergy: and for the use of the ring, it is enough to say, that it was an heathenish and vain custom, and never in practice among the people of God, Jews, or primitive Christians: the words of the usual form, as, 'with my body I thee worship,' &c. are hardly defensible. In short, they are more careful, exact, and regular, than any form now used; and it is free of the inconveniences with which other methods are attended: their care and checks being so many, and such, as that no clandestine marriage can be performed among them.

XI. It may not be unfit to say something here of their births and burials, which make up so much of the pomp and solemnity of too many called Christians. For births, the parents name their own children; which is usually some

days after they are born, in the presence of the midwife, if she can be there, and those that were at the birth, who afterwards sign a certificate, for that purpose prepared, of the birth or name of the child or children; which is recorded in a proper book, in the monthly meeting to which the parents belong; avoiding the accustomed ceremonies and festivals.

XII. Their burials are performed with the same simplicity. If the body of the deceased be near any public meeting-place, it is usually carried thither; for the more convenient reception of those that accompany it to the burying ground. And it so falls out sometimes, that while the meeting is gathering for the burial, some or other has a word of exhortation, for the sake of the people there met together. After which, the body is borne away by young men, or else those that are of their neighbourhood, or those that were most of the intimacy of the deceased party: the corpse being in a plain coffin, without any covering or furniture upon it. At the ground, they pause some time before they put the body into its grave, that if any there should have any thing upon them to exhort the people, they may not be disappointed, and that the relations may the more retiredly and solemnly take their last leave of the body of their departed kindred, and the spectators have a sense of mortality, by the occasion then given them to reflect upon their own latter end. Otherwise, they have no set rites or ceremonies on those occasions. Neither do the kindred of the deceased ever wear mourning; they looking upon it as a worldly ceremony and piece of pomp; and that what mourning is fit for a Christian to have, at the departure of a beloved relation or friend, should be worn in the mind, which only is sensible of the loss; and the love they had to them, and remembrance of them, to be outwardly expressed by a respect to their advice, and care of those they have left behind them, and their love of that they loved. Which conduct of theirs, though unmodish or unfashionable, leaves nothing of the substance of things neglected or undone: and as they aim at no more, so that simplicity of life is what they observe with great satisfaction; though it sometimes happens not to be without the mockeries of the vain world they live in.

These things, to be sure, gave them a rough and disagreeable appearance with the generality; who thought them "turners of the world upside down," as indeed, in some sense, they were: but in no other than that wherein Paul was so charged, viz. To bring things back into their primitive and right order again. For these and such like prac-

tices of theirs were not the result of humour, or for civil distinction, as some have fancied, but a fruit of inward sense, which God, through his holy fear, had begotten in them. They did not consider how to contradict the world, or distinguish themselves as a party from others; it being none of their business, as it was not their interest: no, it was not the result of consultation, or a framed design, by which to declare or recommend schism or novelty. But God having given them a sight of themselves, they saw the whole world in the same glass of truth; and sensibly discerned the affections and passions of men, and the rise and tendency of things; what it was that gratified the "lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, but of the world." And from thence sprang, in the night of darkness and apostacy, which hath been over people, through their degenerations from the Light and Spirit of God, these and many other vain customs, which are seen by the heavenly day of Christ, that dawns in the soul, to be either wrong in their original; or, by time and abuse, hurtful in their practice. And though these things seemed trivial to some, and rendered these people stingy and conceited in such persons' opinion, there was, and is, more in them, than they were, or are, aware of.

It was not very easy to our primitive friends to make themselves sights and spectacles, and the scorn and derision of the world; which they easily foresaw must be the consequence of so unfashionable a conversation in it: but here was the wisdom of God seen, in the foolishness of these things; first, that they discovered the satisfaction and concern that people had in and for the fashions of this world, notwithstanding their high pretences to another; in that any disappointment about them came so very near them, as that the greatest honesty, virtue, wisdom, and ability, were unwelcome without them. Secondly, it seasonably and profitably divided conversation: for this making their society uneasy to their relations and acquaintance, it gave them the opportunity of more retirement and solitude; wherein they met with better company, even the Lord God, their Redeemer; and grew strong in his love, power, and wisdom, and were thereby better qualified for his service. And the success abundantly showed it: blessed be the name of the Lord.

And though they were not great and learned in the esteem of this world (for then they had not wanted followers upon their own credit and authority) yet they were generally of the most sober of the several persuasions they were in, and of the most repute for religion; and many of them of good capacity, substance, and account among men.

And also some among them wanted not for parts, learning, or estate; though then, as of old, "not many wise, or noble, &c. were called;" or at least received the heavenly call, because of the cross that attended the profession of it in sincerity. But neither do parts or learning make men the better Christians, though the better orators and disputants; and it is the ignorance of people about the divine gift, that causes that vulgar and mischievous mistake. Theory and practice, speculation and enjoyment, words and life, are two things. O it is the penitent, the reformed, the lowly, the watchful, the self-denying and holy soul, that is the Christian! and that frame is the fruit and work of the Spirit, which is the life of Jesus: whose life, though hid, in the fulness of it, in God the Father, is shed abroad in the hearts of them that truly believe, according to their capacity. O that people did but know this to cleanse them, to circumcise them, to quicken them, and to make them new creatures indeed! re-created, or re-generated, after Christ Jesus, unto good works; that they might live to God, and not to themselves; and offer up living prayers and living praises, to the living God, through his own living spirit, in which he is only to be worshipped in this gospel day.

O that they that read me could but feel me! for my heart is affected with this merciful visitation of the Father of lights and spirits to this poor nation, and the whole world, through the same testimony. Why should the inhabitants thereof reject it? Why should they lose the blessed benefit of it? Why should they not turn to the Lord with all their hearts, and say from the heart, 'Speak, Lord, for now thy poor servants hear? O that thy will may be done; thy great, thy good, and holy will, in earth, as it is in heaven! Do it in us, do it upon us, do what thou wilt with us; for we are thine, and desire to glorify thee, our Creator, both for that, and because thou art our Redeemer; for thou art redeeming us from the earth, from the vanities and pollutions of it, to be a peculiar people unto thee.' O this were a brave day for England, if so she could say in truth! But, alas! the case is otherwise; for which some of thine inhabitants, O land of my nativity! have mourned over thee with bitter wailing and lamentation. Their heads have been indeed as "waters, and their eyes as fountains of tears," because of thy transgression and stiff-neckedness; because thou wilt not hear, and fear, and return to the rock, even thy rock, O England! from whence thou art hewn. But be thou warned, O land of great profession, to receive him into thy heart. Behold, at that door it is he hath stood so long knocking! but thou

wilt yet have none of him. O be thou awakened, lest Jerusalem's judgments do swiftly overtake thee, because of Jerusalem's sins that abound in thee. For she abounded in formality, but made void the weighty things of God's law, as thou daily dost.

She withstood the Son of God in the flesh, and thou resistest the Son of God in the spirit. He would have gathered her, as an hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and she would not; so would he have gathered thee out of thy lifeless profession, and brought thee to inherit substance; to have known his power and kingdom: for which he often knocked within, by his grace and Spirit; and without, by his servants and witnesses: but, on the contrary, as Jerusalem of old persecuted the manifestation of the Son of God in the flesh, and crucified him, and whipped and imprisoned his servants; so hast thou, O land! crucified to thyself afresh the Lord of life and glory, and done despite to his Spirit of grace; slighting the Fatherly visitation, and persecuting the blessed dispensers of it by thy laws and magistrates; though they have early and late pleaded with thee, in the power and Spirit of the Lord, in love and meekness, that thou mightest know the Lord, and serve him, and become the glory of all lands.

But thou hast evilly entreated and requited them, thou hast set at nought all their counsel, and wouldest have none of their reproof, as thou shouldest have had. Their appearance was too strait, and their qualifications were too mean for thee to receive them; like the Jews of old, that cried, "Is not this the carpenter's son, and are not his brethren among us? Which of the scribes, of the learned (the orthodox) believe in him?" Prophesying their fall in a year or two, and making and executing of severe laws to bring it to pass: endeavouring to terrify them out of their holy way, or destroy them for abiding faithful to it. But thou hast seen how many governments that rose against them, and determined their downfall, have been overturned and extinguished, and that they are still preserved, and become a great and a considerable people, among the middle sort of thy numerous inhabitants. And, notwithstanding the many difficulties, without and within, which they have laboured under, since the Lord God Eternal first gathered them, they are an increasing people; the Lord still adding unto them, in divers parts, such as shall be saved, if they persevere to the end. And to thee, O England! were they, and are they, lifted up as a standard, and as a city set upon a hill, and to the nations round about thee, that in their light thou mayest come to see light, even in Christ Jesus

the light of the world, and therefore thy light and life too, if thou wouldst but turn from thy many evil ways, and receive and obey it. "For in the light of the lamb must the nations of them that are saved walk," as the scripture testifies.

Remember, O nation of great profession! how the Lord has waited upon thee since the dawning of reformation, and the many mercies and judgments by which he has pleaded with thee; and awake and arise out of thy deep sleep, and yet hear his word in thy heart, that thou mayest live.

Let not this thy day of visitation pass over thy head, nor neglect thou so great salvation as is this, which is come to thy house, O England! For why shouldest thou die? O land that God desires to bless! be assured it is he that has been in the midst of this people, in the midst of thee; and not a delusion, as thy mistaken teachers have made thee believe. And this thou shalt find by their marks and fruits, if thou wilt consider them in the spirit of moderation.

CHAP. III.

Of the qualifications of their Ministry. Eleven marks that it is Christian.

I. They were changed men themselves before they went about to change others. Their hearts were rent as well as their garments; and they knew the power and work of God upon them. And this was seen by the great alteration it made, and their stricter course of life, and more godly conversation, that immediately followed upon it.

II. They went not forth, or preached, in their own time or will, but in the will of God; and spoke not their own studied matter, but as they were opened and moved of his Spirit, with which they were well acquainted in their own conversion: which cannot be expressed to carnal men, so as to give them any intelligible account; for to such it is, as Christ said, "like the blowing of the wind, which no man knows whence it cometh, or whither it goeth." Yet this proof and zeal went along with their ministry, that many were turned from their lifeless professions, and the evil of their ways, to an inward and experimental knowledge of God, and an holy life, as thousands can witness. And as they freely received what they had to say from the Lord, so they freely administered it to others.

III. The bent and stress of their ministry, was conversion to God; regeneration and holiness. Not schemes of doctrines and verbal creeds, or new forms of worship; but a leaving-off, in religion, the superfluous, and reducing the

ceremonious and formal part, and pressing earnestly the substantial, the necessary, and profitable part to the soul; as all, upon a serious reflection, must and do acknowledge.

IV. They directed people to a principle in themselves, though not of themselves, by which all that they asserted, preached and exhorted others to, might be wrought in them, and known to them, through experience, to be true: which is an high and distinguishing mark of the truth of their ministry, both that they knew what they said, and were not afraid of coming to the test. For as they were bold from certainty, so they required conformity upon no human authority, but upon conviction, and the conviction of this principle; which they asserted was in them that they preached unto, and unto that they directed them, that they might examine and prove the reality of those things which they had affirmed of it, as to its manifestation and work in man. And this is more than the many ministers in the world pretend to. They declare of religion, say many things true, in words, of God, Christ, and the Spirit; of holiness and heaven; that all men should repent and amend their lives, or they will go to hell, &c. but which of them all pretend to speak of their own knowledge and experience; or ever directed to a divine principle, or agent, placed of God in man, to help him; and how to know it, and wait to feel its power to work that good and acceptable will of God in them?

Some of them, indeed, have spoken of the spirit, and the operations of it to sanctification, and performance of worship to God; but where, and how to find it, and wait in it to perform our duty to God, was yet as a mystery to be declared by this farther degree of reformation. So that this people did, not only in words, more than equally press repentance, conversion, and holiness, but did it knowingly and experimentally; and directed those, to whom they preached, to a sufficient principle; and told them where it was, and by what tokens they might know it, and which way they might experience the power and efficacy of it to their souls' happiness; which is more than theory and speculation, upon which most other ministers depend: for here is certainty, a bottom upon which man may boldly appear before God in the great day of account.

V. They reached to the inward state and condition of people, which is an evidence of the virtue of their principle, and of their ministring from it, and not from their own imaginations, glosses, or comments upon scripture. For nothing reaches the heart, but what is from the heart, or pierces the conscience, but what comes from a living con-

science. Insomuch as it hath often happened, where people have, under secrecy, revealed their state or condition to some choice friends, for advice or ease, they have been so particularly directed in the ministry of this people, that they have challenged their friends with discovering their secrets, and telling their preachers their cases, to whom a word had not been spoken. Yea, the very thoughts and purposes of the hearts of many have been so plainly detected, that they have, like Nathaniel, cried out, of this inward appearance of Christ, "Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel." And those that have embraced this divine principle, have found this mark of its truth and divinity (that the woman of Samaria did of Christ, when in the flesh, to be the Messiah) viz. "It had told them all that ever they had done;" shown them their insides, the most inward secrets of their hearts, and laid judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; of which thousands can at this day give in their witnesses. So that nothing has been affirmed by this people, of the power and virtue of this heavenly principle, that such as have turned to it have not found true, and more; and that one half had not been told to them of what they have seen of the power, purity, wisdom, and goodness of God therein.

VI. The accomplishments with which this principle fitted even some of the meanest of this people for their work and service: furnishing some of them with an extraordinary understanding in divine things, and an admirable fluency, and taking way of expression; which gave occasion to some to wonder, saying of them, as of their Master, 'Is not this such a mechanic's son? How came he by this learning?' As from thence others took occasion to suspect and insinuate they were Jesuits in disguise, who had the reputation of learned men for an age past: though there was not the least ground of truth for any such reflection; in that their ministers are known, the place of their abode, their kindred and education.

VII. That they came forth low, and despised, and hated, as the primitive Christians did; and not by the help of worldly wisdom or power, as former reformations, in part, had done: but in all things it may be said, 'This people were brought forth in the cross; in a contradiction to the ways, worships, fashions, and customs of this world; yea, against wind and tide, that so no flesh might glory before God.'

VIII. They could have no design to themselves in this work, thus to expose themselves to scorn and abuse, to spend, and be spent: leaving wife and children, house and

land, and all that can be accounted dear to men, with their lives in their hands, being daily in jeopardy, to declare this primitive message, revived in their spirits by the good Spirit and power of God, viz.

"That God is light, and in him is no darkness at all; and that he has sent his Son a light into the world, to enlighten all men in order to salvation; and that they that say they have fellowship with God, and are his children and people, and yet walk in darkness, (viz. in disobedience to the light in their consciences) and after the vanity of this world, they lie, and do not the truth. But that all such as love the light, and bring their deeds to it, and walk in the light, as God is light, the blood of Jesus Christ his Son should cleanse them from all sin." Thus John i. 4, 19. chap. iii. 20, 21. 1 John i. 5, 6, 7.

IX. Their known great constancy and patience in suffering for their testimony, in all the branches of it; and that sometimes unto death, by beatings, bruisings, long and crowded imprisonments, and noisome dungeons; four of them in New England, dying by the hands of the executioner, purely for preaching amongst that people: besides banishments, and excessive plunders and sequestrations of their goods and estates, almost in all parts, not easily to be expressed, and less to have been endured, but by those that have the support of a good and glorious cause; refusing deliverance by any indirect ways or means, as often as it was offered unto them.

X. That they not only did not show any disposition to revenge, when it was at any time in their power, but forgave their cruel enemies; shewing mercy to those that had none for them.

XI. Their plainness with those in authority, like the ancient prophets, not fearing to tell them, to their faces, of their private and public sins; and their prophecies to them of their affliction and downfal, when in the top of their glory. Also of some national judgments, as of the plague, and fire of London, in express terms; and likewise particular ones to divers persecutors, which accordingly overtook them; and were very remarkable in the places where they dwelt, which in time may be made public, for the glory of God.

Thus, reader, thou seest this people in their rise, principles, ministry, and progress, both their general and particular testimony; by which thou mayest be informed, how, and upon what foot, they sprang, and became so considerable a people. It remains next, that I show also their care, conduct, and discipline, as a Christian and reformed society,

that they might be found living up to their own principles and profession. And this the rather, because they have hardly suffered more in their character from the unjust charge of error, than by the false imputation of disorder: which calumny, indeed, has not failed to follow all the true steps that were ever made to reformation, and under which reproach none suffered more than the primitive Christians themselves, that were the honour of Christianity, and the great lights and examples of their own and succeeding ages.

CHAP. IV.

Of the discipline and practice of this People, as a religious society. The church power they own and exercise, and that which they reject and condemn: with the method of their proceedings against erring and disorderly persons.

This people increasing daily both in town and country, an holy care fell upon some of the elders among them, for the benefit and service of the church. And the first business in their view, after the example of the primitive saints, was the exercise of charity; to supply the necessities of the poor, and answer the like occasions. Wherefore collections were early and liberally made, for that and divers other services in the church, and intrusted with faithful men, fearing God, and of good report, who were not weary in well-doing; adding often of their own, in large proportions, which they never brought to account, or desired should be known, much less restored to them, that none might want, nor any service be retarded or disappointed.

They were also very careful, that every one that belonged to them answered their profession in their behaviour among men, upon all occasions; that they lived peaceably, and were in all things good examples. They found themselves engaged to record their sufferings and services: and in case of marriage, (which they could not perform in the usual methods of the nation, but among themselves) they took care that all things were clear between the parties, and all others: and it was then rare that any one entertained an inclination to a person on that account, till he or she had communicated it secretly to some very weighty and eminent friends among them, that they might have a sense of the matter; looking to the counsel and unity of their brethren as of great moment to them. But because the charge of the poor, the number of orphans, marriages, sufferings, and other matters multiplied; and that it was good that the churches were in some way and method of proceeding in such affairs among them, to the end they might the better

correspond upon occasion, where a member of one meeting might have to do with one of another; it pleased the Lord, in his wisdom and goodness, to open the understanding of the first intrument of this dispensation of life, about a good and orderly way of proceeding; who felt an holy concern to visit the churches in person throughout this nation, to begin and establish it among them: and by his epistles, the like was done in other nations and provinces abroad; which he also afterwards visited, and helped in that service, as shall be observed when I come to speak of him.

Now the care, conduct, and discipline, I have been speaking of, and which are now practised among this people, is as followeth.

This godly elder, in every county where he travelled, exhorted them, that some, out of every meeting for worship, should meet together once in the month, to confer about the wants and occasions of the church. And as the case required, so those monthly meetings were fewer or more in number in every respective county: four or six meetings for worship, usually making one monthly for business. And accordingly the brethren met him from place to place, and began the said meetings, viz. For the poor, orphans, orderly walking, integrity to their profession, births, marriages, burials, sufferings, &c. And that these monthly meetings should, in each county, make up one quarterly meeting, where the most zealous and eminent friends of the country should assemble to communicate, advise, and help one another, especially when any business seemed difficult, or a monthly meeting was tender of determining a matter.

Also that these several quarterly meetings should digest the reports of their monthly meetings, and prepare one for each respective county, against the yearly meeting, in which all quarterly meetings resolve; which is held in London, where the churches in this nation, and other nations and provinces, meet by chosen members of their respective counties, both mutually to communicate their church-affairs, and to advise, and be advised, in any depending case, to edification. Also to provide a requisite stock for the discharge of general expenses for general services in the church, not needful to be here particularized.

At these meetings, any of the members of the churches may come, if they please, and speak their minds freely, in the fear of God, to any matter: but the mind of each quarterly meeting, therein represented, is chiefly understood, as to particular cases, in the sense delivered by the persons deputed, or chosen for that service by the said meeting.

During their yearly meeting, to which their other meetings refer in their order, and naturally resolve themselves, care is taken, by a select number, for that service chosen by the general assembly, to draw up the minutes of the said meeting, upon the several matters that have been under consideration therein; to the end that the respective quarterly and monthly meetings may be informed of all proceedings; together with a general exhortation to holiness, unity, and charity. Of all which proceedings in yearly, monthly, and quarterly meetings, due record is kept, by some one appointed for that service, or that hath voluntarily undertaken it. These meetings are opened, and usually concluded, in their solemn waiting upon God, who is sometimes graciously pleased to answer them with as signal evidences of his love and presence, as in any of their meetings for worship.

It is farther to be noted, that in these solemn assemblies for the churches' service, there is no one presides among them, after the manner of the assemblies of other people; Christ only being their president, as he is pleased to appear, in life and wisdom, in any one or more of them; to whom, whatever be their capacity or degree, the rest adhere with a firm unity, not of authority, but conviction; which is the divine authority and way of Christ's power and spirit in his people: making good his blessed promise, that "he would be in the midst of his, where, and whenever they were met together in his name, even to the end of the world." So be it.

Now it may be expected, I should here set down what sort of authority is exercised by this people, upon such members of their society as correspond not in their lives with their profession, and that are refractory to this good and wholesome order settled among them; and the rather, because they have not wanted their reproach and sufferings from some tongues and pens, upon this occasion, in a plentiful manner.

The power they exercise, is such as Christ has given to his people, to the end of the world, in the persons of his disciples, viz. 'To oversee, exhort, reprove, and, after long suffering and waiting upon the disobedient and refractory, to disown them, as any more of their communion; or that they will any longer stand charged, in the sight and judgment of God or men, with their conversation or behaviour, as any of them, until they repent.' The subject matter about which this authority, in any of the foregoing branches of it, is exercised, is, first, in relation to common and general practice: and, secondly, about those things that more strictly refer to their own character and profession, and which distinguish them from all other professors of Christi-

anity; avoiding two extremes, upon which many split, viz. persecution and libertinism: that is, a coercive power, to whip people into the temple; that such as will not conform, though against faith and conscience, shall be punished in their persons or estates: or leaving all loose, and at large, as to practice; and so unaccountable to all, but God and the magistrate. To which hurtful extreme, nothing has more contributed than the abuse of church-power, by such as suffer their passion and private interests to prevail with them to carry it to outward force and corporal punishment. A practice they have been taught to dislike, by their extreme sufferings, as well as their own principle for an universal liberty of conscience.

On the other hand, they equally dislike an independency in society: an unaccountableness in practice and conversation, to the rules and terms of their own communion, and to those that are the members of it. They distinguish between imposing any practice that immediately regards faith or worship (which is never to be done, or suffered, or submitted unto) and requiring Christian compliance with those methods that only respect church-business in its more civil part and concern; and that regard the discreet and orderly maintenance of the character of the society, as a sober and religious community. In short, what is for the promotion of holiness and charity; that men may practise what they profess, live up to their own principles, and not be at liberty to give the lie to their own profession without rebuke, is their use and limit of church-power. They compel none to them, but oblige those that are of them to walk suitably, or they are denied by them: that is all the mark they set upon them, and the power they exercise, or judge a Christian society can exercise, upon those that are the members of it.

The way of their proceeding against such as have lapsed or transgressed, is this: he is visited by some of them, and the matter of fact laid home to him, be it any evil practice against known and general virtue, or any branch of their particular testimony, which he, in common, professeth with them. They labour with him, in much love and zeal, for the good of his soul, the honour of God, and reputation of their profession, to own his fault, and condemn it in as ample a manner, as the evil or scandal was given by him; which, for the most part, is performed by some written testimony under the party's hand: and if it so happen, that the party prove refractory, and is not willing to clear the truth they profess, from the reproach of his or her evil-doing or unfaithfulness, they, after repeated intreaties, and due waiting

for a token of repentance, give forth a paper, to disown such a fact, and the party offending; recording the same, as a testimony of their care for the honour of the truth they profess.

And if he, or she, shall clear their profession, and themselves, by sincere acknowledgment of their fault, and godly sorrow for so doing, they are received, and looked upon again as members of their communion. For as God, so his true people, upbraid no man after repentance.

This is the account I had to give of the people of God called Quakers, as to their rise, appearance, principles, and practices in this age of the world, both with respect to their faith and worship, discipline, and conversation. And I judge it very proper in this place; because it is to preface the journal of the first blessed and glorious instrument of this work, and for a testimony to him, in his singular qualifications and services, in which he abundantly excelled in this day, and are worthy to be set forth as an example to all succeeding times, to the glory of the Most High God, and for a just memorial to that worthy and excellent man, his faithful servant and apostle to this generation of the world.

CHAP. V.

Of the first instrument, or person, by whom God was pleased to gather this people into the way they profess. His name G. Fox: his many excellent qualifications; showing a divine, and not an human power, to have been their original in him. His troubles and sufferings, both from without and within. His end and triumph.

I am now come to the third head or branch of my preface, viz. the instrumental author. For it is natural for some to say, 'Well; here is the people and work, but where and who was the man, the instrument?' He that, in this age, was sent to begin this work and people?' I shall, as God shall enable me, declare who and what he was; not only by report of others, but from my own long and most inward converse, and intimate knowledge of him: for which my soul blesseth God, as it hath often done: and I doubt not, but by that time I have discharged myself of this part of my preface, my serious readers will believe I had good cause so to do.

The blessed instrument of, and in, this day of God, and of whom I am now about to write, was George Fox, distinguished from another of that name, by that other's addition of younger to his name, in all his writings; not that he was so in years, but that he was so in truth: but he,

also, was a worthy man, witness, and servant of God, in his time.

But this George Fox was born in Leicestershire, about the year 1624. He descended of honest and sufficient parents, who endeavoured to bring him up, as they did the rest of their children, in the way and worship of the nation: especially his mother, who was a woman accomplished above most of her degree in the place where she lived. But, from a child, he appeared of another frame of mind from the rest of his brethren; being more religious, inward, still, solid, and observing beyond his years, as the answers he would give, and the questions he would put, upon occasion, manifested, to the astonishment of those that heard him, especially in divine things.

His mother taking notice of his singular temper, and the gravity, wisdom, and piety, that very early shined through him, refusing childish and vain sports and company, when very young, she was tender and indulgent over him, so that from her he met with little difficulty. As to his employment, he was brought up in country business; and as he took most delight in sheep, so he was very skilful in them: an employment that very well suited his mind in several respects, both for its innocency and solitude; and was a just emblem of his after ministry and service.

I shall not break in upon his own account, which is by much the best that can be given; and therefore desire, what I can, to avoid saying any thing of what is said already, as to the particular passages of his coming forth: but, in general, when he was somewhat above twenty, he left his friends, and visited the most retired and religious people in those parts: and some there were, short of few, if any, in this nation, who "waited for the Consolation of Israel, night and day;" as Zacharias, Anna, and good old Simeon, did of old time. To these he was sent, and these he sought out in the neighbouring counties, and among them he sojourned till his more ample ministry came upon him. At this time he taught, and was an example of, silence, endeavouring to bring them from self-performances: testifying of, and turning them to, the light of Christ within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience, and to feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man. For "in the Word was life, and that life is the light of men." Life in the Word, light in men; and life in men too, as the light is obeyed: the children of the light living by the life of the Word, by which

the Word begets them again to God, which is the regeneration and new birth; without which there is no coming into the kingdom of God; and to which, whoever comes, is greater than John; that is, than John's dispensation, which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the legal, and fore-running of the gospel-times, the time of the kingdom. Accordingly several meetings were gathered in those parts; and thus his time was employed for some years.

In 1652, he being in his usual retirement, his mind exercised towards the Lord, upon a very high mountain, (in some of the hither parts of Yorkshire, as I take it) he had a vision of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth in a public ministry, to begin it. He saw people, as thick as motes in the sun, that should, in time, be brought home to the Lord, that there might be but "one Shepherd and one sheepfold in all the earth." There his eye was directed northward, beholding a great people that should receive him and his message in those parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to sound out his great and notable day, as if he had been in a great auditory; and from thence went north, as the Lord had shown him. And in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exercise and service shown to him, so that the Lord was his leader indeed. For it was not in vain that he travelled; God, in most places, sealing his commission with the convincement of some of all sorts, as well publicans, as sober professors of religion. Some of the first and most eminent of those that came forth in a public ministry, and which are now at rest, were Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler, William Dewsberry, Thomas Aldam, Francis Howgil, Edward Burroughs, John Camm, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, T. Taylor, T. Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simson, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Withers, Tho. Low, Josiah Cole, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Salthouse, and many more worthies, that cannot be well here named; together with divers, yet living, of the first and great convincement; who after the knowledge of God's purging judgment in themselves, and some time of waiting in silence upon him, to feel and receive power from on high, to speak in his name, (which none else rightly can, though they may use the same words) they felt its divine motions, and were frequently drawn forth, especially to visit the public assemblies, to reprove, inform, and exhort them: sometimes in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway-side; calling people to repentance, and to turn to the Lord with their hearts, as well as their mouths; directing them to the light of Christ

within them, to see, examine, and consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil, and do the good and acceptable will of God. And they suffered great hardships for this their love and good-will; being often stocked; stoned, beaten, whipped, and imprisoned; though honest men, and of good report where they lived; that had left wives, children, and houses and lands to visit them with a living call to repentance. And though the priests generally set themselves to oppose them, and write against them, and insinuated most false and scandalous stories, to defame them; stirring up the magistrates to suppress them, especially in those northern parts; yet God was pleased so to fill them with his living power, and give them such an open door of utterance in his service, that there was a mighty convincement over those parts.

And through the tender and singular indulgence of judge Bradshaw and judge Fell, and colonel West, in the infancy of things, the priests were never able to gain the point they laboured for, which was to have proceeded to blood; and, if possible, Herod-like, by a cruel exercise of the civil power, to have cut them off, and rooted them out of the country. But especially judge Fell, who was not only a check to their rage in the course of legal proceedings, but otherwise, upon occasion; and finally countenanced this people. For his wife receiving the truth with the first, it had that influence upon his spirit, being a just and wise man, and seeing in his own wife and family a full confutation of all the popular clamours against the way of truth, that he covered them what he could, and freely opened his doors, and gave up his house to his wife and her friends; not valuing the reproach of ignorant or of evil-minded people: which I here mention, to his or her honour, and which will be, I believe, an honour and a blessing to such of their name and family as shall be found in that tenderness, humility, love and zeal for the truth and people of the Lord.

That house was for some years, at first especially, until the truth had opened its way into the southern parts of this island, an eminent receptacle of this people. Others, of good note and substance in those northern counties, had also opened their houses, together with their hearts, to the many publishers, that, in a short time, the Lord had raised to declare his salvation to the people; and where meetings of the Lord's messengers were frequently held, to communicate their services and exercises, and comfort and edify one another in their blessed ministry.

But lest this may be thought a digression, having touched upon this before, I return to this excellent man: and for his personal qualities, both natural, moral, and divine, as

they appeared in his converse with the brethren, and in the church of God, take as follows:

I. He was a man that God endued with a clear and wonderful depth: a discerner of others' spirits, and very much a master of his own. And though that side of his understanding which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound; and would not only bear to be often considered, but the more it was so, the more weighty and instructing it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would seem to fall from him, about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations. And, indeed, it showed, beyond all contradiction, that God sent him; in that no art or parts had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry; and that so many great, excellent, and necessary truths, as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit or wisdom to recommend them. So that as to man, he was an original, being no man's copy. And his ministry and writings show they are from one that was not taught of man, nor had learned what he said by study. Nor were they notional or speculative, but sensible and practical truths, tending to conversion and regeneration, and the setting up of the kingdom of God in the hearts of men; and the way of it was his work. So that I have many times been overcome in myself, and been made to say, with my Lord and Master, upon the like occasion, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent of this world, and revealed them to babes:" for many times hath my soul bowed, in an humble thankfulness to the Lord, that he did not choose any of the wise and learned of this world to be the first messenger, in our age, of his blessed truth to men; but that he took one that was not of high degree, or elegant speech, or learned after the way of this world, that his message and work, he sent him to do, might come with less suspicion, or jealousy of human wisdom and interest, and with more force and clearness upon the consciences of those that sincerely sought the way of truth in the love of it. I say, beholding with the eye of my mind, which the God of heaven had opened in me, the marks of God's finger and hand visibly, in this testimony, from the clearness of the principle, the power and efficacy of it, in the exemplary sobriety, plainness, zeal, steadiness, humility, gravity, punctuality, charity, and circumspect care in the government of church affairs, which shined in his and their life and testimony that God employed in this work, it greatly confirmed

me that it was of God, and engaged my soul in a deep love, fear, reverence, and thankfulness, for his love and mercy therein to mankind: in which mind I remain, and shall, I hope, through the Lord's strength, to the end of my days.

II. In his testimony or ministry, he much laboured to open truth to the people's understandings, and to bottom them upon the principle and principal, Christ Jesus, the light of the world; that by bringing them to something that was from God in themselves, they might the better know and judge of him and themselves.

III. He had an extraordinary gift in opening the scriptures. He would go to the marrow of things, and show the mind, harmony, and fulfilling of them with much plainness, and to great comfort and edification.

IV. The mystery of the first and second Adam, of the fall and restoration of the law and gospel, of shadows and substance, of the servant's and Son's state, and the fulfilling of the scriptures in Christ, and by Christ, the true Light, in all that are his, through the obedience of faith, were much of the substance and drift of his testimonies. In all which he was witnessed to be of God; being sensibly felt to speak that which he had received of Christ, and was his own experience, in that which never errs nor fails.

V. But, above all, he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fulness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer. And truly it was a testimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know him most, will see most reason to approach him with reverence and fear.

VI. He was of an innocent life, no busy body, nor self-seeker; neither touchy nor critical: what fell from him was very inoffensive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority but over evil; and that every where, and in all; but with love, compassion, and long-suffering. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive, as unapt to take or give offence. Thousands can truly say he was of an excellent spirit and savour among them; and because thereof, the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

VII. He was an incessant labourer; for in his younger time, before his many, great and deep sufferings and travails had enfeebled his body for itinerant services, he la-

boured much in the word and doctrine, and discipline, in England, Scotland, and Ireland; turning many to God, and confirming those that were convinced of the truth, and settling good order, as to church affairs, among them. And towards the conclusion of his travelling services, between the years seventy-one and seventy-seven, he visited the churches of Christ in the plantations in America, and in the United Provinces, and Germany, as his journal relates; to the convincement and consolation of many. After that time he chiefly resided in and about the city of London: and besides his labour in the ministry, which was frequent and serviceable, he writ much, both to them that are within, and those that are without the communion. But the care he took of the affairs of the church in general was very great.

VIII. He was often where the records of the business of the church are kept, and where the letters from the many meetings of God's people over all the world use to come: which letters he had read to him, and communicated them to the meeting, that is weekly held, for such services; and he would be sure to stir them up to answer them, especially in suffering cases; showing great sympathy and compassion upon all such occasions; carefully looking into the respective cases, and endeavouring speedy relief, according to the nature of them. So that the churches, or any of the suffering members thereof, were sure not to be forgotten or delayed in their desire, if he were there.

IX. As he was unwearied, so he was undaunted, in his services for God and his people: he was no more to be moved to fear than to wrath. His behaviour at Derby, Litchfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell, at Launceston, Scarborough, Worcester, and Westminster-Hall, with many other places and exercises, did abundantly evidence it, to his enemies as well as his friends.

But as, in the primitive times, some rose up against the blessed apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, even from among those that they had turned to the hope of the gospel, and they became their greatest trouble; so this man of God had his share of suffering from some that were convinced by him, who, through prejudice or mistake, ran against him, as one that sought dominion over conscience, because he pressed, by his presence or epistles, a ready and zealous compliance with such good and wholesome things as tended to an orderly conversation about the affairs of the church, and in their walking before men. That which contributed much to this ill work, was, in some, a begrudging of this meek man the love and esteem he had, and deserved, in the

hearts of the people; and weakness in others, that were taken with their groundless suggestions of imposition and blind obedience.

They would have had every man independent, that as he had the principle in himself, he should only stand and fall to that, and no body else: not considering, that the principle is one in all; and though the measure of light or grace might differ, yet the nature of it was the same; and being so, they struck at the spiritual unity, which a people, guided by the same principle, are naturally led into: so that what is an evil to one, is so to all, and what is virtuous, honest, and of good report to one, is so to all, from the sense and savour of the one universal principle which is common to all, and which the disaffected also profess to be the root of all true Christian fellowship, and that spirit into which the people of God drink, and come to be spiritually-minded, and of one heart and one soul.

Some weakly mistook good order in the government of church affairs, for discipline in worship, and that it was so pressed or recommended by him and other brethren. And thereupon they were ready to reflect the same things that dissenters had very reasonably objected upon the national churches, that have coercively pressed conformity to their respective creeds and worships. Whereas these things related wholly to conversation, and the outward (and as I may say) civil part of the church; that men should walk up to the principles of their belief, and not be wanting in care and charity. But though some have stumbled and fallen through mistakes, and an unreasonable obstinacy, even to a prejudice; yet, blessed be God, the generality have returned to their first love, and seen the work of the enemy, that loses no opportunity or advantage by which he may check or hinder the work of God, and disquiet the peace of his church, and chill the love of his people to the truth, and one to another; and there is hope of divers of the few that yet are at a distance.

In all these occasions, though there was no person the discontented struck so sharply at, as this good man, he bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter speeches, praying for them that they might have a sense of their hurt, and see the subtlety of the enemy to rend and divide, and return into their first love that thought no ill.

And truly I must say, that though God had visibly clothed himwith a divine preference and authority, and indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty, yet he never abused it; but held his place in the church of God with

great meekness, and a most engaging humility and moderation. For upon all occasions, like his blessed Master, he was a servant to all; holding and exercising his eldership in the invisible power that had gathered them, with reverence to the head, and care over the body; and was received, only in that spirit and power of Christ, as the first and chief elder in this age: who, as he was therefore worthy of double honour, so, for the same reason, it was given by the faithful of this day; because his authority was inward, and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God, and power of an endless life. I write my knowledge, and not report, and my witness is true; having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature; and that by night and by day, by sea and by land, in this and in foreign countries; and I can say, I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion.

For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, yea, a strong man, a new and heavenly-minded man, a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprized at his questions and answers in natural things; that whilst he was ignorant of useless and sophistical science, he had in him the grounds of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it every where. Civil, beyond all forms of breeding, in his behaviour: very temperate, eating little, and sleeping less, though a bulky person.

Thus he lived and sojourned among us: and as he lived, so he died; feeling the same eternal power, that had raised and preserved him, in his last moments. So full of assurance was he, that he triumphed over death; and so even in his spirit to the last, as if death were hardly worth notice, or a mention: recommending to some of us with him, the dispatch and dispersion of an epistle, just before given forth by him, to the churches of Christ throughout the world, and his own books: but, above all, friends; and of all friends, those in Ireland and America, twice over, saying, 'Mind poor friends in Ireland and America.'

And to some that came in, and inquired how he found himself, he answered, 'Never heed, the Lord's power is over all weakness and death; the seed reigns, blessed be the Lord:' which was about four or five hours before his departure out of this world. He was at the great meetings near Lombard-street, on the first-day of the week; and it was the third following, about ten at night, when he left us; being at the house of H. Goldney in the same court. In a good old age he went, after having lived to see his childrens' children, in the truth, to many generations. He had the

comfort of a short illness, and the blessing of a clear sense to the last: and we may truly say, with a man of God of old, that "being dead, he yet speaketh:" and though now absent in body, he is "present in Spirit;" neither time nor place being able to interrupt the communion of saints, or dissolve the fellowships of the spirits of the just. His works praise him, because they are to the praise of Him that wrought by him, for which his memorial is and shall be blessed. I have done, as to this part of my preface, when I have left this short epitaph to his name, 'Many sons have done virtuously in this day; but, dear George, thou excellest them all.'

CHAP. VI.

Containing five several exhortations. First, general, reminding this people of their primitive integrity and simplicity. Secondly, in particular, to the ministry. Thirdly, to the young convinced. Fourthly, to the children of friends. Fifthly, to those that are yet strangers to this people and way, to whom this book, (and that it was preface to in its former edition) may come. All the several exhortations accommodated to their several states and conditions; that all may answer the end of God's glory, and their own salvation.

And now, friends, you that profess to walk in the way that this blessed man was sent of God to turn us into, suffer, I beseech you, the word of exhortation, as well fathers as children, and elders as young men.

The glory of this day, and foundation of the hope that has not made us ashamed since we were a people, you know, is that blessed principle of light and life of Christ which we profess, and direct all people to, as the great and divine instrument and agent of man's conversion to God. It was by this that we were first touched, and effectually enlightened, as to our inward state; which put us upon the consideration of our latter end, causing us to set the Lord before our eyes, and to number our days, that we may apply our hearts to wisdom. In that day we judged not after the sight of the eye, or after the hearing of the ear; but according to the light and sense this blessed principle gave us, so we judged and acted in reference to things and persons, ourselves and others; yea, towards God our Maker. For being quickened by it in our inward man, we could easily discern the difference of things, and feel what was right, and what was wrong, and what was fit, and what not, both in reference to religious and civil concerns. That being the

ground of the fellowship of all saints, it was in that our fellowship stood. In this we desired to have a sense of one another, acted towards one another, and all men, in love, faithfulness, and fear.

In feeling of the stirrings and motions of this principle in our hearts, we drew near to the Lord, and waited to be prepared by it, that we might feel drawings and movings before we approached the Lord in prayer, or opened our mouths in ministry. And in our beginning and ending with this, stood our comfort, service, and edification. And as we ran faster, or fell short, we made burthens for ourselves to bear; our services finding in ourselves a rebuke, instead of an acceptance; and in lieu of well done, "Who has required this at your hands?" In that day we were an exercised people, our very countenances and deportment declared it.

Care for others was then much upon us, as well as for ourselves; especially of the young convinced. Often had we the burthen of the word of the Lord to our neighbours, relations, and acquaintance; and sometimes strangers also. We were in travail likewise for one another's preservation; not seeking, but shunning, occasions of any coldness or misunderstanding; treating one another as those that believed and felt God present. Which kept our conversation innocent, serious, and weighty; guarding ourselves against the cares and friendships of the world. We held the truth in the Spirit of it, and not in our own spirits, or after our own will and affections.

They were bowed and brought into subjection; insomuch that it was visible to them that knew us. We did not think ourselves at our own disposal, to go where we list, or say or do what we list, or when we list. Our liberty stood in the liberty of the Spirit of truth; and no pleasure, no profit, no fear, no favour could draw us from this retired, strict, and watchful frame. We were so far from seeking occasion of company, that we avoided them what we could; pursuing our own business with moderation, instead of meddling with other people's unnecessarily.

Our words were few and savoury, our looks composed and weighty, and our whole deportment very observable. True it is, that this retired and strict sort of life from the liberty of the conversation of the world, exposed us to the censures of many, as humourists, conceited and self-righteous persons, &c. But it was our preservation from many snares, to which others were continually exposed, by the prevalency of the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, that wanted no occasions or temptations to excite them abroad in the converse of the world.

I cannot forget the humility and chaste zeal of that day. O, how constant at meetings, how retired in them, how firm to truth's life, as well as truth's principles! and how intire and united in our communion! as indeed became those that profess one head, even Christ Jesus the Lord.

This being the testimony and example the man of God, before-mentioned, was sent to declare and leave amongst us, and we having embraced the same, as the merciful visitation of God to us, the word of exhortation at this time is, 'That we continue to be found in the way of this testimony, with all zeal and integrity; and so much the more, by how much the day draweth near.'

And first, as to you, my beloved and much honoured brethren in Christ, that are in the exercise of the ministry: O, feel life in your ministry! let life be your commission, your well-spring and treasury, in all such occasions; else, you well know, there can be no begetting to God; since nothing can quicken or make people alive to God, but the life of God: and it must be a ministry in and from life, that enlivens any people to God. We have seen the fruit of all other ministers, by the few that are turned from the evil of their ways. It is not our parts, or memory, the repetition of former openings, in our own will and time, that will do God's work. A dry doctrinal ministry, however sound in words, can reach but the ear, and is but a dream at the best: there is another soundness, that is soundest of all, viz. 'Christ, the power of God.' This is "the key of David, that opens, and none shuts; and shuts, and none can open:" as the oil to the lamp, and the soul to the body, so is that to the best of words. Which made Christ to say, "My words, they are spirit, and they are life;" that is, 'they are from life, and therefore they make you alive, that receive them.' If the disciples, that had lived with Jesus, were to stay at Jerusalem, till they received it; much more must we wait to receive before we minister, if we will turn people from darkness to light, and from Satan's power to God.

I fervently bow my knees to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you may always be like-minded, that you may ever wait reverently for the coming and opening of the word of life, and attend upon it in your ministry and service, that you may serve God in his Spirit. And be it little, or be it much, it is well; for much is not too much, and the least is enough, if from the motion of God's Spirit; and without it, verily, never so little is too much, because to no profit.

For it is the Spirit of the Lord immediately, or through the ministry of his servants, that teacheth his people to pro-

fit; and, to be sure, so far as we take him along with us in our services, so far we are profitable, and no farther. For if it be the Lord that must work all things in us for our salvation, much more is it the Lord that must work in us for the conversion of others. If therefore it was once a cross to us to speak, though the Lord required it at our hands; let us never be so to be silent, when he does not.

It is one of the most dreadful sayings in the book of God, that, "he that adds to the words of the prophecy of this book, God will add to him the plagues written in this book." To keep back the counsel of God, is as terrible; for "he that takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life." And truly, it has great caution in it, to those that use the name of the Lord, to be well assured the Lord speaks, that they may not be found of the number of those that add to the words of the testimony of prophecy, which the Lord giveth them to bear; nor yet to mince or diminish the same, both being so very offensive to God.

Wherefore, brethren, let us be careful neither to out-go our guide, nor yet loiter behind him; since he that makes haste, may miss his way, and he that stays behind, lose his guide. For even those that have received the word of the Lord, had need wait for wisdom, that they may see how to divide the word aright: which plainly implieth, that it is possible for one, that hath received the word of the Lord, to miss in the dividing and application of it, which must come from an impatiency of spirit, and a self-working, which makes an unsound and dangerous mixture; and will hardly beget a right-minded living people to God.

I am earnest in this, above all considerations, as to public brethren; well knowing how much it concerns the present and future state and preservation of the church of Christ Jesus, that has been gathered and built up by a living and powerful ministry, that the ministry be held, preserved, and continued in the manifestations, motions, and supplies of the same life and power, from time to time.

And wherever it is observed, that any do minister more from gifts and parts, than life and power, though they have an enlightened and doctrinal understanding, let them in time be advised and admonished for their preservation; because, insensibly, such will come to depend upon a self-sufficiency, to forsake Christ, the living fountain, and hew out unto themselves cisterns, that will hold no living waters: and, by degrees, such will come to draw others from waiting upon the gift of God in themselves, and to feel it in others in order to their strength and refreshment, to wait upon them,

and to turn from God to man again, and so make shipwreck of the faith, once delivered to the saints, and of a good conscience towards God; which are only kept by that divine gift of life, that begat the one, and awakened and sanctified the other, in the beginning.

Nor is it enough, that we have known the divine gift, and in it have reached to "the spirits in prison," and been the instruments of the convincing of others of the way of God, if we keep not as low and poor in ourselves, and as depending upon the Lord, as ever: since no memory, no repetitions of former openings, revelations, or enjoyments, will bring a soul to God, or afford bread to the hungry, or water to the thirsty, unless life go with what we say, and that must be waited for.

O that we may have no other fountain, treasure, or dependence! That none may presume, at any rate, to act of themselves for God, because they have long acted from God; that we may not supply want of waiting with our own wisdom, or think that we may take less care, and more liberty in speaking than formerly; and that where we do not feel the Lord, by his power, to open us and enlarge us, whatever be the expectation of the people, or has been our customary supply and character, we may not exceed, or fill up the time, with our own.

I hope we shall ever remember who it was that said, "Of yourselves you can do nothing:" our sufficiency is in Him. And if we are not to speak our own words, or take thought what we should say to men in our defence, when exposed for our testimony; surely we ought to speak none of our own words, or take thought what we shall say, in our testimony and ministry, in the name of the Lord, to the souls of the people: for then, of all times, and of all other occasions, should it be fulfilled in us, "for it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that speaketh in you."

And, indeed, the ministry of the Spirit must, and does, keep its analogy and agreement with the birth of the Spirit; that as no man can inherit the kingdom of God, "unless he be born of the Spirit," so no ministry can beget a soul to God, but that which is from the Spirit. For this, as I said before, the disciples waited before they went forth; and in this, our elder brethren, and messengers of God in our day, waited, visited, and reached us; and having begun in the Spirit, let none ever hope or seek to be made perfect in the flesh: for what is the flesh to the Spirit, or the chaff to the wheat? And if we keep in the Spirit, we shall keep in the unity of it, which is the ground of the fellowship. For by drinking into that one Spirit, we are made one people to

God, and by it we are continued in the unity of the faith, and the bond of peace. No envying, no bitterness, no strife, can have place with us. We shall watch always for good, and not for evil, one over another; and rejoice exceedingly, and not begrudge at one another's increase in the riches of the grace with which God replenisheth his faithful servants.

And, brethren, as to you is committed the dispensation of the oracles of God, which give you frequent opportunities, and great place, with the people among whom you travel, I beseech you that you would not think it sufficient to declare the word of life in their assemblies, however edifying and comfortable such opportunities may be to you and them: but, as was the practice of the man of God before-mentioned, in great measure, when among us, inquire the state of the several churches you visit; who among them are afflicted or sick, who are tempted, and if any are unfaithful or obstinate; and endeavour to issue those things in the wisdom and power of God, which will be a glorious crown upon your ministry. As that prepares your way in the hearts of the people, to receive you as men of God, so it gives you credit with them to do them good by your advice in other respects; the afflicted will be comforted by you, the tempted strengthened, the sick refreshed, the unfaithful convicted and restored, and such as are obstinate, softened and fitted for reconciliation, which is clinching the nail, and applying and fastening the general testimony, by this particular care of the several branches of it, in reference to them more immediately concerned in it.

For though good and wise men, and elders too, may reside in such places, who are of worth and importance in the general, and in other places; yet it does not always follow, that they may have the room they deserve in the hearts of the people they live among; or some particular occasion may make it unfit for him or them to use that authority. But you that travail as God's messengers, if they receive you in the greater, shall they refuse you in the less? And if they own the general testimony, can they withstand the particular application of it, in their own cases? Thus, ye will show yourselves workmen indeed, and carry your business before you, to the praise of his name, that hath called you from darkness to light, that you might turn others from Satan's power unto God and his kingdom, which is within. And O that there were more of such faithful labourers in the vineyard of the Lord! Never more need, since the day of God.

Wherefore I cannot but cry and call aloud to you, that

have been long professors of the truth, and know the truth in the convincing power of it, and have had a sober conversation among men, yet content yourselves only to know truth for yourselves, to go to meetings, and exercise an ordinary charity in the church, and an honest behaviour in the world, and limit yourselves within those bounds; feeling little or no concern upon your spirits for the glory of the Lord in the prosperity of his truth in the earth, more than to be glad that others succeed in such service: arise ye, in the name and power of the Lord Jesus! Behold how white the fields are unto harvest, in this and other nations, and how few able and faithful labourers there are to work therein! Your country folks, neighbours, and kindred, want to know the Lord and his truth, and to walk in it. Does nothing lie at your door upon their account? Search and see, and lose no time, I beseech you, for the Lord is at hand.

I do not judge you; there is One that judgeth all men, and his judgment is true. You have mightily increased in your outward substance: may you equally increase in your inward riches, and do good with both, while you have a day to do good. Your enemies would once have taken what you had from you, for his name's sake, in whom you have believed; wherefore he has given you much of the world, in the face of your enemies. But, O, let it be your servant, and not your master! Your diversion, rather than your business! Let the Lord be chiefly in your eye, and ponder your ways, and see if God has nothing more for you to do: and if you find yourself short in your account with him, then wait for his preparation, and be ready to receive the word of command, and be not weary of well-doing, when you have put your hand to the plough; and assuredly you shall reap, if you faint not, the fruit of your heavenly labour in God's everlasting kingdom.

And, you young-convinced ones, be you intreated and exhorted to a diligent and chaste waiting upon God, in the way of his blessed manifestation and appearance of himself to you. Look not out, but within: let not another's liberty be your snare: neither act by imitation, but sense and feeling of God's power in yourselves: crush not the tender buddings of it in your souls, nor over-run, in your desires, and warmness of affections, the holy and gentle motions of it. Remember it is a still voice, that speaks to us in this day; and that it is not to be heard in the noises and hurries of the mind; but it is distinctly understood in a retired frame. Jesus loved and chose solitudes; often going to mountains, gardens, and sea-sides, to avoid crowds and hur-

ries, to show his disciples it was good to be solitary, and sit loose to the world. Two enemies lie near your states, imagination and liberty; but the plain, practical, living, holy truth, that has convinced you, will preserve you, if you mind it in yourselves, and bring all thoughts, inclinations, and affections, to the test of it, to see if they are wrought in God, or of the enemy, or your ownselves: so will a true taste, discerning, and judgment, be preserved to you, of what you should do and leave undone. And in your diligence and faithfulness in this way you will come to inherit substance; and Christ, the eternal wisdom, will fill your treasury. And when you are converted, as well as convinced, then confirm your brethren; and be ready to every good word and work, that the Lord shall call you to; that you may be to his praise, who has chosen you to be partakers, with the saints in light, of a kingdom that cannot be shaken, an inheritance incorruptible in eternal habitations.

And now, as for you, that are the children of God's people, a great concern is upon my spirit, for your good: and often are my knees bowed to the God of your fathers, for you, that you may come to be partakers of the same divine life and power, that have been the glory of this day; that a generation you may be to God, "an holy nation, and a peculiar people, zealous of good works," when all our heads are laid in the dust. O you young men and women! Let it not suffice you, that you are the children of the people of the Lord; you must also be born again, if you will inherit the kingdom of God. Your fathers are but such after the flesh, and could but beget you into the likeness of the first Adam; but you must be begotten into the likeness of the second Adam, by a spiritual generation, or you will not, you cannot, be of his children or offspring. And, therefore, look carefully about you, O ye children of the children of God! consider your standing, and see what you are, in relation to this divine kindred, family, and birth! Have you obeyed the light, and received and walked in the Spirit, which is the incorruptible seed of the word and kingdom of God, of which you must be born again. God is no respecter of persons. The father cannot save or answer for the child, or the child for the father; but in the sin thou sinnest thou shalt die; and in the righteousness thou dost, through Christ Jesus, thou shalt live; for it is the willing and obedient that shall eat the good of the land. "Be not deceived, God is not mocked; such as all nations and people sow, such they shall reap at the hand of the just God." And then your many and great privileges, above the children of other people, will add weight in the scale against

you, if you choose not the way of the Lord. For you have had "line upon line, precept upon precept," and not only good doctrine, but good example; and, which is more, you have been turned to, and acquainted with, a principle in yourselves, which others have been ignorant of: and you know you may be as good as you please, without the fear of frowns and blows, or being turned out of doors, and forsaken of father and mother, for God's sake, and his holy religion, as has been the case of some of your fathers, in the day they first entered into this holy path. And if you, after hearing and seeing the wonders that God has wrought in the deliverance and preservation of them, through a sea of troubles, and the manifold temporal, as well as spiritual blessings, that he has filled them with, in the sight of their enemies, should neglect and turn their backs upon so great and near a salvation, you would not only be most ungrateful children to God and them, but must expect that God will call the children of those that knew him not, to take the crown out of your hands, and that your lot will be a dreadful judgment at the hand of the Lord: but O that it may never be so with any of you! the Lord forbid! saith my soul.

Wherefore, O ye young men and women, look to the Rock of your fathers: there is no other God but him, no other light but his, no other grace but his, no Spirit but his, to convince you, quicken and comfort you; to lead, guide, and preserve you to God's everlasting kingdom: so will you be possessors, as well as professors, of the truth, embracing it not only by education, but judgment and conviction, from a sense begotten in your souls, through the operation of the eternal Spirit and power of God; by which you may come to be the seed of Abraham, through faith, and the "circumcision not made with hands;" and so heirs of the promise made to the fathers, of an "incorruptible crown." That, as I said before, a generation you may be to God, holding up the profession of the blessed truth in the life and power of it. For formality in religion is nauseous to God and good men; and the more so, where any form and appearance has been new and peculiar, and begun and practised, upon a principle, with an uncommon zeal and strictness. Therefore, I say, for you to fall flat and formal, and continue the profession, without that salt and savour, by which it is come to obtain a good report among men, is not to answer God's love, or your parents' care, or the mind of truth in yourselves, or in those that are without: who, though they will not obey the truth, have sight and sense enough to see if they do that make a profession of it. For where the divine virtue of it is not felt in the soul, and

waited for, and lived in, imperfections will quickly break out, and show themselves, and detect the unfaithfulness of such persons; and that their insides are not seasoned with the nature of that holy principle which they profess.

Wherefore, dear children, let me intreat you to shut your eyes at the temptations and allurements of this low and perishing world, and not suffer your affections to be captivated by those lusts and vanities, that your fathers, for the truth's sake, long since turned their backs upon: but as you believe it to be the truth, receive it into your hearts, that you may become the children of God: so that it may never be said of you, as the evangelist writes of the Jews in his time, that "Christ," the true light, "came to his own, but his own received him not: but to as many as received him, to them he gave power to become the children of God; which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." A most close and comprehensive passage to this occasion. You exactly, and peculiarly, answer to those professing Jews, in that you bear the name of God's people, by being the children, and wearing the form of God's people: and he, by his light in you, may be very well said to come to his own; and if you obey it not, but turn your back upon it, and walk after the vanities of your minds, you will be of those that received him not; which I pray God may never be your case and judgment. But that you may be thoroughly sensible of the many and great obligations you lie under to the Lord for his love, and to your parents for their care: and with all your heart, and all your soul, and all your strength, turn to the Lord, to his gift and Spirit in you, and hear his voice, and obey it, that you may seal to the testimony of your fathers, by the truth and evidence of your own experience; that your children's children may bless you, and the Lord for you, as those that delivered a faithful example, as well as record, of the truth of God unto them. So will the grey hairs of your dear parents, yet alive, "go down to the grave with joy," to see you the posterity of truth, as well as theirs; and that not only their nature, but spirit, shall live in you when they are gone.

I shall conclude this account with a few words to those that are not of our communion, into whose hands this may come: especially those of our own nation.

Friends,

As you are the sons and daughters of Adam, and my brethren after the flesh, often and earnest have been my desires and prayers to God on your behalf, that you may come to know your Creator to be your Redeemer and Restorer to the holy image, that through sin you have lost, by the power and Spirit of his Son Jesus Christ, whom he hath given for the light and life of the world. And O that you, who are called Christians, would receive him into your hearts! for there it is you want him, and at that door he stands knocking, that you might let him in, but you do not open to him: you are full of other guests, so that a manger is his lot among you now, as well as of old. Yet you are full of profession, as were the Jews when he came among them, who knew him not, but rejected and evilly intreated him. So that if you come not to the possession and experience of what you profess, all your formality in religion will stand you in no stead in the day of God's judgment.

I beseech you ponder with yourselves your eternal condition, and see what title, what ground and foundation you have for your Christianity: if more than a profession, and an historical belief of the gospel? Have you known the baptism of fire, and the Holy Ghost, and the fan of Christ that winnows away the chaff in your minds, and carnal lusts and affections? That divine leaven of the kingdom, that, being received, leavens the whole lump of man, sanctifying him throughout, in body, soul, and spirit? If this be not the ground of your confidence, you are in a miserable estate.

You will say, perhaps, that though you are sinners, and live in daily commission of sin, and are not sanctified, as I have been speaking, yet you have faith in Christ, who has borne the curse for you, and in him you are complete by faith, his righteousness being imputed to you.

But, my friends, let me intreat you not to deceive yourselves, in so important a point, as is that of your immortal souls. If you have true faith in Christ, your faith will make you clean; it will sanctify you: for the saints' faith was their victory of old: by this they overcame sin within, and sinful men without. And if thou art in Christ, thou walkest not after the flesh, but after the spirit, whose fruits are manifest. Yea, thou art a new creature: new-made, new-fashioned, after God's will and mould. Old things are done away, and behold, all things are become new: new love, desire, will, affections, and practices. It is not any longer thou that livest; thou disobedient, carnal, worldly one; but

it is Christ that liveth in thee: and to live is Christ, and to die is thy eternal gain: because thou art assured, "that thy corruptible shall put on incorruption, and thy mortal, immortality; and that thou hast a glorious house, eternal in the heavens, that will never wax old, or pass away." All this follows being in Christ, as heat follows fire, and light the sun.

Therefore have a care how you presume to rely upon such a notion, as that you are in Christ, whilst in your old fallen nature. "For what communion hath light with darkness, or Christ with Belial?" Hear what the beloved disciple tells you: "If we say we have fellowship with God, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth." This is, if we go on in a sinful way, are captivated by our carnal affections, and are not converted to God, we walk in darkness, and cannot possibly, in that state, have any fellowship with God. Christ clothes them with his righteousness, that receive his grace in their hearts, and deny themselves, and take up his cross daily, and follow him. Christ's righteousness makes men inwardly holy; of holy minds, wills, and practices. It is, nevertheless, Christ's, though we have it; for it is ours not by nature, but by faith and adoption; it is the gift of God. But still, though not ours, as of or from ourselves, (for in that sense it is Christ's, for it is of and from him): yet it is ours, and must be ours, in possession, efficacy, and enjoyment, to do us any good; or Christ's righteousness will profit us nothing. It was after this manner that he was made to the primitive Christians, "righteousness, sanctification, justification, and redemption:' and if ever you will have the comfort, kernel, and marrow of the Christian religion, thus you must come to learn and obtain it.

Now, my friends, by what you have read, and will read in what follows, you may perceive that God has visited a poor people among you with this saving knowledge and testimony; whom he has upheld and increased to this day, notwithstanding the fierce opposition they have met withal. Despise not the meanness of this appearance: it was, and yet is, (we know) a day of small things, and of small account with too many; and many hard and ill names are given to it: but it is of God, it came from him, because it leads to him.

This we know; but we cannot make another to know it, unless he will take the same way to know it that we took. The world talks of God, but what do they do? They pray for power, but reject the principle in which it is. If you would know God, and worship and serve God as you should do, you must come to the means he has ordained and given

for that purpose. Some seek it in books, some in learned men; but what they look for, is in themselves, though not of themselves, but they overlook it. The voice is too still, the seed too small, and the light shineth in darkness: they are abroad, and so cannot divide the spoil: but the woman, that lost her silver, found it at home, after she had lighted her candle, and swept her house. Do you so too, and you shall find what Pilate wanted to know, viz. truth: truth in the inward parts, so valuable in the sight of God.

The light of Christ within, who is the light of the world, (and so a light to you, that tells you the truth of your condition) leads all, that take heed unto it, out of darkness, into God's marvellous light. For light grows upon the obedient: "it is sown for the righteous, and their way is a shining light, that shines forth more and more to the perfect day."

Wherefore, O friends, turn in, turn in, I beseech you: where is the poison, there is the antidote. There you want Christ, and there you must find him; and, blessed be God, there you may find him. "Seek, and you shall find," I testify for God. But then you must seek aright, with your whole heart, as men that seek for their lives, yea, for their eternal lives, diligently, humbly, patiently, as those that can taste no pleasure, comfort, or satisfaction in any thing else, unless you find Him whom your souls desire to know, and love, above all. O it is a travail, a spiritual travail, let the carnal, profane world, think and say as it will. And through this path you must walk to the city of God, that has eternal foundations, if ever you will come there.

Well! And what does this blessed light do for you? Why, 1. It sets all your sins in order before you: it detects the spirit of this world, in all its baits and allurements, and shows how man came to fall from God, and the fallen estate he is in. 2. It begets a sense and sorrow, in such as believe in it, for this fearful lapse. You will then see Him, distinctly, whom you have pierced, and all the blows and wounds you have given him by your disobedience, and how you have made him to serve with your sins; and you will weep and mourn for it, and your sorrow will be a godly sorrow. 3. After this, it will bring you to the holy watch, to take care that you do so no more, and that the enemy surprize you not again. Then thoughts, as well as words and works, will come to judgment, which is the way of holiness, in which the redeemed of the Lord do walk. Here you will come to "love God above all, and your neighbours as yourselves." Nothing hurts, nothing harms, nothing makes afraid, on this holy mountain. Now you come to be Christ's indeed; for

you are his in nature and spirit, and not your own. And when you are thus Christ's, then Christ is yours, and not before. And here communion with the Father, and with the Son, you will know, and the efficacy of the blood of cleansing, even the blood of Jesus Christ, that immaculate Lamb, which "speaks better things than the blood of Abel;" and which cleanseth from all sin the consciences of those, that, through the living faith, come to be "sprinkled with it, from dead works, to serve the living God."

To conclude: Behold the testimony and doctrine of the people called Quakers! Behold their practice and discipline! And behold the blessed man and men (at least many of them) that were sent of God in this excellent work and service! All which is more particularly expressed in the annals of that man of God: which I do heartily recommend to my reader's most serious perusal; and beseech Almighty God, that his blessing may go along with both, to the convincement of many, as yet strangers to this holy dispensation, and also to the edification of God's church in general. Who, for his manifold and repeated mercies and blessings to his people, in this day of his great love, is worthy ever to have the glory, honour, thanksgiving and renown: and be it rendered and ascribed, with fear and reverence, through Him in whom he is well pleased, his beloved Son and Lamb, our light and life, that sits with him upon the throne, world without end. Amen!

Says one that God has long since mercifully favoured with his fatherly visitation, and who was not disobedient to the heavenly vision and call; to whom the way of truth is more lovely and precious than ever; and that, knowing the beauty and benefit of it, above all worldly treasures, has chosen it for his chiefest joy; and therefore recommends it to thy love and choice, because he is, with great sincerity and affection,

Thy soul's friend,

W. Penn.

PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY

REVIVED,

IN THE

FAITH AND PRACTICE OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

Written in Testimony to the present Dispensation of God, through Them, to the World;

THAT

Prejudices may be removed, the Simple informed, the Well-inclined encouraged, and the innocent Friends rightly represented.

BY WILLIAM PENN.

Published in the Year 1696.

PREFACE.

READER,

BY this short ensuing treatise, thou wilt perceive the subject of it viz. 'The light of Christ in man, as the manifestation of God's love for man's happiness.' Now, forasmuch as this is the peculiar testimony and characteristic of the people called Quakers; their great fundamental in religion; that by which they have been distinguished from other professors of Christianity in their time, and to which they refer all people about faith, worship, and practice, both in their ministry and writings; that as the fingers shoot out of the hand, and the branches from the body of the tree, so true religion, in all the parts and articles of it, springs from this divine principle in man. And because the prejudices of some are very great against this people and their way; and that others, who love their seriousness, and commend their good life, are yet, through mistakes, or want of enquiry, under jealousy of their unsoundness in some points of faith; and that there are not a few in all persuasions, which desire earnestly to know and enjoy God in that sensible manner this people speak of, and who seem to long after a state of

holiness and acceptance with God; but are under doubts and despondings of their attaining it, from the want they find in themselves of inward power to enable them, and are unacquainted with this efficacious agent, which God hath given and appointed for their supply:

For these reasons and motives, know, reader, I have taken in hand to write this small tract, 'Of the nature and virtue of the light of Christ within man;' what, and where it is, and for what end, and therein of the religion of the people called Quakers; that, at the same time, all people may be informed of their true character, and what true religion is, and the way to it in this age of high pretences, and as deep irreligion. That so the merciful visitation of the God of light and love, (more especially to these nations,) both immediately and instrumentally, for the promotion of piety, (which is religion indeed) may no longer be neglected by the inhabitants thereof, but that they may come to see, and say with heart and mouth, 'This is a dispensation of love and life from God to the world; and this poor people, that we have so much despised, and so often trod upon, and treated as the off-scouring of the earth, are the people of God, and children of the Most High.'

Bear with me, reader; I know what I say, and am not high-minded, but fear: for I write with humility towards God, though with confidence towards thee. Not that thou shouldest believe upon my authority, nothing less; for that is not to act upon knowledge, but trust; but that thou shouldest try and approve what I write: for that is all I ask, as well as all I need for thy conviction, and my own justification. The whole, indeed, being but a spiritual experiment upon the soul, and therefore seeks for no implicit credit, because it is self-evident to them that will uprightly try it.

And when thou, reader, shalt come to be acquainted with this principle, and the plain and happy teachings of it, thou wilt, with us, admire thou shouldest live so long a stranger to that which was so near thee, and as much wonder that other folks should be so blind as not to see it, as formerly thou thoughtest us singular for obeying it. The day, I believe, is at hand, that will declare this with an uncontroulable authority, because it will be with an unquestionable evidence.

I have done, reader, with this preface, when I have told thee, First, that I have stated the principle, and opened, as God has enabled me, the nature and virtue of it in religion; wherein the common doctrines and articles of the Christian religion are delivered and improved; and about which, I

have endeavoured to express myself in plain and proper terms, and not in figurative, allegorical, or doubtful phrases; that so I may leave no room for an equivocal or double sense; but that the truth of the subject I treat upon may appear easily and evidently to every common understanding. Next, I have confirmed what I have writ, by scripture, reason, and the effects of it upon so great a people; whose uniform concurrence in the experience and practice thereof, through all times and sufferings, since a people, challenge the notice and regard of every serious reader. Thirdly, I have written briefly, that so it might be every one's money and reading: and, much in a little is best, when we see daily, the richer people grow, the less money or time they have for God or religion: and perhaps those that would not buy a large book, may find in their hearts to give away some of these for their neighbour's good, being little and cheap. Be serious, reader; be impartial, and then be as inquisitive as thou canst; and that for thine own soul, as well as the credit of this most misunderstood and abused people: and the God and Father of lights and spirits so bless thine, in the perusal of this short treatise, that thou mayest receive real benefit by it, to his glory, and thine own comfort: which is the desire and end of him that wrote it; who is, in the bonds of Christian charity, very much, and very ardently,

Thy real friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY REVIVED.

CHAP. I.

§. 1. *Their fundamental principle.* §. 2. *The nature of it.* §. 3. *Called by several names.* §. 4. *They refer all to this, as to faith and practice, ministry, and worship.*

§. 1. THAT which the people called Quakers lay down, as a main fundamental in religion, is this, 'That God, through Christ, hath placed a principle in every man to inform him of his duty, and to enable him to do it; and that those that live up to this principle, are the people of God; and those that live in disobedience to it, are not God's people, whatever name they may bear, or profession they may make of

religion.' This is their ancient, first and standing testimony: with this they began, and this they bore, and do bear, to the world.

§. 2. By this principle they understand something that is divine; and though in man, yet not of man, but of God; and that it came from him, and leads to him all those that will be led by it.

§. 3. There are divers ways of speaking they have been led to use, by which they declare and express what this principle is, about which I think fit to precaution the reader, viz. they call it "the light of Christ within man," or, 'light within,'* which is their ancient, and most general and familiar phrase, also the manifestation† or appearance‡ of Christ; the witness of God,‖ the seed of God; the seed of the kingdom;§ wisdom,¶ the word** in the heart; the grace†† that appears to all men; the Spirit‡‡ given to every man to profit with; the truth‖‖ in the inward parts; the spiritual leaven,§§ that leavens the whole lump of man: which are many of them figurative expressions, but all of them such as the Holy Ghost had used, and which will be used in this treatise, as they are most frequently in the writings and ministry of this people. But that this variety and manner of expression may not occasion any misapprehension or confusion in the understanding of the reader, I would have him know, that they always mean by these terms, or denominations, not another, but the same principle, before mentioned: which, as I said, though it be in man, is not of man, but of God, and therefore divine: and one in itself, though diversly expressed by the holy men, according to the various manifestations and operations thereof.

§. 4. It is to this principle of light, life, and grace, that this people refer all: for they say, it is the great agent in religion; that, without which, there is no conviction, so no conversion, or regeneration; and consequently no entering into the kingdom of God. That is to say. there can be no true sight of sin, nor sorrow for it, and therefore no forsaking or overcoming of it, or remission or justification from it. A necessary and powerful principle indeed, when neither sanctification nor justification can be had without it. In short, there is no becoming virtuous, holy, and good, without this principle; no acceptance with God, nor peace

* John i. 9. † Rom. i. 19. ‡ Tit. iii. 4. Acts xvii. 28. 2 Pet. iv. 13.
‖ Rom. viii. 6. 1 John v. 10. 12. § 1 Pet. i. 23. 1 John iii. 9.
¶ Mat. xiii. 19. 23. ** Prov. i. 20, 21, 22, 23. and viii. 1, 2, 3, 4. Deut. xxx. 12. Rom. x. 6, 7, 8. Psalm cxix. 10. †† Tit. ii. 11, 12.
‡‡ 1 Cor. xii. 7. ‖‖ Psalm li. 6. Isa. xxvi. 2. John xiv. 6. §§ Mat. xiii 33.

of soul, but through it. But, on the contrary, that the reason of so much irreligion among Christians, so much superstition, instead of devotion, and so much profession without enjoyment, and so little heart-reformation, is, because people, in religion, overlook this principle, and leave it behind them.

They will be religious without it, and Christians without it, though this be the only means of making them so indeed. So natural is it to man, in his degenerate state, to prefer sacrifice before obedience, and to make prayers go for practice, and so flatter himself to hope, by ceremonial and bodily service, to excuse himself with God from the strieter discipline of this principle in the soul, which leads man to take up the cross, deny himself, and do that which God requires of him: and that is every man's true religion, and every such man is truly religious: that is, he is holy, humble, patient, meek, merciful, just, kind, and charitable; which, they say, no man can make himself; but that this principle will make them all so, that will embrace the convictions and teachings of it, being the root of all true religion in man, and the good seed from whence all good fruits proceed. To sum up what they say upon the nature and virtue of it, as contents of that which follows, they declare that this principle is, First, divine. Secondly, universal. Thirdly, efficacious: in that it gives man,

First, The knowledge of God, and of himself; and therein, a sight of his duty, and disobedience to it.

Secondly, It begets a true sense and sorrow for sin in those that seriously regard the convictions of it.

Thirdly, It enables them to forsake sin, and sanctifies from it.

Fourthly, It applies God's mercies, in Christ, for the forgiveness of sins that are past, unto justification, upon such sincere repentance and obedience.

Fifthly, It gives, to the faithful, perseverance unto a perfect man, and the assurance of blessedness, world without end.

To the truth of all which, they call in a threefold evidence: First, The scriptures, which give an ample witness, especially those of the New and better Testament. Secondly, The reasonableness of it in itself. And lastly, a general experience, in great measure; but particularly their own, made credible by the good fruits they have brought forth, and the answer God has given to their ministry: which, to impartial observers, have commended the principle, and gives me occasion to abstract their history, in divers particulars, for a conclusion to this little treatise.

CHAP. II.

§. 1. *The evidence of Scripture for this Principle*, John i. 4. 9. §. 2. *Its divinity.* §, 3. *All things created by it.* §, 4. *What it is to man, as to salvation.*

§. 1. I SHALL begin with the evidence of the blessed scriptures of truth, for this divine principle, and that under the name of light, the first and most common word used by them, to express and denominate this principle by, as well as most apt and proper in this dark state of the world.

John i. 1. "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God."

Verse 3. "All things were made by him."

Verse 4. "In him was life, and that life was the light of men."

Verse 9. "That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

§. 2. I have begun with him, that began his history with Him that was "the beginning of the creation of God," the most beloved disciple, and longest liver of all the apostles; and he, that for excellent knowledge and wisdom in heavenly things, is justly intituled 'John the Divine.' He tells us, first, what he was in the beginning, viz. The Word. "In the beginning was the word."

And though that shows what the word must be, yet he adds and explains, that the "word was with God, and the word was God;" lest any should doubt of the divinity of the word, or have lower thoughts of him than he deserved. The word, then, is divine; and an apt term it is, that the evangelist styles him by, since it is so great an expression of the wisdom and power of God to men.

§. 3. "All things were made by him." If so, he wants no power. And if we were made by him, we must be new-made by him too, or we can never enjoy God. His power shows his dignity, and that nothing can be too hard for such a sufficiency as "made all things, and without which nothing was made, that was made." As man's "maker must be his husband," so his creator must be his redeemer also.

§. 4. "In him was life, and the life was the light of men." This is our point. The evangelist first begins with the nature and being of the word: from thence he descends to the works of the word: and lastly, then he tells us, what the word is, with respect to man above the rest of the creation, viz. "The word was life, and the life was the light of men." The relation must be very near and intimate, when the very life of the word (that was with God, and was God) is the light of men: as if men were next to

the word, and above all the rest of his works; for it is not said so of any other creature.

Man cannot want light then; no, not a divine light: for if this be not divine, that is the life of the divine word, there can be no such thing at all as divine or supernatural light and life. And the text does not only prove the divinity of the light, but the universality of it also; because man, mentioned in it, is mankind: which is yet more distinctly expressed in his 9th verse, "That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Implying, that he that lighteth not mankind, is not that true light; and therefore John was not that light, but bore witness of him that was, who lighteth every man; to wit, the word that took flesh: so that both the divine nature, and universality of the light of Christ within, are confirmed together.

CHAP. III.

§. 1. *How this scripture is wrested.* §. 2. *That it is a natural light.* §. 3. *That it lighteth not all.* §. 4. *That it is only the doctrine and life of Christ when in the flesh. All answered, and its divinity and universality proved.*

§. 1. But though there be no passage or proposition to be found in holy scripture, in which mankind is more interested, or that is more clearly laid down by the Holy Ghost, than this I have produced, yet hardly hath any place been more industriously wrested from its true and plain sense: especially since this people have laid any stress upon it, in defence of their testimony of the light within. Some will have it to be but a natural light, or a part of man's nature, though it be the very life of the word by which the world was made; and mentioned within those verses, which only concern his eternal power and godhead. But because I would be understood, and treat of things with all plainness, I will open the terms of the objection as well as I can, and then give my answer to it.

§. 2. If by natural be meant a created thing, as man is, or any thing that is requisite to the composition of man, I deny it: the text is expressly against it; and says, "The light with which man is lighted, is the life of the word, which was with God, and was God." But if by natural is only intended, that the light comes along with us into the world, or that we have it as sure as we are born, or have nature, and is the light of our nature, of our minds, and understandings, and is not the result of any revelation from without, as by angels or men; then we mean and intend the same thing. For it is natural to man to have a super-

natural light, and for the creature to be lighted by an uncreated light, as is the life of the creating word. And did people but consider the constitution of man, it would conduce much to preserve or deliver them from any dilemma upon this account. For man can be no more a light to his mind, than he is to his body: he has the capacity of seeing objects when he has the help of light, but cannot be a light to himself, by which to see them. Wherefore as the sun in the firmament is the light of the body, and gives us discerning in our temporal affairs; so the life of the word is the glorious light and sun of the soul: our intellectual luminary, that informs our mind, and gives us true judgment and distinction about those things that more immediately concern our better, inward, and eternal man.

§. 3. But others will have this text read thus, 'Not that the word enlightens all mankind, but that all who are enlightened, are enlightened by him;' thereby not only narrowing and abusing the text, but rendering God partial, and so severe to his creatures, as to leave the greatest part of the world in darkness, without the means or opportunity of salvation; though we are assured from the scriptures, "That all have light;* that Christ is the light of the world;† and that he died for all;‡ yea, the ungodly;‖ and that God desires not the death of any,§ but rather that all should repent, and come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved; and that the grace of God has appeared to all men,"¶ &c.

§. 4. There is a third sort that will needs have it understood, not of any illumination by a divine light or spirit in man, but by the doctrine preached, and the life and example he lived, and led in the world; which yet neither reached the thousandth part of mankind, nor can consist with what the apostle John intends in the beginning of his history, which wholly relates to what Christ was before he took flesh, or, at least, what he is to the soul, by his immediate inshinings and influences. It is most true, Christ was, in a sense, the light of the world in that very appearance, and shined forth by his heavenly doctrine, many admirable miracles, and his self-denying life and death: but still that hinders not, but that he was, and is, that spiritual light, which shineth, more or less, in the hearts of the sons and daughters of men. For as he was a light in his life and conversation, he was only a light in a more excellent sense than he spoke of to his disciples, when he said, "Ye are the light of the world." But Christ, the word, enlightened

* John i. 4, 9. † Ch. viii. 12. ‡ Rom. v. 6. ‖ 2 Cor. v. 15. § 1 Tim. ii. 4. ¶ Tit. ii. 11, 12.

them, and enlightens us, and enlightens all men that come into the world; which he could not be said to do, if we only regard his personal and outward appearance: for in that sense, it is long since he was that light, but in this he is continually so. In that respect he is remote, but in this sense he is present and immediate; else we should render the text, 'That was the true light which did lighten,' instead of "which lighteth, every man that cometh into the world." And that the evangelist might be so understood, as we speak, he refers us to this, as an evidence of his being the Messiah, and not John; for whom many people had much reverence, for verse 8. he saith of John, "He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light;" (now comes his proof, and our testimony) "that was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" which was not John, or any else, but "the word that was with God, and was God." The evangelist did not describe him by his fasting forty days, preaching so many sermons, working so many miracles, and living so holy a life; and, after all, so patiently suffering death, (which yet Christ did) thereby to prove him the light of the world; but, says the evangelist, "That was the true light," the word in flesh, the Messiah, and not John, or any else, "which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." So that Christ is manifested and distinguished by giving light: and, indeed, so are all his followers from other people, by receiving and obeying it. There are many other scriptures, of both Testaments, that refer to the light within, either expressly, or implicitly, which, for brevity's sake, I shall wave reciting; but the reader will find some directions in the margin, which will guide him to them.*

CHAP. IV.

§. 1. *The virtue of the light within; it gives discerning.* §. 2. *It manifests God.* §. 3. *It gives life to the soul.* §. 4. *It is the apostolical message.* §. 5. *Objection answered about two lights.* §. 6. *About natural and spiritual light; not two darknesses within, therefore not two lights within.* §. 7. *The apostle John answers the objection fully: the light the same,* 1 John ii. 8, 9.

§. 1. The third thing, is the virtue and efficacy of this light for the end for which God hath given it, viz. 'To lead and guide the soul of man to blessedness.' In order to

* Job xviii. 5, 6. and xxi. 17. and xxv. 3. and xxxviii. 5. Psal. xviii. 28. and xxvii. 1. and xxxiv. 5. and xxxvi. 9. and cxviii. 27. and cxix. 105. Prov. xiii. 9. and xx. 20, 27. and xxiv. 20. Isa. ii. 5. and viii. 20. and xlii. 6. and xlix. 6. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John ii. 8.

which, the first thing it does in and for man, is to give him a true sight or discerning of himself; what he is, and what he does; that he may see and know his own condition, and what judgment to make of himself, with respect to religion and a future state: of which, let us hear what the word himself saith, that cannot err, as John relates it, chap. iii. 20, 21. "For every one that doth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God." A most pregnant instance of the virtue and authority of the light. First, It is that which men ought to examine themselves by. Secondly, It gives a true discerning betwixt good and bad, what is of God, from what is not of God. And, lastly, It is a judge, and condemneth or acquitteth, reproveth or comforteth, the soul of man, as he rejects or obeys it. That must needs be divine and efficacious, which is able to discover to man what is of God, from what is not of God; and which gives him a distinct knowledge, in himself, of what is wrought in God, from what is not wrought in God. By which it appears, that this place does not only regard the discovery of man and his works, but, in some measure, it manifesteth God, and his works also, which is yet something higher; forasmuch as it gives the obedient man a discovery of what is wrought or performed by God's power, and after his will, from what is the mere workings of the creature of himself. If it could not manifest God, it could not tell man what was God's mind, nor give him such a grounded sense and discerning of the rise, nature, and tendency of the workings of his mind or inward man, as is both expressed and abundantly implied in this passage of our Saviour. And if it reveals God, to be sure it manifests Christ, that flows and comes from God. Who then would oppose or slight this blessed light?

§. 2. But that this light doth manifest God, is yet evident from Rom. i. 19. "Because that which may be known of (God) is manifest in men, for God hath shewed it unto them." An universal proposition; and we have the apostle's word for it, who was "One of a thousand," and inspired on purpose to tell us the truth: let it then have its due weight with us. If that which may be known of God is manifest in men, the people called Quakers cannot, certainly, be out of the way in preaching up the light within, without which, nothing can be manifested to the mind of man; as saith the same apostle to the Ephesians, Eph. v. 13. "Whatsoever doth make manifest is light." Well then may they call this light within a manifestation or appearance of God. A

passage much like unto this, is that of the prophet Micah, chap. vi. 8. "God hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" God hath showed thee, O man! It is very emphatical. But how hath he showed him? Why, by his light in the conscience, which the wicked rebel against. Job xxiv. 13. "Who, for that cause, know not the ways, nor abide in the paths thereof:" for "its ways are ways of pleasantness, and all its paths are peace," to them that obey it.

§. 3. But the light giveth the light of life, which is eternal life, to them that receive and obey it. Thus, says the blessed Saviour of the world. John viii. 12. "I am the light of the world, he that followeth me shall not abide in darkness, but shall have the light of life." Now he is the light of the world, because he lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and they that obey that light obey him, and therefore have the light of life. That is, the light becomes eternal life to the soul: that as it is the life of the word, which is the light in man, so it becomes the life in man, through his obedience to it, as his heavenly light.

§. 4. Farthermore, this light was the very ground of the apostolical message, as the beloved disciple assures us. 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. "This then is the message, which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all: if we say we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth: but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin." Which is so comprehensive of the virtue and excellency of the light, in reference to man, that there is little need that more should be said upon it; forasmuch as, First, It reveals God, and that God himself is light. Secondly, It discovers darkness from light, and that there is no fellowship between them. Thirdly, That man ought to walk in the light. Fourthly, That it is the way to obtain forgiveness of sin, and sanctification from it. Fifthly, That it is the means to have peace and fellowship with God and his people; his true church, redeemed from the pollutions of the world.

§. 5. Some, perhaps, may object, as indeed it hath been more than once objected upon us, 'That this is another light, not that light wherewith every man is enlightened.' But the same apostle, in his evangelical history, tells us, that "in the word was life, and the life was the light of men," and that that very light, that was the life of the word, was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the

world. John i. 4. 9. Where is there so plain a text to be found against the sufficiency, as well as universality, of the light within; or a plainer for any article of faith in the whole book of God? Had the beloved disciple intended two lights, in his evangelical history, and his epistles, to be sure he would have noted to us his distinction: but we read of none, and by the properties ascribed in each writing, we have reason to conclude he meant the same.

§. 6. But if any shall yet object, 'That this is to be understood a spiritual light, and that ours is to be a natural one,' I shall desire them to do two things: First, To prove that a natural light, as they phrase it, doth manifest God, other than as I have before explained and allowed: since whatever is part of man, in his constitution, but especially in his degeneracy from God, is so far from yielding him the knowledge of God, that it cannot rightly reprove or discover that which offends him, without the light we speak of: and it is granted, that what we call divine, and some, mistakenly, call natural light, can do both. Secondly, If this light be natural, notwithstanding it doth manifest our duty, and reprove our disobedience to God, they would do well to assign us some certain medium, or way, whereby we may truly discern and distinguish between the manifestations and reproofs of the natural light within, from those of the divine light within, since they allow the manifestation of God, and reproof of evil, as well to the one, as to the other. Let them give us but one scripture that distinguishes between a natural and a spiritual light within. They may, with as much reason, talk of a natural and a spiritual darkness within. It is true, there is a natural proper darkness, to wit, the night of the outward world; and there is a spiritual darkness, viz. the clouded and benighted understandings of men, through disobedience to the light and spirit of God: but let them assign us a third, if they can. People use, indeed, to say, improperly, of blind men, they are dark; we may call a natural or ideot so, if we will: but where is there another darkness of the understanding, in the things of God? If they can, I say, find that, in and about the things of God, they do something.

Christ distinguished not between darkness and darkness, or light and light, in any such sense; nor did any of his disciples: yet both have frequently spoken of darkness and light. What difference, pray, doth the scripture put between spiritual darkness, and darkness mentioned in these places, Luke i. 7. 9. Mat. iv. 16. John i. 5. and iii. 19. and viii. 12, 31. 46. 1 Thes. v. 4. 1 John i. 6. Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xiii. 12. 2 Cor. vi. 14. 22. Eph. v. 8. Col. i. 13.

Upon the strictest comparison of them I find none. It is all one spiritual darkness. Neither is there so much as one scripture that affords us a distinction between light within and light within; or that there are really two lights from God, in man, that regard religion. Peruse Mat. iv. 16. Luke ii. 32. and xv. 8. John i. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9. and iii. 19, 20, 21. and viii. 12. Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xiii. 12. 2 Cor. iv. 6. and vi. 14. Eph. v. 8. 13. Col. i. 12. 1 Thess. v. 5. 1 Tim. vi. 16. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John v. 7. and ii. 8. Rev. xxi. 23, 24. and xxii. 5. and we believe the greatest opposer to our assertion will not be able to sever light from light, or find out two lights within, in the passages here mentioned, or any other, to direct man in his duty to God and his neighbour: and if he cannot, pray let him forbear his mean thoughts and words of the light of Christ within man, as man's guide in duty to God and man. For as he must yield to us, that the light manifesteth evil, and reproveth for it, so doth Christ himself teach us of the light. John iii. 20. "For every one that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh unto the light, lest his deeds should be reproved." And the apostle Paul plainly saith, Eph. v. 13. "But all things that are reproved are made manifest by the light;" therefore there are not two distinct lights within, but one and the same manifesting, reproving, and teaching light within. And this the apostle John, in his first epistle, makes plain, beyond all exception, to all considerate people: First, in that he calls God, Light, chap. i. 5. Secondly, in that he puts no medium, or third thing, between that light, and darkness, ver. 6. "If we say we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie," &c. Intimating, that men must walk either in light or darkness, and not in a third or other state or region. I am sure, that which manifests and reproves darkness, cannot be darkness. This all men must confess.

§. 7. And, as if the apostle John would have anticipated their objection, viz. 'It is true, your light within reproves for evil; but it is not therefore the divine light, which leads into higher things, and which comes by the gospel;' he thus expresseth himself, 1 John ii. 8, 9. "The darkness is past, and the true light now shineth. He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now;" which is not another light than that mentioned before, chap. i. For as light is put there in opposition to darkness, so light here is put in opposition to darkness. And as the darkness is the same, so must the light be the same. Wherefore we may plainly see, that it is not another light, than that which reproves a man for hating his brother, which brings a man into fellowship with God, and to the blood of

cleansing, as the next verse speaks: therefore that light which reproveth a man for hating his brother, is of a divine and efficacious nature. In short, that light which is opposite to, and reproves spiritual darkness, in a man and woman, is a spiritual light; but such a light is that which we confess, testify to, and maintain: therefore it is a spiritual light. It is also worth our notice, that the apostle useth the same manner of expression here, chap. ii. 8. "The true light shineth," that he doth in his Evangelical History, chap. i. 9. "That was the true light;" intimating the same divine word, or true light now "shineth;" and that it is the same true light in his account, that reproveth such as hate their brethren: consequently, that light, that so reproveth them, is the true light. And strange it is, that Christ and his disciples, but especially his beloved one, should so often make that very light, which stoops to the lowest step of immorality, and to the reproof of the grossest evil, to be no other than the same divine life, in a farther degree of manifestation, which brings such as follow it to the light of life, to the blood of cleansing, and to have fellowship with God, and one with another: nay, not only so, but the apostle makes a man's being a child of God, to depend upon his answering of this light in a palpable and common case, viz. "Not hating of his brother:" and that yet any should shut their eyes so fast against beholding the virtue of it, as to conclude it a natural and insufficient light, is both unscriptural and unreasonable. Shall we slight it, because we come so easily by it, and it it is so familiar and domestic to us? Or make its being so common, an argument to undervalue so inestimable a mercy? What is more common than light, and air, and water; And should we therefore contemn them, or prize them? Prize them, certainly, as what we cannot live, nor live comfortably, without. The more general the mercy is, the greater; and therefore the greater obligation upon man to live humbly and thankfully for it. And to those alone that do so, are its divine secrets revealed.

CHAP. V.

§. 1. *The light the same with the spirit. It is of God; proved by its properties.* §. 2. *The properties of the spirit compared with those of the light.* §. 3. *The light and grace flow from the same principle, proved by their agreeing properties.* §. 4. *An objection answered.* §. 5. *Difference in manifestation, or operation, especially in gospel-times, but not in principle, illustrated.*

Obj. But some may say, 'We could willingly allow to the spirit and grace of God, which seemed to be the peculiar blessing of the new and second covenant, and the fruit of the coming of Christ, all that which you ascribe to the light within; but except it appeared to us that this light were the same in nature with the spirit and grace of God, we cannot easily bring ourselves to believe what you say in favour of the light within.'

Answ. This objection, at first look, seems to carry weight with it. But upon a just and serious review, it will appear to have more words than matter, show than substance: yet because it gives occasion to solve scruples, that may be flung in the way of the simple, I shall attend it throughout. I say, then, if it appear that the properties, ascribed to the light within, are the same with those that are given to the Holy Spirit and Grace of God; and that those several terms, or epithets, are only to express the divers manifestations or operations of one and the same principle, then it will not, it cannot, be denied, but this light within is divine and efficacious, as we have asserted it. Now, that it is of the same nature with the spirit and grace of God, and tends to the same end, which is to bring people to God, let the properties of the light be compared with those of the spirit and grace of God. I say, they are the same, in that, first, the light proceeds from the one word, and one life of that one word, which was with God and was God, John i. 4. 9. Secondly, It is universal, it lighteth every man. Thirdly, It giveth the knowledge of God, and fellowship with him. Rom. i. 19. John iii. 21. 1 John i. 5, 6. Fourthly, It manifesteth and reproveth evil. John iii. 20. Eph. v. 13. Fifthly, It is made the rule and guide of Christian walking. Psalm xliii. 3. John viii. 12. Eph. v. 13. 15. Sixthly, It is the path for God's people to go in. Psalm cxix. 105. Prov. iv. 18. Isaiah ii. 5. 1 John i. 7. Rev. xxiv. 23. "And the nations of them that are saved, shall walk in the light (of the Lamb.)" Lastly, It is the armour of the children of God against Satan. Psalm xxvii. 1. "The

Lord is my light, whom shall I fear?" Rom. xiii. 12. "Let us put on the armour of light.

§. 2. Now let all this be compared with the properties of the Holy Spirit, and their agreement will be very manifest. First, It proceedeth from God, because it is the Spirit of God. Rom. vi. 11. Secondly, It is universal. It strove with the old world. Gen. vi. 3. Then, to be sure, with the new one; every one hath a measure of it given to profit withal. 1 Cor. xii. 7. Thirdly, It revealeth God. Job xxxii. viii. 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11. Fourthly, It reproveth sin. John xvi. 8. Fifthly, It is a rule and guide for the children of God to walk by. Rom. viii. 14. Sixthly, It is also the path they are to walk in. Rom. viii. 1. Gal. v. 15. "Walk in the Spirit." Lastly, This is not all; it is likewise the spiritual weapon of a true Christian. Eph. vi. 17. "Take the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." After this, I hope none will deny that this light and this spirit must be of one and the same nature, that work one and the same effect, and tend evidently to one and the same end."

§. 3. And what is said of the light and spirit, may also very well be said of the light and grace of God; in that, First, The grace floweth from Christ, the word, that took flesh, as well as the light; for as in him was life, and that life the light of men, so he was "full of grace and truth, and of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace," John i. 4. 9. 14. 16. Secondly, It is universal; both from this text, and what the apostle to Titus teacheth; "For the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men." Tit. ii. 11, 12. Thirdly, It manifesteth evil, for if it teaches to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, it must needs detect them, and so says the text. Fourthly, It revealeth godliness, and consequently it must manifest God. Fifthly, It is an instructor and guide; for, says the apostle, "It teaches to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world," and herein a rule of life. Tit. ii. 11, 12. Sixthly, It is, to all that receive it, all that they can need or desire. 2 Cor. xii. 9. "My grace is sufficient for thee." An high testimony from heaven, to the power of this teaching and saving grace, under the strongest temptations.

§. 4. *Obj.* 'But there is little mention made of the spirit, and none of the grace, before Christ's coming; and therefore the spirit, as spoken of in the writings of the New Testament, and especially the grace, must be another, and a nobler thing than the light within.'

Answ. By no means another thing, but another name, from another manifestation, or operation, of the same prin-

ciple. It is called light from the distinction and discerning it gives. "Let there be light, and there was light," said God in the beginning of the old world; so there is first light in the beginning of the new creation of God in man. It is called spirit, because it giveth life, sense, motion, and vigour: and it is as often mentioned in the writings of the Old as New Testament; which every reader may see, if he will but please to look into his scripture-concordance. Thus, "God's Spirit strove with the old world." Gen. vi. 3. and with "Israel in the wilderness. Neh. ix. 30. And David asked, in the agony of his soul, "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?" Psalm cxxxix. 7. and the prophets often felt it. It is styled grace, not from its being another principle, but because it was a fuller dispensation of the virtue and power of the same divine principle: and that being purely God's favour and mercy, and not man's merit, is aptly, and deservedly, called the grace, favour, or good-will of God, to undeserving man. The wind does not always blow fresh, nor heaven send down its rain freely, nor the sun shine forth clearly; shall we therefore say, it is not of the same kind of wind, rain, or light, when it blows, rains, or shines but a little, as when it blows, rains, or shines much? It is certainly the same in nature and kind; and so is this blessed principle, under all its several dispensations, manifestations, and operations, for the benefit of man's soul, ever since the world began.

§. 5. But this is most freely, humbly, and thankfully acknowledged by us; that the dispensation of the gospel was the clearest, fullest, and noblest of all other; both with regard to the coming of Christ in the flesh, and being our one holy offering to God for sin, through the Eternal Spirit; and the breaking-forth of his light, the effusion of his spirit, and appearance of his grace, in and to man, in a more excellent manner after his ascension. For though it was not another light, or spirit, than that which he had given to man in former ages, yet it was another and greater measure; and that is the privilege of the gospel above former dispensations. What before shined but dimly, shines since with great glory. Then it appeared but darkly, but now with open face.* Types, figures, and shadows veiled its appearances, and made them look low and faint; but in the gospel-time, the veil is rent, and the hidden glory manifest.† It was under the law but as a dew, or small rain; but under the gospel, it may be said to be poured out upon men: according to that gracious and notable promise of God, by the prophet Joel, "In the latter days I will pour out my Spirit

* 2 Cor. iii. 18. † John i. 5. 17.

upon all flesh."* Thus we say, when it rains plentifully, look how it pours. So God augments his light, grace, and spirit to these latter days. They shall not have it sparingly, and by small drops, but fully and freely, and overflowing too. And thus Peter, that deep and excellent apostle, applies that promise in Joel, on the day of Pentecost, as the beginning of the accomplishment of it. This is grace, and favour, and goodness indeed. And therefore well may this brighter illumination, and greater effusion of the spirit, be called grace; for as the coming of the Son excelled that of the servant, so did the manifestation of the light and spirit of God, since the coming of Christ, excel that of the foregoing dispensations; yet ever sufficient to salvation, to all those that walked in it. This is our sense of the light, spirit, and grace of God: and by what is said, it is evident they are one and the same principle; and that he that has light, need not want the spirit or grace of God, if he will but receive it, in the love of it: for the very principle, that is light to show him, is also spirit to quicken him, and grace to teach, help, and comfort him. It is sufficient in all circumstances of life, to them that diligently mind and obey it.

CHAP. VI.

§. 1. *An objection answered: all are not good, though all are lighted.* §. 2. *Another objection answered, That gospel-truths were known before Christ's coming.* §. 3. *Another: The Gentiles had the same light, though not with those advantages: proved from scripture.*

§. 1. *Obj.* But some may yet say, 'If it be as you declare, how comes it, that all who are enlightened, are not so good as they should be; or, as you say, this would make them?'

Answ. Because people do not receive and obey it: all men have reason, but all men are not reasonable. Is it the fault of the grain, in the granary, that it yields no increase, or of the talent in the napkin, that it is not improved? It is plain a talent was given; and as plain that it was improveable; both because the like talents were actually improved by others, and, that the just judge expected his talent with advantage; which else, to be sure, he would never have done. Now when our objectors will tell us, whose fault it was the talent was not improved, we shall be ready to tell them, 'why the unprofitable servant was not so good as he should have been.' The blind must not blame the sun, nor sinners tax the grace of insufficiency. It is sin that darkens the eye, and hardens the heart, and

* Joel ii. 28.

that hinders good things from the sons of men. "If we do his will, we shall know of his divine doctrine," so Christ tells us. Men not living to what they know, cannot blame God, that they know no more. The unfruitfulness is in us, not in the talent. It were well, indeed, that this were laid to heart. But, alas! men are too apt to follow their sensual appetites, rather than their reasonable mind, which renders them brutal, instead of rational. For the reasonable part in man, is his spiritual part; and that guided by the divine Λόγος or word, which Tertullian interprets REASON in the most excellent sense, makes man truly reasonable; and then it is that man comes to offer up himself to God a reasonable sacrifice. Then a man indeed; a complete man; such a man as God made, when he made man in his own image, and gave him paradise for his habitation.

§. 2. *Obj.* But some yet object, 'If mankind had always this principle, how comes it that gospel-truth were not so fully known before the coming of Christ, to those that were obedient to it?'

Answ. Because a child is not a grown man, nor the beginning the end; and yet he that is the beginning, is alsothe end; the principle is the same, though not the manifestation. As the world has many steps and periods of time towards its end, so hath man to his perfection. They that are faithful to what they know of the dispensation of their own day, shall hear the happy welcome, of "Well done, good and faithful servant." And yet many of God's people in those days, had a prospect of the glory of the latter times, the improvement of religion, the happiness of the church of God.

This we see in the prophecy of Jacob and Moses, concerning the "restoration of Israel by Christ."* So David, in many of his excellent Psalms, expressing most sensible and extraordinary enjoyments, as well as prophecies, particularly his ii. xv. xviii. xxii. xxiii. xxv. xxvii. xxxii. xxxvi. xxxvii. xlii. xliii. xlv. li. lxxxiv. &c. The prophets are full of it, and for that reason have their name; particularly Isaiah, chap. ii. ix. xi. xxv. xxviii. xxxii. xxxv. xlii. xlix. l. li. lii. liii. liv. lix. lx. lxi. lxiii. lxv. lxvi. Jeremiah also, chap. xxiii. xxx. xxxi. xxxiii. Ezekiel, chap. xx. xxxiv. xxxvi. xxxvii. Daniel, chap. viii. ix. x. xi. xii. Hosea, chap. i. iii. Joel, chap. ii. iii. Amos, chap. ix. Micah, chap. iv. v. Zachariah, chap. vi. viii. ix. xi. xiii. xiv. Malachi, chap. iii. iv. This was not another principle, though another manifestation of the same principle; nor was it common, but particular and extraordinary in the reason of it.

* Gen. xlix. 10. Deut. xviii. 15. 18.

It was the same Spirit that came upon Moses, which came upon John the Baptist; and it was also the same Spirit that came upon Gideon and Sampson, that fell upon Peter and Paul; but it was not the same dispensation of that Spirit. It hath been the way of God, to visit and appear to men according to their states and conditions, and as they have been prepared to receive him, be it more outwardly or inwardly, sensibly or spiritually. There is no capacity too low, or too high, for this divine principle: for as it made and knows all, so it reaches unto all people. It extends to the meanest, and the highest cannot subsist without it. Which made David break forth in his expostulations with God, "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence?" Psalm cxxxix. 7, 8, 9, 10. Implying it was every where, though not every where, nor at every time, alike. "If I go to heaven, to hell, or beyond the seas, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me." That is, 'there will this divine word, this light of men, this Spirit of God, find me, lead me, help me, and comfort me. For it is with me wherever I am, wherever I go, in one respect or other;' Prov. vi. 22. "When thou goest, it shall lead thee; when thou sleepest, it shall keep thee; and when thou awakest, it shall talk with thee:" and I can no more get rid of it, if I would, than of myself, or my own nature; so present is it with me, and so close it sticks unto me. Isa. xliii. 2. "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." David knew it, and therefore had a great value for it. "In thy light shall we see light," or, we shall be enlightened by thy light. "Thou wilt light my candle; the Lord my God will lighten my darkness." Again, "The Lord is my light, whom shall I fear?" It was his armour against all danger. It took fear away from him, and he was undaunted, because he was safe in the way of it. Of the same blessed word he says elsewhere, "It is a lamp unto my feet, and a lanthorn to my paths." In short, a light to him in his way of blessedness.

§. 3. *Obj.* 'But if the Jews had this light, it does not follow that the Gentiles had it also; but by your doctrine all have it.'

Answ. Yes, and it is the glory of this doctrine which we profess, that God's love is therein held forth to all. And besides the texts cited in general, and that are as full and positive as can be expressed, the apostle is very particular in the second chapter of his epistle to the Romans, "That

the Gentiles having not the law, did by nature the things contained in the law, and were a law unto themselves." That is, they had not an outward law, circumstanced as the Jews had; but they had "the work of the law written in their hearts,"* and therefore might well be a law to themselves, that had the law in themselves. And so had the Jews too, but then they had greater outward helps to quicken their obedience to it; such as God afforded not unto any other nation: and therefore the obedience of the Gentiles, or uncircumcision, is said to be by nature, or naturally, because it was without those additional, external, and extraordinary ministries and helps which the Jews had to provoke them to duty. Which is so far from lessening the obedient Gentiles, that it exalts them in the apostle's judgment; because though they had less advantages than the Jews, yet the "work of the law written in their hearts," was made so much the more evident by the good life they lived in the world. He adds, "their consciences bearing witness (or as it may be rendered, witnessing with them) and their thoughts, mean while, accusing, or else excusing one another, in the day when God shall judge the secrets of all hearts by Jesus Christ, according to my gospel." Which presents us with four things to our point, and worth our serious reflection. First, That the Gentiles had the law written in their hearts. Secondly, That their conscience was an allowed witness or evidence about duty. Thirdly, That the judgment made thereby shall be confirmed by the apostle's gospel at the great day, and therefore valid and irreversible. Fourthly, That this could not be, if the light of this conscience were not a divine and sufficient light: for conscience, truly speaking, is no other than 'the sense a man hath, or judgment he maketh, of his duty to God, according to the understanding God gives him of his will.' And that no ill, but a true and scriptural use, may be made of this word conscience, I limit it to duty, and that to a virtuous and holy life, as the apostle evidently doth, about which we cannot miss, or dispute: read verses 7, 8, 9. It was to that, therefore, the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ desired to be made manifest, for they dared to stand the judgment of conscience, in reference to the doctrine they preached and pressed upon men. The beloved disciple also makes it a judge of man's present and future state, under the term heart: "For if our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things. Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God."* Plain and strong words:

* Rom. ii. 7 to 17.

and what were they about, but whether we love God, in deed and in truth: and how must that appear? Why, in "keeping his commandments," which is living up to what we know. And if any desire to satisfy themselves farther of the divinity of the Gentiles, let them read Plato, Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and the Gentile writers. They will also find many of their sayings, collected in the first part of a book, called, The Christian Quaker, and compared with the testimonies of scripture, not for their authority, but agreeableness. In them they may discern many excellent truths, and taste great love and devotion to virtue: a fruit that grows upon no tree, but that of life, in no age or nation. Some of the most eminent writers of the first ages, such as Justin Martyr, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, &c. bore them great respect, and thought it no lessening to the reputation of Christianity, that it was defended in many Gentile authors, as well as that they used and urged them to engage their followers to the faith, as Paul did the Athenians with their own poets.

CHAP. VII.

§. 1. *An objection answered about the various dispensations of God: the principle the same.* §. 2. *God's work of a piece, and truth the same under divers shapes.* §. 3. *The reason of the prevalency of idolatry.* §. 4. *The Quakers' testimony the best antidote against it, viz. Walking by a divine principle in man.* §. 5. *It was God's end, in all his manifestations, that man might be God's image and delight.*

§. I. But it may be said, 'If it were one principle, why so many modes and shapes of religion, since the world began? For the Patriarchal, Mosaical, and Christian, have their great differences; to say nothing of what has befallen the Christian, since the publication of it to the world.'

Answ. I know not how properly they may be called divers religions, that assert the true God for the object of worship; the Lord Jesus Christ, for the only Saviour; and the light, or spirit of Christ, for the great agent, and means of man's conversion, and eternal felicity;* any more than infancy, youth, and manhood, make three men, instead of three growths, or periods of time, of one and the same man. But passing that, the many modes or ways of God's appearing to men, arise, as hath been said, from the divers states of men; in all which, it seems to have been his main design to prevent idolatry and vice, by directing their minds to the true object of worship, and pressing virtue and holiness. So that

* 1 John iii. 21. 22.

though he immediately spoke to the patriarchs mostly by angels, in the fashion of men, and by them to their families, over and above the illumination in themselves; so to the prophets, for the most part, by the revelation of the Holy Ghost in them, and by them to the Jews; and since the gospel dispensation, by his Son, both externally, by his coming in the flesh, and internally, by his spiritual appearance in the soul, as he is the great light of the world; yet all its flowings mediately through others, have still been from the same principle, co-operating with the manifestation of it immediately in man's own particular.

§. 2. This is of great weight, for our information and encouragement, that God's work, in reference to man, is all of a piece, and, in itself, lies in a narrow compass, and that his eye has ever been upon the same thing in all his dispensations, viz. To make men truly good, by planting his holy awe and fear in their hearts: though he has condescended, for the hardness and darkness of men's hearts, to approach, and spell out his holy mind, to them, by low and carnal ways, as they may appear to our more enlightened understandings: suffering truth to put on divers sorts of garments, the better to reach to the low state of men, to engage them from false gods, and ill lives; seeing them sunk so much below their nobler part, and what he made them, that, like brute beasts, they knew not their own strength and excellency.

§. 3. And if we do but well consider the reason of the prevalency of idolatry, upon the earlier and darker times of the world, of which the scripture is very particular, we shall find that it ariseth from this, that it is more sensual, and therefore calculated to please the senses of men; being more outward or visible, or more in their own power to perform, than one more spiritual in its object.* For as their gods were the workmanship of men's hands, they could not prefer them, that being the argument which did most of all gall their worshippers, and what of all things, for that reason, they were most willing to forget. But their incidency to idolatry, and the advantages it had upon the true religion with them, plainly came from this, 'That it was more outward and sensual:' they could see the object of their devotion, and had it in their power to address it when they would. It was more fashionable too, as well as better accommodated to their dark, and too brutal, state. And therefore it was, that God, by many afflictions, and greater deliverances, brought forth a people, to endear himself to them, that they

* Gen. xxxi. xxxv. Exod. xx. Levit. xxi. Deut. xxix. xxx. xxxi. xxxii. Josh. xxii. xxiii. xxiv.

might remember the hand that saved them, and worship him, and him only, in order to root up idolatry, and plant the knowledge and fear of him in their minds, for an example to other nations. Whoever reads Deuteronomy, which is a summary of the other four books of Moses, will find the frequent and earnest care and concern of that good man for Israel, about this very point; and how often that people slipt and lapsed, notwithstanding God's love, care, and patience over them, into the idolatrous customs of the nations about them. Divers other scriptures inform us also, especially those of the prophets, Isaiah xliv. and xlv. Psalm xxxvii, and cxv. and Jer. x. where the Holy Ghost confutes and rebukes the people, and mocks their idols with a sort of holy disdain.

§. 4. Now that which is farthest from idolatry, and the best antidote against it, is the principle we have laid down; and the more people's minds are turned and brought to it, and that they resolve their faith, worship, and obedience into the holy illuminations and power of it, the nearer they grow to the end of their creation, and consequently to their Creator. They are more spiritually qualified, and become better fitted, to worship God as he is: who, as we are told by our Lord Jesus Christ, is a spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and that they are such sort of worshippers which God seeketh to worship him, in this gospel day. "The hour cometh," saith he, "and now is." That is, 'Some now do so, but more shall." A plain assertion in present, and a promise and prophecy of the increase of such worshippers in future. Which shows a change intended from a ceremonial worship, and state of the church of God, to a spiritual one. Thus the text; "But the time cometh, and now is, when true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth." Which is as much as to say, 'When the worship of God shall be more inward than outward,' and so more suitable to the nature of God, and the nobler part of man, his inside, or his inward and better man: for so those blessed words import, "In Spirit and in truth." In spirit, that is, 'through the power of the spirit.' In truth, that is, 'in realities,' not in shadows, ceremonies, or formalities, but in sincerity, with and in life, being divinely prepared and animated; which brings man not only to offer up right worship, but also into intimate communion and fellowship with God, who is a Spirit.

§. 5. And if it be duly weighed, it will appear, that God in all his manifestations of himself, hath still come nearer and nearer to the insides of men, that he might reach to their understandings, and open their hearts, and give them

a plainer and nearer acquaintance with himself in Spirit: and then it is that man must seek and find the knowledge of God for his eternal happiness. Indeed, all things that are made, show forth the power and wisdom of God, and his goodness too, to mankind; and therefore many men urge the creation to silence atheistical objections: but though all those things show a God, yet man does it, above all the rest. He is the precious stone of the ring, and the most glorious jewel of the globe; to whose reasonable use, service, and satisfaction, the whole seems to be made and dedicated. "But God's delight" (by whom man was made, we are told by the Holy Ghost) "is in the habitable parts of the earth, with the sons of men," Prov. viii. 31. And with those that are "contrite in spirit," Isaiah lxvi. 1. And why is man his delight, but because man only, of all his works, was of his likeness. This is the intimate relation of man to God; somewhat nearer than ordinary: for of all other beings, man only had the honour of being his image; and, by his resemblance to God, as I may say, came his kindred with God, and knowledge of him. So that the nearest and best way for man to know God, and be acquainted with him, is to seek him in himself, in his image; and, as he finds that, he comes to find and know God.

Now man may be said to be God's image in a double respect. First, As he is of an immortal nature; and next, as that nature is endued with those excellencies in small, and proportionable to a creature's capacity, that are by nature infinitely and incomparably in his Creator. For instance, wisdom, justice, mercy, holiness, patience, and the like. As man becomes holy, just, merciful, patient, &c. by the copy he will know the original, and by the workmanship in himself, he will be acquainted with the holy Workman. This, reader, is the regeneration and new creature we press, Gal. vi 15, 16.; and according to this rule, we say, men ought to be religious, and walk in this world. Man, as I said just now, is a composition of both worlds; his body is of this, his soul of the other world. The body is as the temple of the soul; the soul the temple of the word: and the word the great temple and manifestation of God. By the body the soul looks into and beholds this world; and by the word it beholds God, and the world that is without end. Much might be said of this order of things, and their respective excellencies, but I must be brief.

CHAP. VIII.

§. 1. *The doctrine of satisfaction and justification owned and worded according to scripture.* §. 2. *What constructions we cannot believe of them, and which is an abuse of them.* §. 3. *Christ owned a sacrifice and a mediator.* §. 4. *Justification two-fold, from the guilt of sin, and from the power and pollution of it.* §. 5. *Exhortation to the reader upon the whole.*

Obj. 1. 'THOUGH there be many good things said, how Christ appears and works in a soul, to awaken, convince and convert it; yet you seem not particular enough about the death and sufferings of Christ: and it is generally rumoured and charged upon you by your adversaries, that you have little reverence to the doctrine of Christ's satisfaction to God for our sins, and that you do not believe, that the active and passive obedience of Christ, when he was in the world, is the alone ground of a sinner's justification before God.'

Answ. The doctrines of satisfaction and justification, truly understood, are placed in so strict an union, that the one is a necessary consequence of the other; and what we say of them, is what agrees with the suffrage of scripture, and, for the most part, in the terms of it; always believing, that in points where there arises any difficulty, be it from the obscurity of expression, mis-translation, or the dust raised by the heats of partial writers, or nice critics, it is ever best to keep close to the text, and maintain charity in the rest. I shall first speak negatively, what we do not own; which, perhaps, hath given occasion to those who have been more hasty than wise, to judge us defective in our belief of the efficacy of the death and sufferings of Christ to justification: as,

§. 2. First, We cannot believe that Christ is the cause, but the effect, of God's love, according to the testimony of the beloved disciple, John, chap. iii. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

Secondly, We cannot say, God could not have taken another way to have saved sinners, than by the death and sufferings of his Son, to satisfy his justice; or that Christ's death and sufferings were a strict and rigid satisfaction for that eternal death and misery due to man for sin and transgression: for such a notion were to make God's mercy little concerned in man's salvation; and, indeed, we are at

too great a distance from his infinite wisdom and power, to judge of the liberty or necessity of his actings.

Thirdly, We cannot say Jesus Christ was the greatest sinner in the world (because he bore our sins on his cross, or because he was made sin for us, who knew no sin); an expression of great levity and unsoundness, yet often said by great preachers and professors of religion.

Fourthly, We cannot believe that Christ's death and sufferings so satisfy God, or justify men, as that they are thereby accepted of God: they are, indeed, thereby put into a state capable of being accepted of God, and, through the obedience of faith, and sanctification of the spirit, are in a state of acceptance: for we can never think a man justified before God, while self-condemned; or that any man can be in Christ who is not a new creature; or that God looks upon men otherwise than they are. We think it a state of presumption, and not of salvation, to call Jesus, Lord, and not by the work of the Holy Ghost: Master, and he not yet master of their affections: Saviour, and they not saved by him from their sins: Redeemer, and yet they not redeemed by him from their passion, pride, covetousness, wantonness, vanity, vain honours, friendships, and glory of this world: which were to deceive themselves; for "God will not be mocked, such as men sow, such they must reap." And though Christ did die for us, yet we must, by the assistance of his grace, "work out our own salvation with fear and trembling:" as he died for sin, so we must die to sin, or we can not be said to be saved by the death and sufferings of Christ, or thoroughly justified and accepted with God. Thus far negatively. Now, positively, what we own as to justification.

§. 3. We do believe that Jesus Christ was our holy sacrifice, atonement, and propitiation; that he bore our iniquities, and by his stripes we were healed of the wounds Adam gave us in his fall; and that God is just in forgiving true penitents upon the credit of that holy offering Christ made of himself to God for us; and that what he did and suffered, satisfied and pleased God, and was for the sake of fallen man, that had displeased God: and that through the offering up of himself once for all, through the Eternal Spirit, he hath for ever perfected those (in all times) that were sanctified, "who walked not after the flesh, but after the Spirit," Rom. viii. 1. Mark that.

§. 4. In short, justification consists of two parts, or hath a twofold consideration, viz. justification from the guilt of sin, and justification from the power and pollution of sin, and in this sense justification gives a man a full and clear

acceptance before God; for want of this latter part it is, that so many souls, religiously inclined, are often under doubts, scruples, and despondencies, notwithstanding all that their teachers tell them of the extent and efficacy of the first part of justification. And it is too general an unhappiness among the professors of Christianity, that they are too apt to cloak their own active and passive disobedience with the active and passive obedience of Christ. The first part of justification, we do reverently and humbly acknowledge, is only for the sake of the death and sufferings of Christ: nothing we can do, though by the operation of the Holy Spirit, being able to cancel old debts, or wipe out old scores; it is the power and efficacy of that propitiatory offering, upon faith and repentance, that justifies us from the sins that are past; and it is the power of Christ's Spirit in our hearts, that purifies and makes us acceptable before God. For till the heart of man is purged from sin, God will never accept of it. He reproves, rebukes, and condemns those that entertain sin there, and therefore such cannot be said to be in a justified state; condemnation and justification being contraries: so they that hold themselves in a justified state by the active and passive obedience of Christ, while they are not actively and passively obedient to the Spirit of Christ Jesus, are under a strong and dangerous delusion; and for crying out against this sin pleasing imagination, not to say doctrine, we are staged and reproached as deniers and despisers of the death and sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ. But be it known to such, they add to Christ's sufferings, and crucify to themselves afresh the Son of God, and trample the blood of the covenant under their feet, that walk unholily under a profession of justification; "for God will not acquit the guilty, nor justify the disobedient and unfaithful." Such deceive themselves, and at the great and final judgment their sentence will not be, "Come ye blessed," because it cannot be said to them, "Well done, good and faithful," for they cannot be so esteemed that live and die in a reprovable and condemnable state; but, "Go ye cursed," &c.

§. 5. Wherefore, O my reader! Rest not thyself wholly satisfied with what Christ has done for thee in his blessed person without thee, but press to know his power and kingdom within thee, that the strong man that has too long kept thy house, may be bound, and his goods spoiled, his works destroyed, and sin ended, according to 1 John iii. 7. "For which end," says that beloved disciple "Christ was manifested," that all things may become new: "new heavens and new earth, in which righteousness dwells." Thus thou wilt come to glorify God in thy body and in thy Spirit,

which are his; and live to him, and not to thyself. Thy love, joy, worship, and obedience; thy life, conversation, and practice; thy study, meditation, and devotion, will be spiritual: for the Father and the Son will make their abode with thee, and Christ will manifest himself to thee; for the "secrets of the Lord are with them that fear him:" and an holy unction, or anointing, have all those, which leads them into all truth, and they need not the teachings of men. They are better taught, being instructed by the Divine Oracle: no bare hear-say or traditional Christians, but fresh and living witnesses: those that have seen with their own eyes, and heard with their own ears, and have handled with their hands, the word of life, in the divers operations of it, to their souls' salvation. In this they meet, in this they preach, and in this they pray and praise: behold the new covenant fulfilled, the church and worship of Christ, the great anointed of God, and the great anointing of God, in his holy high priesthood, and offices in his church!

CHAP. IX.

§. 1. *A confession to Christ and his work, both in doing and suffering.* §. 2. *That ought not to make void our belief and testimony of his inward and spiritual appearance in the soul.* §. 3. *What our testimony is in the latter respect: that it is impossible to be saved by Christ without us, while we reject his work and power within us.* §. 4. *The dispensation of grace, in its nature and extent.* §. 5. *A farther acknowledgment to the death and sufferings of Christ.* §. 6. *The conclusion, showing our adversaries' unreasonableness.*

§. 1. And lest any should say we are equivocal in our expressions, and allegorize away Christ's appearance in the flesh; meaning only thereby our own flesh; and that as often as we mention him, we mean only a mystery, or a mystical sense of him, be it as to his coming, birth, miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension, mediation, and judgment; I would yet add, to preserve the well-disposed from being staggered by such suggestions, and to inform and reclaim such as are under the power and prejudice of them, 'That we do, we bless God, religiously believe and confess, to the glory of God the Father, and the honour of his dear and beloved Son, that Jesus Christ took our nature upon him, and was like unto us in all things, sin excepted: that he was born of the virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor; was crucified, dead, and buried in the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea; rose

again the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sits on the right hand of God, in the power and majesty of his Father; who will one day judge the world by him, even that blessed Man, Christ Jesus, according to their works.'

§. 2. But because we so believe, must we not believe what Christ said, "He that is with you shall be in you?" John xiv. "I in them, and they in me," chap. xvii. "When it pleased God to reveal his Son in me," &c. Gal. "The mystery hid from ages, is Christ in the Gentiles the hope of glory," Col. i. "Unless Christ be in you, ye are reprobates?" 2 Cor. xiii. Or must we be industriously represented deniers of Christ's coming in the flesh, and the holy ends of it, in all the parts and branches of his doing and suffering, only because we believe and press the necessity of believing, receiving and obeying his inward and spiritual appearance and manifestation of himself, through his light, grace, and spirit in the hearts and consciences of men and women, to reprove, convict, convert and change them? This we esteem hard and unrighteous measure; nor would our warm and sharp adversaries be so dealt with by others: but to do as they would be done to, is too often no part of their practice, whatever it be of their profession.

§. 3. Yet we are very ready to declare to the whole world, that we cannot think men and women can be saved by their belief of the one, without the sense and experience of the other; and that is what we oppose, and not his blessed manifestation in the flesh. We say, that he then overcame our common enemy, foiled him in the open field, and, in our nature, triumphed over it in our fore-father Adam and his posterity: and that as truly as Christ overcame him in our nature, in his own person, so, by his divine grace, being received and obeyed by us, he overcomes him in us: that is, he detects the enemy by his light in the conscience, and enables the creature to resist him, and all his fiery darts; and, finally, so to fight the good fight of faith, as to overcome him, and lay hold on eternal life.

§. 4. And this is the dispensation of grace, which we declare has appeared to all, more or less; teaching those that will receive it, "to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; looking for (which none else can justly do) the blessed hope, and glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ," &c. Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13. And as from the teachings, experience and motion, of this grace we minister to others, so the very drift of our ministry is to turn people's minds to this grace in themselves, that all of them may, up and be doing, "even the good and acceptable will of God

and work out their salvation with fear and trembling, and make their high and heavenly calling and election sure;" which none else can do, whatever be their profession, church, and character: for "such as men sow they must reap;" and "his servants are we whom we obey." Regeneration we must know, or we cannot be children of God, and heirs of eternal glory: and to be born again, another spirit and principle must prevail, leaven, season, and govern us, than either the spirit of the world, or our own depraved spirits; and this can be no other spirit than that which dwelt in Christ; for unless that dwell in us, we can be none of his, Rom. viii. 9. And this spirit begins in conviction, and ends in conversion and perseverance; and the one follows the other: conversion being the consequence of convictions obeyed, and perseverance a natural fruit of conversion, and being born of God; for such "sin not, because the seed of God abides in them:" John iii. 7, 8. But such, through faithfulness, continue to the end, and obtain the promise, even everlasting life.

§. 5. But let my reader take this along with him, that we do acknowledge that Christ, through his holy doing and suffering, (for "being a son, he learned obedience,") has obtained mercy of God his Father for mankind; and that his obedience has an influence to our salvation, in all the parts and branches of it, since thereby he became a conqueror, and "led captivity captive, and obtained gifts for men, with divers great and precious promises, that thereby we might be partakers of the divine nature, having (first) escaped the corruption that is in the world, through lust," I say, we do believe, and confess, that the active and passive obedience of Christ Jesus affects our salvation throughout, as well from the power and pollution of sin, as from the guilt; he being a conqueror, as well as a sacrifice, and both through suffering: yet they that reject his divine gift, so obtained, (and which he has given to them, by which to see their sin, and the sinfulness of it, and to repent and turn away from it, and do so no more; and to wait upon God for daily strength to resist the fiery darts of the enemy, and to be comforted through the obedience of faith in and to this divine grace of the Son of God) such do not please God, believe truly in God, nor are they in a state of true Christianity and salvation. "Woman," said Christ, to the Samaritan, at the well, "hadst thou known the gift of God, and who it is that speaketh to thee," &c. People know not Christ, and God, "whom to know is life eternal," John xvii. because they are ignorant of the gift of God, viz. "a measure of the spirit of God that is given to every one to

profit with," I Cor. xii. 7. which reveals Christ and God to the soul, chap ii. Flesh and blood cannot do it, Oxford and Cambridge cannot do it, tongues and philosophy cannot do it: for they that by wisdom knew not God, had these things for their wisdom. They were strong, deep and accurate in them; but, alas! they were clouded, puffed up, and set farther off from the inward and saving knowledge of God, because they sought for it in them, and thought to find God there. But the key of David is another thing, "which shuts, and no man opens, and opens, and no man shuts;" and this key have all they that receive the gift of God into their hearts, and it opens to them the knowledge of God and themselves, and gives them a quite other sight, taste and judgment of things, than their educational or traditional knowledge afforded them. This is the beginning of the new creation of God, and thus it is we come to be new creatures.

And we are bold to declare, there is no other way like this, by which people can come into Christ, or be true Christians, or receive the advantage that comes by the death and sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore we say, and upon good authority, even that of our own experience, as well as that of the scriptures of truth, 'Christ will prove no saving sacrifice for them, that refuse to obey him for their example.' They that reject the gift, deny the giver, instead of themselves for the giver's sake. O that people were wise, that they would consider their latter end, and the things that make for the peace thereof! Why should they perish in a vain hope of life, while death reigns? Of living with God, who live not to him, nor walk with him? Awake, thou that sleepest in thy sin, or, at best, in thy self-righteousness! Awake, I say, and Christ shall give thee life! for he is the "Lord from heaven, the quickening spirit," that quickens us, by his spirit, if we do not resist it and quench it by our disobedience, but receive, love and obey it, in all the holy leadings and teachings of it. Rom. viii. 14, 15. To which holy spirit I commend my reader, that he may the better see where he is, and also come to the true belief and advantage of the doings and sufferings of our dear and blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who saves from the power and pollution, as well as guilt of sin, all those that "hear his knocks, and open the door of their hearts to him," that he may come in, and work a real and thorough reformation in and for them; and so the benefit, virtue, and efficacy of his doings and sufferings without us, will come to be livingly and effectually applied and felt, and fellowship with Christ in his death and sufferings known, according to

the doctrine of the apostle; which those that live in that which made him suffer, know not, though they profess to be saved by his death and sufferings. Much more might be said as to this matter, but I must be brief.

§. 6. To conclude this chapter: we wonder not that we should be mistaken, misconstrued and misrepresented, in what we believe and do to salvation, since our betters have been so treated in the primitive times. Nor, indeed, is it only about doctrines of religion; for our practice in worship and discipline has had the same success. But this is what I earnestly desire, that however bold people are pleased to make with us, they would not deceive themselves in the great things of their own salvation: that while they would seem to own all to Christ, they are not found disowned of Christ in the last day. Read the 7th of Matthew: it is he that hears Christ, the great word of God, and does what he enjoins, what he commands, and by his blessed example recommends, that is a wise builder, that has founded his house well, and built with good materials, and whose house will stand the last shock and judgment. For which cause we are often plain, close and earnest with people to consider, that Christ came not to save them in, but from, their sins; and that they that think to discharge and release themselves of his yoke and burden, his cross and example, and secure themselves, and compliment Christ with his having done all for them (while he has wrought little or nothing in them, nor they parted with any thing for the love of him) will finally awake in a dreadful surprize, at the sound of the last trumpet, and at this sad and irrevocable sentence, "Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity, I know you not:" which terrible end may all timely avoid, by "hearkening to wisdom's voice, and turning at her reproof, that she may lead them in the ways of righteousness, and in the midst of the paths of judgment, that their souls may come to inherit substance;" even durable riches and righteousness, in the kingdom of the Father, world without end.

CHAP. X.

§. 1. *Of the true worship of God, in what it stands.* §. 2. *Of the true ministry, that it is by inspiration.* §. 3. *The scripture plain in that case.* §. 4. *Christ's ministers, true witnesses, they speak what they know, not by report.* §. 5. *Christ's ministers preach freely, it is one of their marks.*

§. 1. As the Lord wrought effectually, by his divine grace, in the hearts of this people, so he thereby brought them to a divine worship and ministry; Christ's words they came to experience, viz. "That God was a spirit, and that he would therefore be worshipped in the spirit, and in the truth, and that such worshippers the Father would seek to worship him." For, bowing to the convictions of the spirit in themselves, in their daily course of living, by which they were taught to eschew that which was made manifest to them to be evil, and to do that which was good, they, in their assembling together, sat down and waited for the preparation of this holy spirit, both to let them see their states and conditions before the Lord, and to worship him acceptably; and as they were sensible of wants, or shortness, or infirmities, so in the secret of their own hearts, prayer would spring to God, through Jesus Christ, to help, assist, and supply: but they did not dare to "awake their beloved before his time;" or "approach the throne of the king of glory, till he held out his sceptre;" or "take thought what they should say," or after their own, or other mens', studied words and forms; for this were to offer strange fire; to pray, but not by the spirit; to ask, but not in the name, that is, in the power, of our Lord Jesus Christ, who prayed, as well as spoke, like one having authority, that is, power, a divine energy and force to reach and pierce the heavens, which he gives to all that obey his light, grace, and spirit, in their solemn waitings upon him. So that it is this people's principle, that fire must come from heaven, life and power from God, to enable the soul to pour out itself acceptably before him. And when a coal from his holy altar touches our lips, then can we pray and praise him as we ought to do. And as this is our principle, and that according to scripture, so it is, blessed be God, our experience and practice: and therefore it is we are separated from the worships of men under their several forms, because they do not found it in the operation, motion and assistance of the spirit of Christ, but the appointment, invention and framing of man, both as to matter, words, and time. We do not dissent in our own wills, and we dare not comply against his that has called us,

and brought us to his own spiritual worship; in obedience to whom we are what we are, in our separation from the divers ways of worship in the world.

§. 2. And as our worship stands in the operation of the spirit and truth in our inward parts, as before expressed, so does our ministry. For as the holy testimonies of the servants of God of old, were from the operation of his blessed spirit, so must those of his servants be in every age; and that which has not the spirit of Christ for its spring and source, is of man, and not of Christ. Christian ministers are to minister what they receive: this is scripture: now that which we receive is not our own, less another man's, but the Lord's: so that we are not only not to steal from our neighbours, but we are not to study nor speak our own words. If we are not to study what we are to say before magistrates for ourselves, less are we to study what we are to say for and from God to the people. We are to minister, "as the oracles of God:" if so, then must we receive from Christ, God's great oracle, what we are to minister. And if we are to minister what we receive, then not what we study, collect, and beat out of our own brains; for that is not the mind of Christ, but our imaginations, and this will not profit the people.

§. 3. This was recommended to the Corinthians by the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. that they should speak "as they were moved," or "as any thing was revealed to them, by the spirit," for the edification of the church; for, says he, "Ye may all prophesy;" that is, 'Ye may all preach to edification, as any thing is revealed to you, for the good of others, and as the spirit giveth utterance.' And if the spirit must give Christ's ministers their utterance, then those that are his are careful not to utter any thing in his name to the people, without his spirit; and, by good consequence, they that go before the true guide, and utter words without the knowledge of the mind of the spirit, are none of Christ's ministers: such, certainly, run, and God has not sent them, and they cannot profit the people. And indeed, how should they, when it is impossible that mere man, with all his parts, arts and acquirements, can "turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God," which is the very end and work of the gospel-ministry. It must be inspired men, men gifted by God, taught and influenced by his heavenly spirit, that can be qualified for so great, so inward, and so spiritual a work.

§. 4. Ministers of Christ are his witnesses; and the credit of a witness is, that he has heard, seen, or handled: and thus the beloved disciple states the truth and authority of

their mission and ministry; I John i. 1. 3. "That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, that declare we unto you, that your fellowship may be with us, and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ." I say, if Christ's ministers are his witnesses, they must know what they speak; that is, they must have experienced, and passed through, those states and conditions they preach of, and practically know those truths they declare of to the people, or they come not in by the door, but over the wall, and are thieves and robbers. He that has the key of David comes in at the door, Christ Jesus, and has his admission and approbation from him, anointed by him, the alone high priest of the gospel dispensation. He it is that breathes, and lays his hands upon his own ministers; he anoints them, and recruits their cruse, and renews their horn with oil, that they may have it fresh and fresh, for every occasion and service he calls them to, and engages them in.

§. 5. Nor is this all, but as they "receive freely, freely they give:" they do not teach for hire, divine for money, nor preach for gifts or rewards. It was Christ's holy command to his ministers to give freely, and it is our practice. And truly we cannot but admire that this should be made a fault, and that preaching for hire should not be seen to be one, yea, a mark of false prophets, when it has been so frequently and severely cried out upon, by the true prophets of God in former times. I would not be uncharitable; but the guilty are desired to call to mind, who it was that offered money to be made a minister, and what it was for, if not to get money, and make a trade or livelihood by it; and what answer he met with from the apostle Peter, Acts viii. 18, 19, 20. The Lord touch the hearts of those that are giving money to be made ministers, in order to live by their preaching, that they may see what ground it is they build upon, and repent, and turn to the Lord, that they may find mercy, and become living witnesses of his power and goodness in their own souls; so may they be enabled to tell others what God has done for them, which is the root and ground of the true ministry; and this ministry it is that God does bless. I could say much on this subject, but let what has been said suffice at this time; only I cannot but observe, that where any religion has a strong temptation of gain to induce men to be ministers, there is great danger of their running faster to that calling, than becomes a true gospel minister.

§. 1. *Obj.* 'But does not this sort of ministry, and worship, tend to make people careless, and to raise spiritual

pride in others? May it not give an occasion to great mischief and irreligion?'

Answ. By no means; for when people are of age, they of right, expect their inheritances; and the end of all words is to bring people to the great Word, and then the promise of God is accomplished, "They shall be all taught of me, from the least to the greatest, and in righteousness (pray mark that) they shall be established, and great shall be their peace." To this of the evangelical prophet, the beloved disciple agrees, and gives a full answer to the objection: "These things have I written unto you, concerning them that seduce you: but the anointing, which ye have received of him, abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie: and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him." In which, three things are observable. First, That he writ his epistle upon an extraordinary occasion, viz. to prevent their delusion. Secondly, That he asserts a nearer and superior minister than himself, viz. the anointing or grace they had received; and that not only in that particular exigency, but in all cases that might attend them. Thirdly, That if they did but take heed to the teachings of it, they would have no need of man's directions, or fear of his seducings; at least of no ministry that comes not from the power of the anointing: though I rather take the apostle in the highest sense of the words: thus also the apostle Paul to the Thessalonians, "But as touching brotherly love, ye need not that I write unto you: for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another." 1 Thess. iv. 9. But helps are useful, and a great blessing, if from God, such was John the Baptist's; but remember he pointed all to Christ. John i. 26. "Lo the Lamb of God! I baptize you with water, but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." Matt. iii. 11. And so the true ministry does. And while people are sensual, and under such an eclipse, by the interposition of sin and Satan, God is pleased to send forth his enlightening servants to awaken and turn from the darkness to the light in themselves, that, through obedience to it, they may come to be "children of the light," John xii. 36. and have their fellowship one with another in it, and an inheritance, at last, with the saints in light for ever.

And as it is the way God has taken to call and gather people, so a living and holy ministry is of great advantage, to watch over and build up the young, and comfort and establish the feeble and simple ones. But still, I say, the more inward, the less outward: the more people come to

be taught immediately of God, by the light of his word and Spirit in their hearts, the less need of outward means: read Isaiah xvi. 19, 20. which is held by all to be a gospel promise, and the sun and moon there are generally understood to mean the external means in the church. Compare them with John i. 13. Rom. i. 19. I Cor. ii. 11. 15. 1 Thess. iv. 9. 1 John ii. 20. 27. Rev. xxi. 22, 23, 24. All which places prove what we assert of the sufficiency and glorious privilege of inward and spiritual teachings. And, most certainly, as men grow in grace, and know the anointing of the word in themselves, the dispensation will be less in words (though in words) and more in life; and preaching will in great measure be turned into praising, and the worship of God, more into walking with, than talking of, God: for that is worship indeed, that bows to his will at all times, and in all places: the truest, the highest worship man is capable of in this world. And it is that conformity that gives communion; and there is no fellowship with God, no light of his countenance to be enjoyed, no peace and assurance to be had, farther than their obedience to his will, and a faithfulness to his word, according to the manifestation of the light thereof in the heart.

I say, this is the truest and highest state of worship; for set days and places, with all the solemnity of them, were most in request in the weakest dispensation. Altars, ark, and temples, sabbaths and festivals, &c. are not to be found in the writing of the New Testament. There, every day is alike; but if there were a dedication "let it be to the Lord." Thus the apostle; but he plainly shows a state beyond it, "for to live (with him) was Christ, and to die was gain;" for the life he lived "was by the faith of the Son of God; and therefore it was not he that lived, but Christ that lived in him;"* that is, that ruled, conducted, and bore sway in him, which is the true Christian life, the supersensual life; the life of conversion and regeneration; to which all the dispensations of God, and ministry of his servants, have ever tended, as the consummation of God's work for man's happiness. Here every man is a temple, and every family a church, and every place, a meeting-place, and every visit, a meeting. And yet a little while, and it shall be so yet more and more; and a people the Lord is now preparing to enter into this sabbath or degree of rest.

Not that we should be thought to undervalue public and solemn meetings; we have them all over the nation where the Lord has called us. Yea, though but two or three of

* Rom. xiv. 5, 6, 7, 8, 17. 1 Cor. viii. 6. Col. ii. 16, 17. Phil. i. 21, Gal. ii 20.

us be in a corner of a country, we meet, as the apostle exhorted the saints of his time, and reproved such as neglected to assemble themselves. But yet show we unto thee, O reader, "a more excellent way of worship:" for many have come to those meetings, and go away carnal, dead, and dry; but the worshippers in spirit and in truth, whose hearts bow, whose minds adore the eternal God, "that is a Spirit," in and by his Spirit, such as conform to his will, and walk with him in a spiritual life, they are the true, constant, living, and acceptable worshippers, whether it be in meetings or out of meetings: and as with such, all outward assemblies are greatly comfortable, so also do we meet for a public testimony of religion and worship, and for the edification and encouragement of those that are yet young in the truth, and to call and gather others to the knowledge of it, who are yet going astray: and, blessed be God, it is not in vain, since many are thereby added to the church, that we hope, and believe, shall be saved.

CHAP. XI.

§. 1. *Against tithes.* §. 2. *Against all swearing.* §. 3. *Against war among Christians.* §. 4. *Against the salutations of the times.* §. 5. *And for plainness of speech.* §. 6. *Against mixed marriages.* §. 7. *And for plainness in Apparel, &c. No sports and pastimes after the manner of this world.* §. 8. *Of observing days.* §. 9. *Of care of poor, peace, and conversation.*

§. 1. And as God has been pleased to call us from an human ministry, so we cannot, for conscience sake, support and maintain it: and upon that score, and not out of humour or covetousness, we refuse to pay tithes, or such-like pretended dues, concerning which, many books have been writ in our defence: we cannot support what we cannot approve, but have a testimony against; for thereby we should be found inconsistent with ourselves.

§. 2. We dare not swear, because Christ forbids it. Mat. v. 24. 37. and James, his true follower. It is needless, as well as evil; for the reason of swearing being untruth, that men's yea was not yea, swearing was used to awe men to truth-speaking, and to give others satisfaction that what was sworn was true. But the true Christian's yea being yea, the end of an oath is answered, and therefore the use of it needless, superfluous, and cometh of evil. The apostle James taught the same doctrine, and the primitive Christians practised it, as may be seen in the Book of Martyrs; as also the earliest and best of the reformers.

§. 3. We also believe, that war ought to cease among the followers of the Lamb, Christ Jesus, who taught his disciples to "forgive and love their enemies," and not to war against them, and kill them; and that therefore the weapons of his true followers are not carnal, but spiritual; yea mighty, through God, to cut down sin and wickedness, and dethrone him that is the author thereof. And as this is the most Christian, so the most rational way; love and persuasion having more force than weapons of war. Nor would the worst of men easily be brought to hurt those that they really think love them. It is that love and patience which must, in the end, have the victory.

§. 4. We dare not give worldly honour, or use the frequent and modish salutations of the times, seeing plainly, that vanity, pride, and ostentation, belong to them. Christ also forbad them in his day, and made the love of them a mark of declension from the simplicity of purer times; and his disciples, and their followers, were observed to have obeyed their Master's precept. It is not to distinguish ourselves a party, or out of pride, ill-breeding, or humour, but in obedience to the sight and sense we have received from the Spirit of Christ, of the evil rise and tendency thereof.

§. 5. For the same reason we have returned to the first plainness of speech, viz. thou and thee, to a single person; which though men give no other to God, they will hardly endure it from us. It has been a great test upon pride, and shown the blind and weak insides of many. This also is out of pure conscience, whatever people may think or say of us for it. We may be despised, and have been so often, yea, very evilly intreated: but we are now better known, and people better informed. In short, it is also both scripture and grammar, and we have propriety of speech for it, as well as peace in it.

§. 6. We cannot allow of mixed marriages, that is, to join with such as are not of our society, but oppose and disown them, if at any time any of our profession so grosly err from the rule of their communion; yet restore them upon sincere repentance, but not disjoin them. The book I writ of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers, is more full and express therein.

§. 7. Plainness in apparel and furniture, is another testimony peculiar to us, in the degree that we have borne it to the world: as also few words, and being at a word. Likewise temperance in food, and abstinence from the recreations and pastimes of the world: all which we have been taught, by the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, to be according to

godliness; and therefore we have long exhorted all, that their "moderation may be known unto all men, for that the Lord was at hand," to enter into judgment with us for every intemperance or excess; and herein we hope we have been no ill example, or scandal unto any that have a due consideration of things.

§. 8. We cannot, in conscience to God, observe holy days (so called), the public fasts and feasts, because of their human institution and ordination, and that they have not a divine warrant, but are appointed in the will of man.

§. 9. Lastly, we have been led by this good Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ of which I have treated in this discourse, according to primitive practice, to have a due care over one another, for the preservation of the whole society in a conversation more suitable to their holy profession.

First, In respect to a strict walking, both towards those that are without, and those that are within; that their conversation in the world, and walking in and towards the church may be blameless. That as they may be strict in the one, so they may be faithful in the other.

Secondly, That collections be made to supply the wants of the poor, and that care be taken of widows and orphans, and such as are helpless, as well in counsel, as about substance.

Thirdly, That all such as are intended to marry, if they have parents, or are under the direction of guardians or trustees, are obliged, first, to declare to them their intention, and have their consent, before they propose it to one another, and the meeting they relate to; who are also careful to examine their clearness, and being satisfied with it, they are by them allowed to solemnize their marriage in a public select meeting, for that purpose appointed, and not otherwise: whereby all clandestine and indirect marriages are prevented among us.

Fourthly, And to the end that this good order may be observed, for the comfort and edification of the society, in the ways of truth and soberness; select meetings (of care and business) are fixed in all parts where we inhabit, which are held monthly, and which resolve into quarterly meetings, and those into one yearly meeting, for our better communication one with another, in those things that maintain piety and charity; that God, who by his grace has called us to be a people to his praise, may have it from us, through his beloved Son, and our ever-blessed and only Redeemer, Jesus Christ, for he is worthy, worthy, now, and ever. Amen.

Thus, reader, thou hast the character of the people called Quakers, in their doctrine, worship, ministry, practice, and discipline: compare it with scripture and primitive example, and we hope thou wilt find, that this short discourse hath, in good measure, answered the title of it, viz.

Primitive Christianity Revived, in the Principles and Practice of the People called Quakers.

A TESTIMONY

TO THE

TRUTH OF GOD,

AS HELD BY THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

Being a short Vindication of them from the Abuses and Misrepresentations often put upon them by envious Apostates and mercenary Adversaries.

Published in the Year 1698.

TO THE READER.

READER,

OCCASION having been given us, which we never sought, we continue to improve it to the farther explanation and defence of our so much abused profession; that, if possible, people may see, at least the more sober and candid, that we are not at that distance from truth, nor so heterodox in our principles, as we have been, by too many, either rashly or interestedly represented: but that we hold the great truths of Christianity, according to the holy scriptures, and that the realities of religion are the mark we press after, and to disabuse and awaken people from their false hopes and carnal securities, under which they are too apt to indulge themselves, to their irreparable loss; that by our setting Christian doctrine in a true light, and reviving and pressing the necessity of a better practice, they may see the obligation they are under to redeem their precious time they have lost, by a more careful employment of that which remains, to a better purpose. In this short vindication of our mistaken principles, the ingenuous reader may easily discern how ill we have been treated, and what hardships we have laboured under, through the prejudice of some, and the unreasonable credulity of others, and that we are a people in earnest for heaven, and in that way our blessed Lord hath trod for us to glory.

A TESTIMONY TO THE TRUTH OF GOD.

By the observation we are led to make from Francis Bugg's late book, upon the bishop of Norwich's giving him his recommendatory letter to the clergy, &c. in his diocese, to relieve, by a collection, the necessities of that beggarly apostate; a copy of which letter the said F. B. hath published in his said book:

And also by the observation we have made on the malicious attempts of the 'Snake in the Grass,' in his first, second, and third editions, which is a disingenuous and unjust collection from F. Bugg, and some other deserters, of things, for the most part, long since answered; as also lately, by the book intituled, 'An Antidote,' &c. (though because his second and third edition have some additions to his first, and that being new vamped, for a better market, he may expect a *melius inquirendum* after a while; yet should we follow the example of this rattle-snake, against the church of which he pretends to be a member, but at present a suspended one, we might, in retaliation, not only exceed the 'Cobler of Gloucester,' but the 'Scotch Eloquence,' and that master-piece, 'The Ground of the Contempt of the Clergy:')

And, lastly, by the observation we have made on the relation subscribed by some of the Norfolk clergy, dated October the 12th, 1698, we cannot forbear thinking, that as their confederacy is deep, so it aims at nothing less than the ruin of us, and our posterity, by rendering us blasphemers, and enemies to the government, and to be treated as such.

The Norfolk relation from the clergy aforesaid, charges the said people with blasphemy: first, Against God, Secondly, Against Jesus Christ. Thirdly, Against the holy scriptures, with contempt of civil magistracy, and the ordinances which Jesus Christ instituted, viz. baptism by water, and the Lord's supper by bread and wine. And, Lastly, That the light within, as taught by us, leaves us without any certain rule, and exposes us to the blasphemies aforesaid, with many others.

Now, because this charge refers to doctrine, rather than fact, or particular persons, we thing ourselves concerned to

say something in vindication of our profession, and to wipe off the dirt thereby intended to be cast upon us, in giving our reader a plain account of our principles, free from the perversion of our enemies.

But to manifest how uncharitably and unjustly the said clergymen have reflected upon the people called Quakers, with respect to the said charge, we are contented the reader goes no farther than their own printed relation, dated Nov. 12, 1698, not doubting but by that very relation, and the letters therewith printed, he will meet with intire satisfaction, with respect to the reasonableness and justice of the Quakers' proceedings in that affair, and how ready they were to come to the test, and to bring the pretended charge upon the stage, and to purge themselves from the guilt of the same, provided they might be accommodated with what the common law allows malefactors, viz. a copy of their indictment; but this could not be obtained. And though the said clergy have thought fit to print the charge in general, without any proof, we think ourselves obliged to vindicate our profession, by freely declaring, (as now we do, without any mental reservation) our sincere belief of the very things they most unjustly charge us with denying.

I. *Concerning God.*

Because we declare, that God is a "God nigh at hand," and that he is, according to his promise, become the "Teacher of his people by his spirit in these latter days;" and that "true believers are the temples for him to walk and dwell in," as the apostle teacheth; and experiencing something of the accomplishment of this great and glorious truth among us, and having therefore pressed people earnestly to the knowledge and enjoyment thereof, as the blessing and glory of the latter days: we have been ignorantly, or maliciously, represented and treated as heretics and blasphemers, as if we owned no God in heaven above the stars, and confined the Holy One of Israel to our beings: whereas we believe him to be the Eternal, Incomprehensible, Almighty, Allwise and Omnipresent God, creator and upholder of all things, and that he fills heaven and earth, and that the "heaven of heavens cannot contain him;" yet he saith, by the prophet Isaiah, "To that man will I have regard, that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and which trembles at my word." So that for professing that which is the very marrow of the Christian religion, viz. 'Emanuel, God with us,' we are represented blasphemers against that God, with whom we leave our innocent and suffering cause. Isa.

vii. xiv. xl. xxviii. xlviii. xvii. lxvi. 1, 2. 2 Cor. vi. 16. Rev. xxi. 3.

II. *Concerning Jesus Christ.*

Because we believe, that the word which was made flesh, and dwelt amongst men, and was and is the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth; his beloved Son, in whom he is well pleased, and whom we ought to hear in all things; who tasted death for every man, and died for sin, that we might die to sin; is the great light of the world, and full of grace and truth, and that he lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and giveth them grace for grace, and light for light, and that no man can know God and Christ, (whom to know is life eternal) and themselves, in order to true conviction and conversion, without receiving and obeying this holy light, and being taught by the divine grace; and that without it, no remission, no justification, no salvation, (as the scripture plentifully testifies) can be obtained: and because we therefore press the necessity of people's receiving the inward and spiritual appearance of his divine word, in order to a right and beneficial application of whatsoever he did for man, with respect to his life, miracles, death, sufferings, resurrection, ascension and mediation; our adversaries would have us deny any Christ without us. First, As to his divinity, because they make us to confine him too within us. Secondly, As to his humanity, or manhood, because as he was the Son of Abraham, David, and Mary, according to the flesh, he cannot be in us, and therefore we are heretics and blasphemers: whereas we believe him, according to the scripture, to be the Son of Abraham, David, and Mary, after the flesh, and also God over all, blessed for ever. So that he that is within us, is also without us, even the same that laid down his precious life for us, rose again from the dead, and ever liveth to make intercession for us, being the blessed and alone mediator betwixt God and man, and him by whom God will finally judge the world, both quick and dead: all which we as sincerely and stedfastly believe, as any other society of people, whatever may be ignorantly, or maliciously, insinuated to the contrary, either by our declared enemies, or mistaken neighbours. Deut. xv. 18. Mic. v. 2. John i. 1, 2, 3. Rev. xxii. 16.

III. *Concerning the Holy Scriptures.*

Because we assert the holy spirit to be the first great and general rule and guide of true Christians, as that by which

God is worshipped, sin detected, conscience convicted, duty manifested, scripture unfolded and explained, and consequently the rule for understanding the scriptures themselves (since by it they were at first given forth) from hence our adversaries are pleased to make us blasphemers of the holy scriptures, undervaluing their authority, preferring our own books before them, with more to that purpose: whereas, we, in truth and sincerity, believe them to be of divine authority, given by the inspiration of God, through holy men; they speaking or writing them as they were moved by the Holy Ghost: that they are a declaration of those things most surely believed by the primitive Christians, and that as they contain the mind and will of God, and are his commands to us, so they, in that respect, are his declaratory word; and therefore are obligatory on us, and are "profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, and thoroughly furnished to every good work."

Nay, after all, so unjust is the charge, and so remote from our belief concerning the holy scriptures, that we both love, honour, and prefer them, before all books in the world; ever choosing to express our belief of the Christian faith and doctrine in the terms thereof, and rejecting all principles or doctrines whatsoever, that are repugnant thereunto.

Nevertheless we are well persuaded, that notwithstanding there is such an excellency in the holy scriptures, as we have above declared, yet the unstable and unlearned in Christ's school too often wrest them to their own destruction. And upon our reflection on their carnal constructions of them, we are made undervaluers of scripture itself. But certain it is, that as the Lord hath been pleased to give us the experience of the fulfilling of them in measure, so it is altogether contrary to our faith and practice, to put any manner of slight or contempt upon them, much more of being guilty of what maliciously is suggested against us; since no society of professed Christians in the world can have a more reverent and honourable esteem for them than we have. John iv. 24. and xvi. 8. Rom. i. 19. Luke i. 1, 2. Tim. iii. 16, 17. 2 Pet. iii. 16.

IV. *Concerning Magistracy.*

Because we have not actively complied with divers statutes, which have been made to force an uniformity to what we have no faith in, but the testimony of our conscience is against; and because, for conscience sake, we could not give those marks of honour and respect, which were and are the usual practice of those that "seek honour one of another,

and not that honour which comes from God only," but (measure and weigh honour and respect in a false balance, and deceitful measure, on which, neither magistrate, ruler, or people can depend) we say, because we could not, for conscience sake, give flattering titles, &c. we have been rendered as despisers and contemners of magistracy: whereas our principles, often repeated upon the many revolutions that have happened, do evidently manifest the contrary; as well as our peaceable behaviour from the beginning, under all the various forms of government, hath been an undeniable plea in our favour, when those that also have professed the same principles of non-resistance, and passive obedience, have quitted their principles, and yet quarrel with us, upon a supposition that we will, in time, write after their copy: which, as nothing is more contrary to our principles, faith, and doctrine, so nothing can be more contrary to our constant practice.

For we not only really believe magistracy to be an ordinance of God, but esteem it an extraordinary blessing, where it is "a praise to them that do well, and a terror to evil-doers:" which that it may be so in this our native land, is the fervent desire of our souls, that the blessing and peace of God may be continued thereupon, Job xxxii. 21. John v. 44. Acts v. 29. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

V. *Concerning Baptism.*

Because we do not find any place in the four evangelists, that Jesus Christ instituted baptism by water to come in the room of circumcision, or to be the baptism proper to his kingdom, which stands "in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;" we are therefore rendered as contemners of Christ's baptism: whereas the baptism of Jesus Christ, of which he was Lord and administrator, according to the nature of his office and kingdom, is, even by John the baptist, declared to be that of fire (not water) and of the Holy Ghost, of which water-baptism was but the forerunner, and is, by them that now practise it, called but the outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace: and therefore not the grace itself; which grace, as the apostle saith, is sufficient for us, and which we believe, profess, and experience to be come by Jesus Christ, who is the substance of all signs and shadows to true believers; he being no more a Jew or a Christian that is one outwardly, by the cutting or washing of the flesh; but he is a Jew or Christian who is one inwardly, and circumcision and baptism is of the heart, in the Spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is therefore not of men, but of God: and this baptism Christ preferred

and recommended at his farewell to his disciples: in reverence and duty to whom, to say nothing of the abuse of water-baptism, we decline the use thereof, Mark i. 8. Luke iii. 16. John i. 17. Acts i. 5. Rom. xiv. 17. Rom ii. 28, 29. 1 Cor. i. 17. 2 Cor. xii. 9.

VI. *Concerning breaking Bread, &c.*

Because we also disuse the outward ceremony of breaking bread and drinking wine, which is commonly called the Lord's supper, we are therefore rendered deniers and contemners of the Lord's supper: whereas the inward and spiritual grace, thereby signified, viz. that bread which came down from heaven, which Christ prefers to the bread the fathers eat in the wilderness (which did not keep them from death) and that cup which he promised to drink a-new with his disciples in his Father's kingdom, we not only believe, but reverently partake of, to our unspeakable comfort, which is rightly and truly the communion of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, who said, "Except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you," John vi. 53, 63. For it is "the Spirit that quickens, the flesh profits nothing:" It was also his promise to all those that would open at his knocks, viz. "That he would come in, and sup with them;" which inward and spiritual coming, we have both known, and testified to; feeling the blessed effects thereof in our souls, and knowing the outward breaking of bread and drinking of wine, in the way commonly practised, is no more than it is declared to be, viz. An outward and visible sign: why, then, should any contend about it, and render us unchristian, for disusing what themselves allow to be but an outward and visible sign? and that none can reasonably believe to be an essential part of religion, as is the bread from heaven; of which the outward is, at best, but a signification: but the wine that Christ promised to drink with his disciples a-new, is such an essential, that without it none have, nor can have eternal life, Mat. xxvi. 29. Mark xiv. 25. John vi. 41, 50, 51, 58, 63. Rev. iii. 20.

VII. *Concerning the Light of Christ.*

Because we assert the sufficiency of the light within, it being the light of Christ, viz. That if men live up to the teachings thereof, in all manner of faithfulness and obedience, "they shall not abide in darkness, but have the light of life and salvation, and the blood of Christ shall cleanse them from all sin;" our adversaries from thence conceive, that we undervalue the rule of holy scriptures, and all out-

ward means, as having no need thereof, since we have such a means and rule within us, and that this leaves us without any certain rule, and exposes us to many blasphemies, &c. whereas the light within (or Christ, by his light, inwardly teaching) was never taught by us in opposition to, or contempt of, any outward means, that God, in his wisdom and providence, affords us for our edification and comfort, no more than did that blessed apostle, who said, "You need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you all things, and is truth, and is no lie," John xii. 46. 1 John i. 6, 7. 1 John i. 2, 27.

VIII. *Concerning the Father, the Word, and the Spirit.*

Because we have been very cautious in expressing our faith concerning that great mystery, especially in such school terms and philosophical distinctions as are unscriptural, if not unsound, (the tendency whereof hath been to raise frivolous controversies and animosities amongst men) we have, by those that desire to lessen our Christian reputation, been represented as deniers of the Trinity at large: whereas we ever believed, and as constantly maintained, the truth of that blessed (holy scripture) "three, that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and that these three are one;" the which we both sincerely and reverently believe, according to 1 John v. 7. And this is sufficient for us to believe and know, and hath a tendency to edification and holiness; when the contrary centres only in imaginations and strife, and persecution, where it runs high, and to parties, as may be read in bloody characters in the Ecclesiastical Histories.

IX. *Concerning Works.*

Because we make evangelical obedience a condition to salvation, and works wrought in us by the Spirit to be an evidence of faith, and holiness of life to be both necessary and rewardable; it hath been insinuated against us, as if we hoped to be saved by our own works, and so make them the meritorious cause of our salvation, and consequently popish.

Whereas we know, that it is not by works of righteousness that we can do, but by his own free grace he is pleased to accept of us, through faith in, and obedience to, his blessed Son the Lord Jesus Christ, Heb. v. 9. and xii. 14.

X. *Of Christ's being our Example.*

Because, in some cases, we have said, the Lord Jesus was our great example, and that his obedience to his Father doth not excuse ours; but as by keeping his commandments, he abode in his Father's love, so must we follow his example of obedience, to abide in his love; some have been so ignorant (or that which is worse) as to venture to say for us, or in our name, that we believe our Lord Jesus Christ was, in all things, but an example.

Whereas we confess him to be so much more than an example, that we believe him to be the most acceptable sacrifice to God his Father; who, for his sake, will look upon fallen man, that hath justly merited the wrath of God, upon his return by repentance, faith, and obedience, as if he had never sinned at all, 1 John ii. 12. Rom. iii. 26. and x. 9, 10. Heb. v. 9.

XI. *Concerning Freedom from Sin.*

Because we have urged the necessity of a perfect freedom from sin, and a thorough sanctification in body, soul, and spirit, whilst on this side the grave, by the operation of the holy and perfect Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the testimony of the holy scripture, we are made so presumptuous, as to assert the fulness of perfection and happiness to be attainable in this life: whereas we are not only sensible of those human infirmities that attend us, whilst clothed with flesh and blood; but know that here we can only "know in part, and see in part:" the perfection of wisdom, glory, and happiness, being reserved for another and better world, John viii. 24, 25. Heb. xiii. 20, 21. and vi.

XII. *Concerning Worship to God.*

Because we say, with the apostle, that men ought to pray, preach, sing, &c. with the spirit, and that without the preparation and assistance of it, no man can rightly worship God, (all worship without it being formal and carnal) from hence ignorance, or envy, suggests against us, that if God will not compel us by his Spirit, he must go without his worship: whereas nothing can be more absurd, since without it "no man can truly call Jesus Lord:" besides, it is our duty to wait upon him, who hath promised, not to compel, but fill them with renewings of strength, that so wait upon him, by which they are made capable to worship him acceptably, be it in praying, preaching, or praising of God: and how warrantable our practice herein is from holy scripture, see Psalm xxv. 5. xxxvii. 7. xxvii. 14. cxxx. 5, 6. Hosea xii. 6.

XIII. *Of God and Christ's being in Man.*

Because we say, as do the holy scriptures, that God is light, and that Christ is light, and that God is in Christ, and that Christ, by his light, lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and dwelleth in them, and with them, that obey him in his inward and spiritual manifestation; people have been told by our adversaries, that we believe every man has whole God, and whole Christ, in him, and consequently so many Gods, and Christs, as men: whereas we assert nothing herein, but in the language of the Holy Ghost in the scriptures of truth; and mean no more by it, than that as God is in Christ, so Christ by his Spirit and light, dwelleth in the hearts of his people, to comfort and consolate them; as he doth in wicked men to reprove and condemn them, as well as to call, enlighten, and instruct them, that out of that state of condemnation they may come, and, by believing in him, may experience their hearts cured of the maladies sin hath brought upon them, in order to complete salvation from sin here, and from wrath to come hereafter, 2 Cor. v. 9. 1 John i. 5.

XIV. *Of Christ's coming both in Flesh and Spirit.*

Because the tendency (generally speaking) of our ministry, is to press people to the inward and spiritual appearance of Christ, by his spirit and grace in their hearts, to give them a true sight and sense of, and sorrow for, sin, to amendment of life, and practice of holiness; and because we have often opposed that doctrine of being actually justified by the merits of Christ, whilst actual sinners against God, by living in the pollutions of this wicked world; we are by our adversaries rendered such, as either deny, or undervalue, the coming of Christ without us, and the force and efficacy of his death and sufferings, as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world.

Whereas we do, and hope we ever shall (as we always did) confess, to the glory of God the Father, and the honour of his dear and beloved Son, that he, to wit, Jesus Christ, took our nature upon him, was like us in all things, sin excepted: that he was born of the virgin Mary, went about among men doing good, and working many miracles: that he was betrayed by Judas into the hands of the chief priests, &c. that he suffered death under Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, being crucified between two thieves, and was buried in the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea: rose again the third day from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sits at God's right hand, in the power and majesty of his

Father; and that by him, God the Father will one day judge the whole world, both of quick and dead, according to their works.

XV. *Concerning the Resurrection.*

Because from the authority of holy scripture, as well as right reason, we deny the resurrection of the same gross and corruptible body, and are neither over-inquisitive nor critical about what bodies we shall have at the resurrection, leaving it to the Lord, to give us such bodies as he pleases, (and with that we are well pleased and satisfied, and wish all others were so too); from hence we are made not only deniers of the resurrection of any body at all, however spiritual, or glorified, but eternal rewards too.

Whereas, if it were true, as it is notoriously false, we were, indeed, of all men, most miserable: but, blessed be God, it is so far from being true, that we most stedfastly believe, that as our Lord Jesus Christ was raised from the dead, by the power of the Father, and was the first-fruits of the resurrection, so every man, in his own order, shall arise; they that have done well, to the resurrection of eternal life: but they that have done evil, to everlasting condemnation.

And because we are a people whose education hath not afforded us an accuracy of language, some passages may perhaps have been mis-expressed, or improperly worded (as for instance, one of us hath denied, in his book, the soul to be finite: by which he plainly meant mortal, or final, to die, or have an end, which *finis* signifies, from whence finite comes); our uncharitable opposers have concluded, we hold the soul to be infinite, and consequently God: whereas the words before and after, as well as the nature of the things, shows plainly, he only meant that it is eternal, and so not finite; that is, not terminable, or that which shall come to an end.

And also, because we have not declared ourselves, about matters of faith, in the many and critical words "that man's wisdom teacheth," but in the words which the "Holy Ghost teacheth," we have been esteemed either ignorant, or equivocal, and unsound: whereas it is really matter of conscience to us, to deliver our belief in such words as the Holy Spirit in scripture, teacheth; and if we add more for illustration, it is from an experience of the work of the same Spirit in ourselves; which seems to us the truest way of expounding scripture, in what concerns saving knowledge.

XVI. *Concerning Separation.*

Because we are separated from the public communion and worship, it is too generally concluded, that we deny the doc-

trines received by the church, and consequently introduce a new religion: whereas we differ least, where we are thought to differ most: for, setting aside some school terms, we hold the substance of those doctrines believed by the church of England, as to God, Christ, Spirit, scripture, repentance, sanctification, remission of sin, holy living, and the resurrection of the just and unjust to eternal rewards and punishments. But that wherein we differ most, is about worship and conversation, and the inward qualificaion of the soul by the work of God's Spirit thereon, in pursuance of these good and generally received doctrines. For it is the Spirit of God only convinces and converts the soul, and makes those that were dead in trespasses and sins, and in the lusts, pleasures, and fashions of this world, alive to God; that is, sensible of his mind and will, and of their duty to do them; and brings to know God, and his attributes, by the power of them upon their own souls; and leads to worship God rightly, which is in his spirit, and in truth, with hearts sanctified by the truth; which is a living and acceptable worship, and stands in power, not formality, nor in the traditions and prescriptions of men, in synods and convocations, but in the holy spirit. First, in showing us our real wants, and then in helping our infirmities with sighs and groans, and sometimes words, to pray for a suitable supply, for which we in our meetings wait upon God, to quicken and prepare us, that we may worship him acceptably and profitably, for they go together. Now, because we are satisfied that all worship to God, and exhortations to men, as praying, praising, and preaching, and every other religious duty, ought to be spiritually performed; and finding so little of it among professors of Christianity, the spirit of God having not that rule and guidance of them, in their lives and worship, as it ought to have; and seeing them too generally satisfied with a ministry and worship of man's making, being not qualified, nor led by God's spirit thereunto; we cannot find that comfort and edification our souls crave and want under so cold a ministry and worship. And for this cause, and no presumptuous contempt, or selfish separation, or worldly interests, are we, and stand we at this day, a separate people from the public communion; and in this we can comfortably appeal and recommend ourselves to God, the great and last judge of the acts and deeds of the sons of men.

Lastly, Because at the time of our friends first appearing in this age, there were a sect of people newly sprung up, and truly called Ranters, that were the reverse to the Quakers, (for they feared and quaked at nothing, but made a mock at fearing of God, and at sin, and at hell) who pretended that

love made fear needless, and that nothing was sin, but to them that thought it so; and that none should be damned at last; whose extravagant practices exactly correspond with their evil principles; from hence, some ignorantly, and too many maliciously, involved us and ours with them; and many of their exorbitances were thereby placed to our account, though without the least reason, truth, or justice.

And because some that were convinced of God's truth, afterwards dishonoured their profession, through their unfaithfulness to it; and that some, out of weakness, perhaps, may have improperly worded what they intended to say, the whole body of our friends have been made criminal, and the religion or principles we profess, have been condemned, and represented to the world as heresy and blasphemy; an usage so unjust, that doubtless, according to *Lex Talionis*, our adversaries would think it intolerable to be so treated by us.

But as we desire not to render evil for evil, our Great Bishop having taught us another lesson, and better practices, so we desire God Almighty to forgive our causeless enemies, for his Son's sake, as we most freely and heartily forgive them: believing some may be zealously affected for their educational form of religion, and as zealous against us for our separation; and we are the more inclined to judge so, because many of us were once in the same way, and had such thoughts of those that were gone before us. But it hath pleased the Father of mercies to do by many of us as he did by Saul, that zealous, though mistaken, persecutor of the sincere followers of Jesus Christ, Acts ix. 3, 4, 5, 6. For as we heard an unusual inward, but powerful voice, so we also had a more inward, clear, and distinguishing sight, by the illumination of that light which was more than natural, and shined into our dark and sinful hearts, 2 Cor. iv. 6, 7. letting us see them, as they really were in God's sight: which naturally affected us with deep sorrow, and true humiliation, making us willing to be any thing he would have us be, provided we might have some sense of his love and favour towards us. And blessed be his holy and excellent name, we can, without vanity, say, (generally speaking) we were not disobedient to that heavenly vision, (Acts xxvi. 19.) we had of him, ourselves, the world, and that profession of religion, where we had our education. And since by that sight God gave us, we saw he was pure and holy, and that without holiness none ever could, or can see him, to their joy, and that we were unfit to approach his holy altar; yea, that the whole world lay in wickedness; and that profession of religion, where we had our education, was so far from hav-

ing the power of godliness, that, for the most part, it wanted the right form; from such, therefore, we had a divine authority to "turn away," 2 Tim. iii. 5. which we did, not in a vaunting mind, but with great sorrow; wanting to know where the Great Shepherd of the sheep fed his flock. Cant. i. 7. For we desired to be not of those that "turned aside from the footsteps of the flocks of the companions." Nor was it affectation to popularity, singularity, or novelty, that induced us to a separation; but a fervent desire to know the Lord, and the work of his translating power upon our souls, being in earnest for heaven, though for it we lost all our earthly enjoyments, Heb. xi. 14, 15, 16.

In this solitary and seeking state, it pleased the Lord to meet with us, and gather us into families, or religious societies, according to Psalm lviii. 6. And though it hath been a dear separation to us, considering it cost us the loss, at least, of all things, and the great sufferings and afflictions that have attended us in this despised way, which men have called heresy; yet the Lord hath blessed us in it, with the enjoyment of his blessed presence, to our unspeakable joy and comfort.

To conclude; as it hath pleased the Lord to bless us, in the way we have hitherto been helped to walk in, with that great blessing which ushered in the birth of our blessed Lord into the world, viz. "Glory to God, peace on earth, and good-will to men;" so we earnestly desire the same upon all our neighbours: for though we may not be all of one mind in some doctrinal parts of religion, we must, of necessity, be all of one sentiment in the great and general duty of holiness, or else we never can see God. And if that is our principal aim and endeavour, we shall less fall out by the way, about words, forms, and the outside of things: but universal charity, (which is the most excellent way, and without which the best of creeds is but as a sounding brass, &c.) will silence controversy, and blot out all ignominious characters; remembering that the great Judge, at the last day, will determine us, not according to our names, but natures; not our profession, but our lives; not our bare belief, (though of unquestionable truths) but works; for "God will bring every work to judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or evil," Eccles. xii. 14.

A

DEFENCE

OF

A Paper, entitled

GOSPEL TRUTHS,

AGAINST

The Exceptions of the Bishop of Cork's Testimony.

By WILLIAM PENN.

Published in the Year 1698.

THE PREFACE.

Reader,

It was the wise counsel of an ancient and grave prelate of the kingdom of Ireland, at a late visit I made him there, to discourage controversy, and endeavour to abate strife among Christians: 'For,' said he, 'heaven is a quiet place; there are no quarrels there, and religion is an holy and peaceable thing, and excites to piety and charity, and not to genealogies, strife, and debates.' But the bishop of Cork seems to be of another mind, that could not pass by so inoffensive a paper, as that, styled, 'Gospel Truths,' (given him by me, in a private way, at a friendly visit upon his own desire) without his public animadversion: and those expressed not with so much justice and charity, as might have been expected from him to his dissenting neighbours.

I am, I confess, very sorry my Christian visits to the bishop have met with no better returns than controversy: but because that is his, and not my fault, it shall be my satifaction.

I did, indeed, perceiving him conversant in our writings, and his character to be moderation, casually present him with one of those papers; but as the nature of it is far from provocation, so my design in it was purely to improve his

temper, and not to excite his contradiction. Nor was it writ for an 'exact and complete account of our belief,' but occasionally to prevent the prejudices that the attempts of a coarse and scurrilous pen at Dublin, just before, might provoke in some against us, as to the points touched upon in the 'Gospel Truths.' And though we have been so unhappy as to be therein mistaken by the bishop, yet it is some comfort to us, that our Christian declaration hath had quite another reception with the generality of those to whose hands it has come: and I heartily wish that hath not been the most prevailing motive to his undertaking. However, since he has been pleased to fault it both with shortness and error, the first of which we thought healing, or least inoffensive, I esteem myself answerable for it, and shall, with God's assistance, defend it against the force of his exceptions, and I hope, with clearness and temper: for though I may be plain, as he must expect, I desire to be neither rude nor bitter.

I ask, reader, but the common justice due to all authors, especially in controverted points of religion, to wit, attention and impartiality; and then judge whether our pacific paper deserved so sharp a censure, and the manner of its being given him, so public a return: though I hope the consequence will be good. To Almighty God I leave the success, and am, in all Christian obligation,

Thy real friend,

William Penn.

Bristol, the 23rd of the
7th month, 1698.

The Paper was as follows.

Sober Reader,

If thou hadst rather we should be in the right than in the wrong; and if thou thinkest it but a reasonable thing that we should be heard before we are condemned, and that our belief ought to be taken from our own mouths, and not at theirs that have prejudged our cause; then we entreat thee to read and weigh the following brief account of those things that are chiefly received and professed among us, the people called Quakers, according to the testimony of the scriptures of truth, and the illumination of the Holy Ghost, which are

the double and agreeing record of true religion: published to inform the moderate enquirer, and reclaim the prejudiced to a better temper; which God grant, to his glory, and their peace.

I. It is our belief, that God is, and that he is a rewarder of all them that fear him, with eternal rewards of happiness; and that those that fear him not, shall be turned into hell, Heb. xi. 16. Rev. xxii. 12. Rom. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8. Psalm ix. 17.

II. That there are three that bear record in heaven; the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these three are really one, 1 John v. 7.

III. That the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among men, and was, and is, the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, his beloved Son, in whom he is well-pleased, and whom we are to hear in all things; who tasted death for every man, and died for sin, that we might die to sin, and by his power and Spirit be raised up to newness of life here, and to glory hereafter, John i. 14. Mat. iii. 17. Heb. ii. 9.

IV. That as we are only justified from the guilt of sin, by Christ, the propitiation, and not by works of righteousness that we have done; so there is an absolute necessity that we receive and obey, to unfeigned repentance, and amendment of life, the holy Light and Spirit of Jesus Christ, in order to obtain that remission and justification from sin: since no man can be justified by Christ, who walks not after the Spirit, but after the flesh; for whom he sanctifies, them he also justifies: and if we walk in the light, as he is light, his precious blood cleanseth us from all sin; as well from the pollution as guilt of sin, Rom. iii. 22 to 26. chap. viii. 1, 2, 3, 4. 1 John v. 7.

V. That Christ is the great light of the world, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and is full of grace and truth, and giveth to all light for light, and grace for grace; and by his light and grace he inwardly appears to man, and teaches such as will be taught by him, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, they should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, John viii. 12. chap. i. 9, 14. Tit. ii. 11, 12.

VI. That this principle of light and grace, which is God's gift, through Christ, to man, is that which shows us our sins, reproves us for them, and would lead all out of them, that obey it, to serve God, in fear and love, all their days. And they that turn not at the reproofs thereof, and will not repent, and live, and walk according to it, shall die in their sins; and where Christ is gone, they shall never come; who

is undefiled, and separated from sinners, Eph. v. 13. John xvi. 7. Prov. i. 20 to 24. John viii. 24.

VII. This is that principle by which God prepares the heart to worship him aright; and all the duties of religion, as praying, praising, and preaching, ought to be performed through the sanctifying power and assistance of it; other worship being but formal and will-worship, with which we cannot, in conscience, join, nor can we maintain or uphold it, Rom. viii. 26. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11.

VIII. Worship, in this gospel-day, is inward and spiritual: for God is a Spirit, as Christ teacheth, and he will now be worshipped in Spirit and in truth, being most suitable to his divine nature. Wherefore we wait in our assemblies to feel God's Spirit to open and move upon our hearts, before we dare offer sacrifice to the Lord, or preach to others the way of his kingdom: that we may preach in power as well as words, and as God promised, and Christ ordained, without money, and without price, John iv. 23, 24. 1 Thes. i. 5. Isa. lv. 1. Rev. xxii. 17. Mat. x. 8.

IX. This also leads us to deny all the vain customs and fashions of the world, to avoid excess in all things, that our moderation may be seen of all men, because the Lord is at hand to see and judge us, according to our deeds, Tit. ii. 12. Rom. xii. 2. Phil. iv. 5. Eccl. xii. 14. Mat. xvi. 27. Rom. ii. 6. Rev. xx. 12.

X. We believe the necessity of the one baptism of Christ, as well as of his one supper, which he promiseth to eat with those that open the door of their hearts to him, being the baptism and supper signified by the outward signs; which, though we disuse, we judge not those that conscientiously practise them, Mat. iii. 11. Eph. iv. I. 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22. John vi. Rev. iii. 20.

XI. We honour government; for we believe it is an ordinance of God; and that we ought in all things to submit, by doing or suffering; but esteem it a great blessing, where the administration is a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well, Rom. xiii. 1 to 5.

This hath all along been the general stream and tendency both of our ministry and writings, as our books will make appear, notwithstanding what ill-minded and prejudiced persons may have strained to misrepresent us, and our Christian profession.

Dublin, the 4th of the 3rd month, 1698.

William Penn.
Anthony Sharp.
Thomas Story.
George Rook.

The Testimony of the Bishop of Cork, as to a Paper, intituled 'Gospel Truths, held, &c. by the People called Quakers,' and delivered to him by an eminent Member of them.

FRIENDS,

I AM such a reader as in your paper you desire. I have read, and soberly weighed, the account you give of those things, which, you say, are chiefly received and professed amongst you. And I will exercise so much moderation and charity, as to lay a great weight on that word [chiefly) hoping these are not the only things, or all that you believe. I should have been heartily glad to have found that you had been in the truth, as I am well assured I myself am: but, as I professed, when the paper was given me, 'that if I took it, you must expect I should bear my testimony touching it, or against it;' so I must now tell you, I think myself bound in conscience to perform what I then professed; and that upon more reasons than I will now trouble the world with. You must not be offended if I say, you have such a way of writing and speaking, that it is very hard, in many matters of religion, to know what you mean. But, as far as I understand you, I will candidly acknowledge what truths you have sufficiently or tolerably expressed; I will show you with meekness, how far your faith, if this be your faith, comes short of being sufficient, or Christian; and I will sincerely tell you what I apprehend to be the cause of your delusion, and how dangerous a condition I really fear, nay, believe, you to be in.

And first, The only articles in which you have expressed a sufficient Christian belief, are your fourth, which is, touching justification, and your last, touching government, and your submission thereto. I wish you may always stick to this belief and practice; and I heartily rejoice to find you acknowledging the necessity of Christ, as a propitiation, in order to remission of sins, and justifying you, as sinners, from guilt. It is the first time I have heard of it amongst you.

As to all the rest of your articles, I mean those which I understand, I must tell you, the declaration of your faith comes so short of what is required from people to denominate them Christians, that except, under each article, you believe more than you have declared, you cannot be accounted Christians. For, first, in those articles of faith which you have thought fit to mention, you have set down only some little ends, I had almost called them snaps of the article. And, secondly, many more whole articles of the

true Christian faith, and which are of no less import, you have entirely omitted, waved, or suppressed.

You acknowledge in your first article, there is a God, and you own his providence as to the other life. But that he made heaven and earth, that he is the Almighty, and at present, by his sovereign power, most wisely and holily governs, orders, and sustains all (by his mercies, as well as judgments, even in this world, not leaving himself without witness) you say not a word. Creation in the beginning, and providence as to this world at present, are not here acknowledged by you. We hope you believe both.

Your second article is wholly true; for it is express scripture, 1 John v. 7. But it is only what the apostle there had occasion to say, and what was to his purpose, touching the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; far from being the sum of what the holy scripture teaches of them; and therefore is not a sufficient confession of faith on that head.

In your third article, you acknowledge, indeed, the Son of God to have been made flesh, but neither conceived by the Holy Ghost, nor born of the virgin Mary; so that it does not appear, by this your confession, but that he was at first an ordinary, corrupt, sinful person: nay, you own him not so much as Jesus, or the Christ (the great Saviour, who delivereth from the wrath which is to come; or the great prophet, priest, lord, and king of his church): you acknowledge him, indeed, to have died for sin, but (not to mention the articles inferrable from, and relating to, the circumstances of his death) you have not one word of his resurrection from the dead, or of his ascension into heaven; which, it may be proved, some of you have expressly denied, saying, 'He is not ascended into heaven; he is in us:' nor, again, of his sitting now on the right hand of the Majesty on high. And so you seem not to own any thing of his mediation, intercession, or appearing now in heaven for us. Nor, farther, have you said a word of his coming again to judgment, at the end of the world. Thus, indeed, you have here neither owned the creation, or dissolution, of the world; so that it does not appear, by this account of your faith, whether you do not judge it eternal, and so otherwise infinite. Yet again, not a word of one church, which it may be feared you strike out of your belief, because you are resolved never more to return into the unity of the church, but to make and maintain a schism, or party, for ever. Nor, farther, have you a word of the resurrection of the dead, which divers of you have been known to deny, and others of you only say, 'It may be so.' And lastly, though you acknowledge everlasting rewards for them that

fear God, yet nothing of the everlasting punishment of wicked men. You mention hell, indeed (in a very unnatural place, viz. in your first article of the being of God); but whether you mean thereby the grave, as most commonly in scripture is meant; or, a place of temporal punishment after this life, as some have done; or, a state of total destruction and annihilation, as many now a-days do, no one knows.

Upon the whole: as to the sum of the Christian faith, which you have been pleased to set down, there is not one article of our common twelve, that you have owned entirely; and eight at least, if not more of them, that you have here totally suppressed, or waved. And how influential to an holy life those which you have waved are, and therefore how necessary to salvation, I must require and conjure you, on your own eternal account, to consider. I will only mind you of two passages out of the scriptures of truth, 1 Cor. xv. 16, 17. "If the dead rise not, (that is, if there be no resurrection of the flesh,) then is not Christ raised. And if Christ is not raised, your faith is vain, you are yet in your sins." Hence it appears all other points of faith are in vain, if this be not true. The other is, Rom. x. 9. "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." This article alone is of such force and influence on men's hearts, that if believed as it should be, such belief will save men. But both Christ's resurrection, and our own, are by you, in this paper, left out of your faith. I judge you not, but judge yourselves, lest you be condemned of the Lord.

Your fifth, sixth, and eighth articles, treat of what you call, 'The light of Christ within man:' this you have never been able yet, that I could find, to make out what you mean by. For you will not allow it to be either the natural, rational faculty, or common innate notions, or natural conscience, or conscience illuminated, by the preaching of the gospel, and the operation of the Holy Ghost thereby: until you can make us understand your meaning, or indeed till you understand it yourselves, (that is, till you are less confused in this, the very fundamental principle or rule of what you profess) you must not think of declaring (or publishing) an account of your faith: see you understand it first. There are some men who have a faculty to speak things seemingly profound, but in the end, neither themselves, nor others, can make any distinct sense of what they have said: this we usually call banter. And I must acknowledge, as far as I can see, your discourse of this light within is perfectly such. Take notice, we, in our preaching, require

people to look within, as much as you do: we strictly charge all to walk according to the convictions and light they have received. We daily appeal unto conscience: but then we teach, that conscience (opened by the Holy Spirit, under the ministry of the word, Acts xvi. 14.) does, and must, take in its light from holy scripture; "The commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes," Psalm xix. 8. (viz. of the mind, Ephes. i. 18.) "Thy word is as a lamp to my feet, and a light to my paths," Psalm cxix. cv. "To the law and to the testimony; if they" (even men in their consciences) "speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them,' Isa. viii. 20. Now these things are intelligible. This rule is fixed and certain, nothing of which can be said of your light within.

In your eighth article you tell us, 'worship under the gospel is inward and spiritual.' If you mean hereby, that all outward and bodily worship ought to be accompanied with an inward and spiritual worship, it is what we daily preach and practise, and, even in private, press. But if, as it would seem, you mean all the worship God now requires is from the inward man, or from the Spirit, this is abominably false: for our bodies are God's handy-work, and Christ's purchase, as well as our souls: on which reason, God, by his apostle, commands, "Glorify God in your body and in your spirit, "[ἅτινα] which (in the plural number, that is, both which) are God's" Not to tell you, that you yourselves, now-a-days, perform somewhat of bodily worship. And indeed, if there be not a worship of the body, as well as of the spirit, there can be no public worship. This article, therefore, must also be mended, to make it Christian.

In your ninth article, you tell us of your, 'denying all the vain customs and fashions of the world, as also excess in all things.' I know no sort of Christians who teach otherwise; I wish I could say, I knew none (even of yourselves) that practise otherwise. It is one part of the catechism we teach our children, to renounce all these. But there are many innocent and laudable customs which you call vain. Would it not almost make a man's stomach turn to hear one forbear, in point of conscience, saying you to a single person, because it is improper; and at the same time, while he is speaking to his superior, because, thou dost, sounds a little rudely, to soften the thou, and say, thee doest, which is commonly your people's practice, and much more improper. Will you ever be able to prove the primitive Christians used a dialect or dress different from others of their nation and qualities, and placed religion in it? Does not Christ require saluting even those who salute not

us? And no doubt his and his apostles' salutations were in the common form. In a word, there is more vanity in singularity and affectation, than in a moderate following a common innocent phrase, garb, or custom.

In your tenth article you believe (you say) 'a spiritual baptism, and a spiritual supper, and communion;' but acknowledge you 'disuse the outward signs,' by us, commonly called sacraments: now did not Christ command water-baptism? "Go ye and baptize all nations," Mat. xxviii. 19, 20. The baptism here commanded, was water-baptism: for baptizing with the Spirit was God's work, not the apostles': and though the baptism of the Spirit commonly accompanied baptism with water, yet not always, as in the case of Simon Magus, and many others. Yet did not Christ promise "to be with them (preaching to all nations, and baptizing) to the end of the world?" Farther, did not the apostles, in obedience to Christ's command, both constantly practise, and also require, water-baptism to all initiated Christians? "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" And he [Peter] commanded they should be baptized: Acts x. 47, 48. Then as to the outward use of bread and wine for the Lord's supper, can any command be more express than, "This do in remembrance of me" four times repeated in the New (which you call the better) Testament? To which St. Paul adds, "It is a shewing forth the Lord's death until he come," 1 Cor. xi. 26. Now if Christ and his apostles have commanded this, who hath authorized you to disuse it? Remember what St. Paul tells the Corinthians, "he received from the Lord that which on this subject he delivered to them," 1 Cor. xi. 23. And it is a severe passage in another epistle of his, Gal. i. 8. "If we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." That which lays aside so much of the gospel, and sets up a new and variable rule of faith, (we know not what light within) is another and new gospel.

To draw towards a conclusion: I have written this short paper in much and true compassion to you: it had been far easier to me to have said more, than thus to have confined myself: I look upon many of you as an harmless, well-meaning people, but under strong delusions.

This your deluded state proceeds from your making what you call the light within you (which is, in many cases, nothing but your own presumptive persuasion or fancy) a rule of faith and practice, co-ordinate, if not superior and antecedent, to the holy scriptures: these words in your paper

['which are the double and agreeing record of true religion'] intimate at least thus much, that you will not believe what scripture saith, except the light within you dictate the same, and so make a double record. Now, my friends, do not flatter yourselves, "God is not mocked;" you must answer at the dreadful day of judgment, amongst other points, to such as these; and therefore examine your consciences before-hand.

1. Is it not your main end and study, by pretended mortifications, and renouncing the world, (while there are no sort of men alive that more eagerly pursue it, nor have more effectual, wily, and secret ways of getting wealth than yourselves) is it not, I say, your main aim and end to make yourselves a party considerable; and such to which, for reasons of state, peculiar privileges must be indulged?

2. Are not, to this purpose, many of your distinctive characters, such as your different garb, (for it is plain, not a few of your people's clothes, as to materials, are more costly than many of ours) your way of speaking, yea, even your looks and gestures, assumed rather to make yourselves remarkable, and at first sight known from other people, than out of any persuasion, sense of duty, or conscience of obligation?

3. What reasonable or tolerable warrant can you plead for waving, suppressing, at least not confessing, much the greater part of the Christian faith, and rejecting all outward positive parts of worship (especially baptism and the Lord's supper) which have such plain and repeated evidences in holy scripture. Your light within, (or sense and persuasion which you say you have, and are sure is from Christ) forasmuch as, in the present cases, it dictateth against holy scripture, can never be proved even to yourselves, much less to others, to be from Christ: but must rather, in all reason, be resolved to be one of the heights or depths of Satan transforming himself into an angel of light. And for any persons to yield to such conduct, (besides or against holy scripture) is plainly to abandon themselves to the delusions of the devil.

In a word, therefore, I again require you, as you will answer all your secret arts and high pretences at Christ's tribunal, that you either embrace and profess entire Christian faith, in the points wherein I have shown you to be defective; and that you receive the Christian seals or badges, baptism and the Lord's supper; or else that you desist to lay claim to the name of Christians.

It is not for me to judge you; but again I say unto you, (truly from God, as his minister) judge yourselves. This is

the case. If men who take away, even from the "faith once delivered to the saints," at least two-thirds, besides many main points of the other third; who equal their own presumptuous conceits to the divine oracles and revelations; who use and disuse at pleasure, what parts of God's instituted worship they think fit, even the very badges of Christianity (I will not here interpose your making gain your godliness;) but if the aforesaid men are in a way of perdition, what can you conclude of yourselves? In the name of God repent and return: and from my soul I pray, that God will please to give you repentance.

EDWARD CORK AND ROSS.

Cork, July the 2d, 1698.

A DEFENCE OF A PAPER, &c.

I HAVE given the bishop's exceptions together at large, as he did our paper, and shall now consider their validity.

He is pleased to say at the beginning of his first paragraph, 'He is such a reader as in our paper we desire;' words that gave me great hopes, of not only fair, but friendly dealing; and I heartily wish it had been so: but since it seems to me the reverse of his promise, he must not take it ill from me, if I stop a while, and show him a little to himself, and how much he is mistaken in his own temper, as well as in our principles. For though he begins with the names of moderation, charity, and meekness, that is all: he quickly loses sight of them, and forgets them, with himself, almost all the way. And unless my taste be extremely depraved, there is little relish of those virtues in his management, or a tolerable temper shown towards us, respecting either our belief or practice. We desired such a reader, indeed, as had rather we were in the right than in the wrong; one that did not prejudge our case, and would give us (and not our enemies) the wording of our own belief: while the bishop but too plainly shows, he would not have us in the right, even where he dares not say (however freely he suggests it) that we are in the wrong. Which appears,

First, By his unnecessary exceptions to such truths as we have declared in our paper (and he cannot deny) as imperfectly expressed, because we have not said all that might be said, to branch them out, or illustrate them; though enough to be understood by such as are not captious.

Secondly, By suppositions incongruous, and that can have no other service than to expose us, and that in a very ill manner.

Thirdly, By rendering us to deny, what we do not express in our paper: though indeed we believe it.

Fourthly, In not taking due notice of what is implied, as well as expressed: which had been but just.

Fifthly, In making the worst of what is not concurrent with his belief; and not the best, where we believe the same thing.

Sixthly, By grossly misrendering our pretences to strict living.

Lastly, By condemning us upon rumour. All which is more than leaning to that side that had rather we were in the wrong, than in the right; and consequently not such a reader as we desired. That this is so, let it but be observed, how he unchristians us in his third paragraph; though immediately in a contradiction to what he just before acknowledges in his second. Nor will he allow us to be so much as Deists in his fourth, or at most but very imperfect ones, because we have not said all of God that may be ascribed to him. In his sixth, he suppose us capable of believing that Christ came of corrupt and sinful flesh, because we say no more, in that place, of the manner of his incarnation, than the evangelist doth, John i. 14. Also, that we are defective, at best ambiguous, about eternal rewards and punishments. He makes us, in his seventh paragraph, to deny the resurrection of the dead at large, and without distinction, though we there acknowledge a future state, which implies it; and have not said one word against it; but upon all occasions, in print, or otherwise, have expressed our belief of that branch of Christian doctrine, according to scripture. In his tenth, he derides our plain (though proper) language, of thou to a single person, though it is what he himself gives to God in his prayers. In his fourteenth and fifteenth, he is pleased to slight, and render our stricter living a trick to promote a party, and that our garb, looks, and gestures, are more to make ourselves remarkable, than out of any persuasion of duty, or conscience: as bad a construction as he could make. In his sixteenth he tells us, 'The light within us, that we say we have from Christ, is rather one of the heights or depths of Satan transformed, and that we are abandoned to his delusions.' So that we, and most of our principles too, are stark naught with the bishop. In his eighteenth and last paragraph he suggests, 'We take away two-thirds of the Christian faith, besides many points of the other third; and equal our presumptuous conceits to the

divine oracles, and revelations, and use, and disuse, at pleasure, what part of God's instituted worship we think fit, even the very badges of Christianity. 'I will not,' says the bishop, 'interpose (yet suggests it) your making gain your godliness: but if the aforesaid men are in a way to perdition, what can you conclude of yourselves? In the name of God repent and return.' Thus the bishop, upon a whole people, without any other provocation than has been expressed.

I hope, after this, he will not expect (I am sure he ought not) that any body should think him such a reader as we desired for our gospel-truths, and which he promised us to be; or that he has treated us with the moderation, charity, and meekness, he made us hope for; since none of our adversaries have used us much worse, in so little a compass. I heartily wish him a better sight of himself, as well as of us, that he may be less mistaken in both another time; for I have a respect for him, and desire not to be upon these terms with him, any longer than he thinks fit to make it necessary.

The rest of his first paragraph is only a strain of fair and pastoral promises, forgotten by him, and not to be remembered any more, at this time by me; and therefore I shall proceed to his second. Only observe this one thing to my reader, and the bishop too, that he is pleased to place moderation and charity to our account, because he does not take us by our word chiefly to mean only or all, in reference to the things by us believed, which, under favour, he could not do in justice; and therefore he needs not bring us in debtor for that which is our due, since nobody ever took chiefly for only, any more than an eldest for an only son, or an arch for an only bishop. Nor does chiefly imply all, any more than only; for whether it regards things human or divine, it imports the best part of any thing, but not all; the most valuable, that which deserves and commands our regard and esteem in the first place, And I leave it with my reader, Whether believing in God, and Christ, and the Holy Spirit; and believing the scriptures, and the necessity of holiness, and divine worship, and finally of eternal rewards and punishments, are not points of faith chiefly to be received and professed by Christians? And if they are such, the bishop must have been superfinely critical upon our word chiefly, as well as that he might have been a better husband of his moderation and charity, and have kept them for an occasion where they might have been more needed, and consequently better bestowed.

His second paragraph allows us to have sufficiently ex-

pressed our Christian belief in two articles, but with this censure, 'that of eleven, we are only clear in these two, viz. justification by Christ, and submission to the civil government; wishing we may always stick to this belief, and practice;' and adds, 'I heartily rejoice to find you acknowledge the necessity of Christ, as a propitiation, in order to the remission of sins, and justifying you, as sinners, from guilt. It is the first time I have heard of it among you.'

If so, it is the bishop's fault, and seems to me next to impossible; since before that paper was given him, he was pleased to acknowledge he had read several of our books; particularly my 'Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers,' taking it out of his pocket at that time; also 'Robert Barclay's Apology,' which states, and vindicates our principles at large, in which the two doctrines aforementioned are very clearly declared, and maintained, notwithstanding he seems to make this look like a new discovery. But, however, I am pleased that the bishop is so, at two of the gospel truths: I am of opinion, if he had well considered the force and comprehensiveness of our belief concerning Christ. that pleases him so well, he might have saved himself the trouble of what he has published to the world upon the rest of them: for whoever believes in Christ, as a propitiation, in order to remission of sins, and justification of sinners from the guilt of sin, can hardly disbelieve any fundamental article of the Christian religion; since every such person must necessarily believe in God, because it is with him alone man is to be justified. To be sure he must believe in Christ, for that is the very proposition. He must also believe in the Holy Ghost, because he is the author of his conviction, repentance, and belief. He must believe heaven and hell, rewards and punishment, and consequently the resurrection of the just and unjust: for why should he be concerned about being freed from the guilt of his sin, if he were unaccountable in another world? So that acknowledging the necessity of Christ, as a propitiation, in order to the remission of sin, comprehends the main doctrine of the Christian religion; and as so many lines drawn from the circumference to the centre, they all meet and centre in Christ: and indeed it is as the navel of Christianity, and characteristic of that religion. I would intreat him again, to reflect well upon his own acknowledgment and commendation of our belief, concerning the end and benefit of Christ to mankind; and he cannot think us so deficient, much less under such strong and dangerous delusions, as he has been pleased to represent us.

His third paragraph will not suffer us to be Christians,

notwithstanding what we have said of our belief in Christ, in our paper called 'Gospel-Truths.' In one sense I shall easily agree with him, for I think nothing makes any man a true Christian, but regeneration, the power of the Son of God revealed in the soul, converting it to God: for the devils believe, and tremble too, and yet are devils still; they believe what is true, but they do not truly believe in Him that is true; they know and assent to the propositions of truth, or articles of faith; and knew Him to be Christ too, when he came of old, and called him by his name; but this did not make true Christians then of them: nor yet does an assent now, to all the truths of the gospel, truly qualify men Christians, unless they feel the power of them upon their hearts. And I would have my reader reflect well upon this great and essential truth, though he were as big as a bishop: for a new creature is the business; an orthodox life, the cross of Christ, which is the narrow way of self-denial. Yet I must say, that whoever declares he believes in Christ as his Sacrifice and Sanctifier, which is to save both from the guilt and pollution of sin, is a professor of Christianity, and may reasonably be allowed to be a Christian at large. And that what we have declared, in our third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Gospel-Truth, comprehends the belief before-mentioned, my just and sober reader may satisfy himself in the perusal thereof.

His fourth paragraph faults our first article, as he is pleased to call it, with great 'shortness and imperfection concerning our belief of God; for though (he says) we own his providence as to the other life, yet we say nothing as to the creation of this present world, and providence over it:' but, with the bishop's leave, he that believes in God, believes in all that is necessary to a Supreme Being. It is what he, and all Christians, take for granted, and allow, as often as they hear any one say, he believes in God. For not to believe Him omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent, is not to believe him to be God, these being inseparable from the divine nature. I must appeal to the bishop, whether a small grain of charity would not have excused us from his reflection upon this head. We have said more than Moses said to Pharaoh: for besides that, I am, is no more than, He is; we have added, that He is the Rewarder of all men, according to their works. We gave the text as it is, and the very text seems expressed for a declaration of faith in God, viz. "He, that will come to God, must believe that he is, and that he is a Rewarder of them that seek him." The text does not enumerate and require the belief of all the divine attributes and properties that are in God, but the

bare belief of his being, and what he is to mankind that fear him. And whatever the bishop says, this is enough for a man to come to God, though not enough, it seems, to come to the bishop in the quality of a believer: he must help the Holy Ghost to speak properly, or we, that speak after him, must be deficient in our expressions, if not in our belief. But when any one affirms, that man was created by God, is he short, fallacious, or equivocal, because he does not say how God made man, or what he made him? Is not his body, soul, and spirit, his will, understanding, memory, and affections comprized, and meant, under that word man? Besides, could the bishop think, that while we own God's greater providence, his lesser could be disbelieved by us? He that has the alone power of rewarding men in the other world, according to their works in this, must certainly be the Sovereign of both; and his providence, in justice, is to be so understood. And as it is most certain that we believe of God all that the holy scriptures declare of him, and whatsoever is proper to that great and glorious Being; so, had we not thought it unnecessary to be more particular, from the common notion all men have of the Deity, the bishop could have had no room left for the exercise of his charity.

In his fifth paragraph, he blames us for being defective in our confession of the Holy Trinity; though we give it in the very terms of the Holy Ghost, 1 John, v. 7. If this is not a sufficient text to prove the Trinity, that antiquity urges, and also modern writers of the church of England, to prove it, I know not where to find one, in the scripture.

It is generally believed the apostle John gave this declaration to the first Christians, to prevent their being deluded by Cerinthus. How came the bishop then to render it but a by-passage, and otherwise intended by the apostle, than for an article of faith about the Trinity? Is there a plainer, or a fuller, any where in the writings of the New Testament? Three, and yet One, is the doctrine of the Trinity: and no other apostle has gone so far, or been so express: insomuch that the text has been doubted, and rendered apocryphal, by such as do not believe the common doctrine of the Trinity; and foisted in to serve the turn of Trinitarians: so plain it has been thought to their purpose, even by the Anti-Trinitarians. How then is the text defective with the bishop? But he says, 'The apostle writ it upon occasion:' doubtless he did so. But what other occasion, I pray, than that of the Holy Trinity? He adds, 'and it was to the apostle's purpose, touching the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost:' but what purpose could the apostle have, but that of declaring the Trinity, and yet Unity? What other use

does he make of it? The bishop must be very hard put to it, certainly, to shift off, and lessen our confession on this point, and, rather than fail, render the text itself short; which, with submission, I think is a bold attempt in one of his station, if he believes the thirty-nine articles.

The next and sixth paragraph, relating to our third Gospel-Truth, is large, and consists of divers branches, and therefore I shall consider them distinctly and apart. 'In the third article, you acknowledge indeed the Son of God to have been made flesh, but neither conceived by the Holy Ghost, nor born of the Virgin Mary: so that it does not appear, by this your confession, but that he was at first, an ordinary, corrupt, and sinful person.' I think it is hardly to be supposed that we could intend so gross a thing, or that it is inferrable from the manner of expressing ourselves, in reference to Christ's manifestation in the flesh. Where enough is said, to comprehend the rest, all is meant, though all be not expressed: we call him the "Beloved Son of God, the Only Begotten of the Father:" pray what is that short of being conceived by the Holy Ghost? To be sure, it is very far from a corrupt and sinful person, a supposition as remote from what we said, as from what the bishop promised, viz. charity. He that confesses, "The Word was made flesh," confesses him made flesh by God, and therefore made holy flesh: for God never made any corrupt or sinful flesh. If the place is read, as some do, viz. "The Word took flesh," the flesh must be holy, for he would not take, or dwell in, sinful flesh.

And had the bishop well remembered what he acknowledged, upon our believing Christ to be a propitiation for sin, not many lines before, he could never have suggested so unreasonable, as well as uncharitable a conceit; since sinful flesh, or a corrupt person, could never be any part of a sacrifice for sin: so that in commending that part of our belief, he has sufficiently secured us against this part of his insinuation.

But the bishop proceeds to aggravate our shortness in expression, to a severe imputation, viz. 'That we own him not so much as Jesus, or the Christ.'

This must be a great oversight of the bishop, not to say worse, when the very fourth head, about "Justification by Christ," of which he declares himself so well satisfied, thrice confesses him to be Christ, viz. in the first, third, and fourth lines. Again, we call him Christ, in the first line of the fifth Gospel-Truth; likewise in the first and fourth lines of the sixth, we call him Christ: we do the same in the first and fifth lines of the eighth, and in the first line of our

tenth Gospel-Truth. How the bishop came to miss in so palpable a point of fact, in the compass of one half side of a sheet of paper, I cannot imagine, and am unwilling to censure. Nor would I willingly think the bishop so trifling, as well as disingenuous, as to excuse himself herein, because we do not call the Word, that took flesh, by the name of Christ, in that place; since the bishop repeats it from us, out of our aforesaid fourth head, about "Justification by Christ," where we call him by the name of Christ, as may be seen in the second and foregoing paragraph of his reflections. Besides, we have not confessed his name less than nine times in that paper. But if the bishop could yet insist upon the word Christ not being in our third head, I say the thing is there, though the word be not. For what is Christ, but the "Word made flesh?" And who is the Word made flesh, but Jesus Christ? Again, who is the "Beloved Son of God, and Only Begotten of the Father, full of grace, and full of truth?" For these high and distinguishing characters are to be found in that very head of doctrine, where the bishop will not have us to acknowledge him to be Christ. So that unless a corrupt and sinful person can be full of grace and truth, I wonder how the bishop came to suppose a thing, in our name, so very gross.

But he proceeds in the same paragraph, 'You acknowledge indeed he died for sin, but you have not one word of his resurrection from the dead, or of his ascension into heaven, which it may be proved some of you have expressly denied, saying, 'He is not ascended into heaven, He is in us;' with more to this effect. I should be sorry to tax the bishop here of absurdity and uncharitableness; but who can help it? For if Christ be not risen, he is still in his grave; he is no more. How, then, do we assert him to be a propitiation, and the light and life of his people? See Gospel-Truth, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Can that which is dead sanctify and justify believers? Can the dead give us grace and the Holy Spirit? Or have we not said so of Christ, that he is the Giver thereof? And if we have said so, must not the bishop be extremely beside the business? His uncharitableness is as obvious, I will not say his untruth; but I must pray him to reflect a little better upon what he has writ; for unless he would make us to mean the grave, when we say, 'That wicked men shall never come where Christ is gone,' Gospel-Truth 6, he must allow that we acknowledge Christ to be in heaven, and consequently ascended. What shall I say to his story of some of our friends, whom he makes to affirm, 'That Christ is not ascended into heaven; he is in us?' Can it touch us, or should he have said it, and not have proved it?

Is that fair and candid? Is it charitable, supposing it were true, which does not appear? Or is it just to insinuate it upon the people as dubious? But let it be never so true, it cannot conclude the people, if not the act of the people. The church of England has doctors of very different sentiments; would the bishop think it fair the common belief of the church should thereby be concluded? It is true, and a great and comfortable truth, that, "Christ is in us," according to 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Gal. ii. 16. Col. i. 26, 27. but not confined to man: he is not so there, as that he is no where else, and least of all that he is not in heaven. For the apostle tells us, Eph. iv. 14. that, "He ascended far above all heavens, that he might fill all things;" then he is in man, certainly. So that our asserting that doctrine of the 'indwelling of Christ in man,' does not make void his being elsewhere, because he is every where: though in heaven most gloriously, without doubt, being there "glorified with the glory that he had with the Father before the world began." And they that thus believe in Christ, cannot deny his being at God's right hand, which signifies, according to scripture, Phil. ii. 9, 10, 11. the highest exaltation: nor yet to be their Mediator, for that is inseparable from his being their propitiation. So that though we did not dwell upon points, but were concise in our expressions, yet whatever is implied, or is implicable from any assertion, justice, as well as charity, always grants; and so would the bishop have done, had they been uppermost in his mind, when his pen ran so fast against us. I must own it was not writ for critics, but for such readers as the bishop says he was, or should have been, to wit, who exercise moderation and charity; more of which, I hope he thinks as well as I, will do him no harm.

But it disturbs the bishop that we have said nothing of 'Christ's coming to judgment, nor of the end of the world, whether it be dissolvable, or eternal.' For the first, it is implied in our making all men accountable to God, for their deeds done in the body. For the other, it was not under our consideration, being not objected to us. But they that say as much of Christian doctrine as we have done in those eleven heads of our paper, did never yet, that I have heard, believe the eternity of this world, Heb. i. 10, 11, 12.

Yet again says the bishop, 'Not a word of one church, which it may be feared you strike out of your belief, because you are resolved never more to return into the unity of the church, but to make and maintain a schism, or party, for ever.

These are very harsh constructions, besides that they beg the question, and in my opinion would have passed better from a person whose office was less concerned in charity, than that of a bishop: but why, pray, must interest and obstinacy rule our dissent? What is to be got by it? Profit and preferment go the bishop's way, I will not say he goes theirs. But why not conscience, though it were mistaken, since we have been all along of the losing side? Which is not usually espoused by the men of interest, nor are men ordinarily obstinate against their interest. Let us, at least, be honest men, and allowed to mean well, though we were mistaken. But what church, of the many churches in Europe, is the bishop's one church, to which he would have us return, he has not told us. Methinks he that censures our shortness so much, should not have been deficient himself in so material a point. So that if we are out of the way, we must be so still for all the bishop; since we are yet to seek what church we err from, or should repair to. But I will suppose he means his own, by which he excludes the Lutheran and Calvinist, the Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist, as well as the people called Quakers, from being of his one church; to say nothing of the Roman Catholic or Greek churches. But unless the one church, as he phrases it, (by which I understand him to intend the true one) may be of two minds, it will be difficult for him to recommend his own above the rest, because that is not only broken in sentiments, but practice too, and which the bishop knows is no longer a secret. I might mention the differences, warmly managed between the doctors of it, about grace and free-will: one taking the Calvinist, the other the Arminian way; as they also do about the doctrine of satisfaction and justification. Likewise the late controversy between two famous men of the church, about the Trinity, who are followed in their differing sentiments by great numbers of the learned of the bishop's one church: and for that reason (if no other) I cannot be so well satisfied of his exact correspondence with all the articles of that church himself. And I hope I am not beside the business, when I say, it would very well have become the bishop to have told us what it is he would have us believe, when he found so much fault with what that paper says we do believe. It would be too long, and perhaps he might think it beside the business, at least the brevity the case requires, to give him the reasons of our separation and dissent, or disagreement with the church. I put these words together, because some were never members of it, and so they could not properly be said to separate from it; but true it is, we may all be said to

dissent, or disagree; and I would think the bishop should not be much to seek for the reasons of it. And yet where we are vulgarly apprehended to differ most, we dissent least, I mean in doctrine; which is the reason so many have upon occasion said, as indeed did the bishop, at the visit I made him; viz. 'Why we believe the same, it is what we preach as well as you.' For except it be the wording of some of the articles of faith in school-terms, there are very few of them professed by the church of England, to which we do not heartily assent. And this I have expressed for myself, and in behalf of my friends, in my "Key," and "Primitive Christianity Revived." But of this, and the more material reasons of our distance from the church, I may have occasion to express myself at the closure of this vindication.

But the bishop proceeds, in his sixth paragraph, 'Nor have you a word of the resurrection of the body, which divers of you have been known to deny, and others of you only say, It may be so.' I shall consider this, immediately upon the next paragraph, where he treats upon the same subject, and apply myself to his conclusion of this: 'Lastly, though you acknowledge everlasting rewards for them that fear God, yet nothing of the everlasting punishment of wicked men.' I think we do, and that the bishop aggravates his disingenuity to us upon this head: for the words of the paper are these, 'It is our belief that God is, and that he is a Rewarder of all them that fear him with eternal rewards of happiness; and that those that fear him not, shall be turned into hell.' The scriptures are, Heb. xi. 6. Rev. xxii. 12. Rom. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8. Psalm ix. 17. Now though eternal is not joined to hell, yet justice, as well as candour, would have understood it so, and to mean the hell of the damned, the punishment of evil-doers after this life, according to the ancient common belief. But the bishop, that seldom fails to make the worst of every thing for us, thus comments upon our words: 'You mention hell indeed, but whether you mean thereby the grave, as commonly in scripture is meant, or a place of temporal punishment after this life, as some have done, or a state of total destruction and annihilation, as many now a-days do, no one knows.' But, with the bishop's leave, what if we mean none of these, may we not be in the right, for all that? For what if none of these are the ancient, common, and scripture belief, what will the bishop do then? Since one would think that one of them is the bishop's hell, because he gives us, and his reader, no more room for our meaning, or any other belief of a hell. And either one of these is an article of his belief, or else he keeps the true hell

to himself, and was not so just as to include that in the question with the rest, lest he should be thereby guilty of supposing us capable of meaning the true one in our Gospel-Truths, viz. "The worm that never dies, the fire that never goes out, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth for ever." See 2 Thess. i. 9. Jude vi. 7. And which, I think, is none of the three the bishop mentions. However, he abundantly shows his inclination to represent us rather wrong than right, in our belief: for if the scriptures by us cited are consulted, they plainly show we never meant the grave, and that they equally refer to the future state of the souls of men; viz. 'That all shall receive the recompence of their works, and the rewards of their deeds, according to the nature and quality of them.' And if the rewards of the righteous are eternal, then so must those of the wicked be, or both must be temporary: for the Holy Ghost makes no difference as to the duration of the one more than of the other. One grain of a truly Christian temper had saved the bishop, and he me, the trouble of this, as well as other reflections.

I am come now to his seventh paragraph, the first part of which is a heavy complaint of our shortness and deficiency in expressing ourselves. We, it seems, are too general in some points and wave in others, he is pleased to say, 'eight of twelve,' but instances only in that of the resurrection; though he conjures us at the same time, upon our eternal account, to consider what he says. Now, if being general, and keeping to the terms of scripture, be a fault, we are like to be more vile with the bishop: for, thanks be to God, that only is our creed; and with good reason too: since it is fit that should only conclude and be the creed of Christians, which the Holy Ghost could only propose and require us to believe. For if the comment is made the creed instead of the text, from that time we believe not in God, but in man. I heartily wish none had been wise above what is written, and that generals had concluded Christians; then charity had been better maintained, and piety promoted: whereas strains or refinements upon the text, have thrown us into those labyrinths of controversy, that the zeal which should have been employed to suppress sin in all its branches, has too generally been used to fire one party upon another, till practice, which is religion indeed, was blown up by the generality. So much for our 'shortness, or wavering,' as the bishop calls it.

I shall now attend his only necessary point of eight, that he thought fit to mention, which, he says, we either suppress, or wave, viz. 'The resurrection of the dead:' I confess I

did not think that any body would have been so uncharitable to us, after our acknowledging the future state of the just and unjust, since that implies it, and every medium to it. However, I will attend what the bishop urges for proof of what we do not deny, but always must the slander of doing so. 'I will (says he) only mind you of two passages out of the scriptures of truth, 1 Cor. xv. 16, 17. "If the dead rise not, your faith is vain, you are yet in your sins." 'Hence it appears (says the bishop) all other points of faith are in vain, if this be not true.' And so say I, as well as the bishop, and shall always say as he says, while he says no more than the text says: for who can think that allows himself to think, that we should not believe an immortality, who have exposed ourselves, and suffered so much, that we may obtain an happy one. But the question is not whether the dead rise, but 'with what bodies?' For if the dead rise not, then may we say with the apostle, verse 19, in the same chapter, "We are of all men most miserable." So that the resurrection of the dead is out of all dispute with us: but with what body, will, I believe, be one, till the dead rise.

Here it is we are cautious, and tread softly; remembering what the apostle says to the curious and inquisitive upon this head, verses 35, 36, 37, 38. "But some man will say, How are the dead raised up, and with what bodies do they come? Thou fool, thou sowest not that body which shall be, but bare grain.—But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed its own body." Here is the ground of our caution, which the bishop is pleased to call suppression, and others, denying of the resurrection. We have, indeed, been negative to the gross conceit of people concerning the rising of this carnal body we carry about with us, which better agrees with the Koran of Mahomet, than the Gospel of Christ: but, that there is a resurrection of the just and unjust to rewards and punishments, we have ever believed. And, indeed, we cannot but wonder that any should be displeased with us, for being pleased with that which God is pleased to give us. Bodies we shall have, but not the same, says the apostle, and so believes the Quaker; "but God giveth every one a body as pleaseth him," and that pleaseth us, whoever it displeaseth; for we had rather be called fools ten times by the bishop, than once by the apostle, which we think we should deserve, if we should dare to stretch the text, or presume to define the secret.

The other scripture urged by the bishop, in defence of what we never opposed, is, Rom. x. 9. "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt

be saved." He adds, 'those who believe this as they should do, shall be saved.' But, 'that we have left out both Christ's resurrection, and our own, in our faith.' In the first part of his note, I agree with him, that all who rightly believe the text, will be saved: for that must be by the illumination and working of the saving power of Christ in the heart, that he can so believe. But that we have left out Christ's resurrection and our own, is a mistake already observed, because they are both plainly implied; one in our belief of Christ's being a propitiation for sin, and the light, life, and strength of his people, and in giving us his grace and Holy Spirit, which that which is dead cannot do: and our own resurrection is sufficiently secured, in our declared belief of rewards and punishments, though the mode of it be not expressed: nor was there any reason for saying more upon that head, with respect to the occasion of our paper's being published.

I am now come to the bishop's eighth paragraph, which comprehends his exceptions to three of our gospel-truths, viz. the 5th, 6th, and 7th, which wholly relate to the doctrine of the light of Christ within man. And I am truly sorry to find the bishop at so great a loss, as that paragraph shows him, about so excellent and evident a principle; and which so very much concerns him, and indeed all men, to know. And that my reader may inform himself thoroughly in this matter, I must desire him to look back, and read those three Gospel-Truths, and compare them with the bishop's eighth paragraph, and he will make himself a much better judge of the validity of the bishop's answer, and my reply, and which of us two keeps closest to the doctrine and language of the holy scriptures, that he in the same paragraph seems so much to respect.

His first exception in this paragraph, is at our incapacity; for he says, 'We have never been able yet, that he could find, to make out what we mean by the light of Christ within.' Perhaps the bishop has never sought, or has sought amiss; which as great and learned men as himself have done before now, and so missed what they have sought for: and then it cannot be a wonder, that he has not found out what we mean by the light of Christ in man. But that a bishop should represent this an unintelligible doctrine, after reading so distinct and plain an account of it in 'Robert Barclay's Apology,' not to mention divers other books, and, which is of greater authority, the scriptures of truth, is no ordinary surprize to me. Has the bishop forgot the First of John, and the 4th, 9th, and 16th verses, where speaking of the Word-God, he says, "In him was life, and the life was the light of men."

This is that light of Christ the Quakers assert, and desire to turn the minds of all people to: for all must have it, if it be the light of all, as the text plainly tells us it is. The ninth verse is yet more express, viz. "That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" than which, nothing can be more express to our purpose. And that the bishop should feel no share in this glorious light of men, renders him very unfit, methinks, for an overseer of them.

I know some read this text otherwise, as indeed he did to me in Cork, viz. "That was the true light, that coming into the world lighteth all men;" referring the word coming to Christ, and not to man. But all the versions I ever met with, and I have seen more than twenty, render the verse as it is in our English translations: and all critics and commentators, except the followers of Socinus, read and render it as we do. And while we have so much company, and so great authority, I think we need not be solicitous about the success of this point. But besides that the foregoing verse tells us, that the divine life of the Word-God is the light of men, which shows all mankind have it in them (for it is the light of their minds, and not of their bodies) it is impossible that interpretation should be true in a strict sense: for the coming of Christ in that blessed manifestation, was to the Jews only: he says it himself, "He was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," Mat. xiii. 24. Again, "He came unto his own, and his own received him not," John i. 11. And within that narrow compass he could not be said to be the light of all mankind that had, did, and should come into the world; for so both the 4th and 9th verse plainly import, viz. 'The light of mankind, without restriction to this or that manifestation of God to men.'

But the bishop is still at a loss what to make of this light, and what we would be at; 'For,' says he, 'you will not allow it to be either the natural rational faculty, or common innate notions, or natural conscience, or conscience illuminated by the preaching of the gospel, and the operation of the Holy Ghost thereby.' We say, we would have it to be what the scriptures say it to be, viz. the light of Christ, the Son of God, who called himself, John viii. 12. "the light of the world;" and if so, then every man's light; the light of every mind and understanding, and consequently the light of Christ within; too hard, it seems, for the bishop to comprehend, and yet so very easy for the meanest capacity, that observes the discoveries and convictions of it in their own hearts.

But since it is, as he rightly terms it, a fundamental with

us, we will follow the bishop, in his inquiries, a little farther. We say first then, It is not the natural rational faculty of man; for then it would be man, or a part of his composition, merely as man: but that it is not, but a manifestation, in the soul of man, of Christ, "the word of God, the light of the world, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit, who was full of grace and truth, and of whom man hath received grace for grace:" to wit, a talent, a proportion suitable to his want and capacity, to convince and convert him, to renew and restore him from his great lapse unto God, his blessed Maker, again. In short, our natural rational faculty is our sight, but not our light: that, by which we discern and judge what the divine light shows us, viz. good from evil, and error from truth. But as the eye of the body is the sensible faculty of seeing external objects, through the discovery that an external light (as the sun in the firmament) makes to the eye, but is not that light itself; so does the rational faculty of the soul see spiritual or immaterial objects, through the illumination of the light of Christ within, but is by no means that light itself, any more than the eye is the sun, or John the Baptist was our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that was but servant and fore-runner of his blessed manifestation in the flesh.

As for the bishop's innate notions and natural conscience, if by them he means impressions, or principles, which are born and come with us into the world, viz. "the law of God in the heart of man," I must tell him, first, that this is not the language of the law and testimony he refers us to in the same paragraph: and next, that as the work is not the workman, so they are not properly the light of Christ, but the blessed fruit and effect of the light of Christ, the Word-God, in man, which shines in the heart, and gives him the knowledge of God, and of his duty to him. So that the innate notions, or inward knowledge we have of God, is from this true light that lighteth every man coming into the world, but is not that light itself. Just so the bishop's natural conscience, must only mean a capacity that man has by nature, that is, in his creation, of making a judgment of himself, his duty, and actions, according to the judgment of God manifested to him by the light of Christ within. Not that such a capacity is that light, but that it sees, or understands, by the inshining of the divine light, the things that belong to man's duty and peace.

Nor is it, 'conscience illuminated by the preaching of the gospel, and the operation of the Holy Ghost thereon,' which is the last of the bishop's constructions; but that very principle of life and light, which illuminates the conscience, and

was the very spring and force of the apostolical ministry, and of the conviction and conversion of their hearers; and which opened their hearts to receive the gospel when preached unto them. In short, this excellent principle is in man, but not of man, but of God. The nature of it is to discover sin, reprove for it, and lead out of it, all such as love and obey the convictions thereof. It is a principle of divine life, that quickens the obedient heart to newness of life: it raises the mind above the world to God; and searches out and reveals the deep things of God to the humble and waiting soul. And be it known to the bishop, and all that with him profess ignorance about what we mean by the light of Christ within man, this is it I have been treating of; and I have writ, I bless Almighty God, my own experience, the taste and relish I have had of its excellency and sufficiency, in the course of the far greater and best part of my life.

But the bishop must excuse me, if I say, I cannot but take it very ill at his hands, to forbid us, in his following words, 'to pretend to give an account of what we believe, unless we can make him understand our meaning:' and because he does not penetrate our sense, to call our way of wording that blessed principle of the light of Christ in man, a perfect banter. This, to me, is one of the severest persecutions; because spiritual things are only to be spiritually discerned and understood. I would fain know how a regenerate man can possibly make a carnal man understand the new-birth? It is, certainly, the gift of God to understand divine truths, as well as rightly to believe. So that supposing our assertion of the nature, power, and excellency of the light of Christ in man to be true; not to have leave to say so, unless we could make every man rightly take our sense and meaning, whether he be spiritually discerning or not, looks antichristian, as well as unreasonable. "We speak wisdom," says the apostle, "among them that are perfect," 1 Cor. vii. 6. It seems, others understood him not; must he therefore not have wrote of the things of God? The very preaching of the gospel was foolishness to the wiselings of the Jews and Greeks; they could make neither head nor tail of it, by their way of judging of truth: must not the gospel therefore be preached? When the apostle Paul preached to the Athenians, some of the men of the gown, the philosophers of that time, opposed and despised him, saying "What will this babbler say?" But had they known what he meant, we cannot think they would have said so to him. Was the apostle, then, or the Athenians in fault, that they did not understand him? Or, was it bantering, as well as babbling,

because he did not make them understand his meaning; which is only the work of the Holy Ghost to do? Who was it, I pray, that said, "the world by wisdom knew not God?" And can we suppose any thing else blinded the Scribes and Pharisees, and the high-priest of the Jews, from discerning the Messiah when he came? For they wanted not academical learning, if that could have enlightened them; nor yet the scriptures; but they resisted the Holy Ghost, their only true interpreter, and so stumbled and fell. Let the bishop also have a care.

In the second chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, he will find that the apostle spake the wisdom of God in a mystery, "which the princes of the world knew not," with all their wisdom: "for the things of God," says the apostle, "knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God;" by which those Christians knew those things that were freely given to them of God. "Which things also we speak," says he, "not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." Now, according to the bishop's treatment of us, the apostle ought not to have writ of faith and salvation, unless he could have made all that read his writings understand his meaning; and it must be a perfect banter, to talk of speaking wisdom in a mystery, and not in the terms that man's wisdom teacheth.

But the Lord Jesus Christ was of another mind, when he said, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things (the truths of the kingdom) from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes: even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight." It is hence, beyond all dispute, that God hideth the mysteries of his kingdom from the wisdom of man, while simplicity and sincerity fail not to reach and understand them. Here it was that poor Nicodemus was absolutely at a loss for Christ's meaning, when Christ said. "Unless a man be born again, he can in no-wise enter into the kingdom of God," John iii. insomuch as he asked Christ, upon his discourse of the new birth, "How can these things be?" At which Christ seems to admire, in a sort of reproof upon Nicodemus, "Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things?" As much as to say, 'Art thou, a man of thy station in the church of God, ignorant in the way to heaven?' Whoever reads that notable interview between Christ and Nicodemus, will find that Christ resolves the matter into two births, that which

is born of the spirit, and that which is born of the flesh, and these are contrary: and therefore no wonder if they differ in their understanding of the holy scriptures, being a declaration of the faith and experience, as well as doctrine and practice, of the servants of God, that were enlightened and born of the Holy Ghost. Nor is this all; for "they that are born of the flesh, persecute them that are born after the spirit:" so that when they can no longer commit violence upon their persons and estates, they will persecute them with their tongues and pens: they are heretics, blasphemers, illiterate, and ignorant, yet presumptuous; enemies to Cæsar, and disobedient to government, if they will not give God's due unto man, viz. conscience. And if they choose to deliver themselves in scripture style, and speak earnestly of the necessity of the work of the Spirit of God, in order to an experimental and saving knowledge of the truth, declared in holy scripture; and that Christ's ministers are made by the Holy Ghost, and not by human learning; and that the worship which is acceptable to God, must be in the spirit and in the truth; that is, with clean hearts and right spirits, kindled and inflamed with the Holy Spirit of God; they must be called enthusiasts, unintelligible, men of cant and banter. And here I leave the bishop, upon this paragraph, desiring him to consider, whether his knowledge of God the Father, and Jesus Christ, "whom rightly to know, is life eternal," John xvii. be by the revelation of the Son of God in his own soul; since Christ himself teacheth and affirmeth, that "no man knows the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son reveals him:" I should be glad to see the bishop's evidence for this knowledge. For in the conclusion of this paragraph, he turns us to the scriptures, who, in the beginning of it, makes us unintelligible, and banterers in religion, for expressing ours in the terms of it; which may well merit the bishop's serious reflection.

His ninth paragraph refers to our eighth article, as he calls it, of which he cites these eight words only, 'Worship, under the gospel, is inward and spiritual;' upon which, he says, 'If you mean, that outward worship ought to be performed with inward and spiritual worship, it is what we preach, press, and practise; but if (as it would seem), you mean that all the worship God now requires, is from the inward man, or from the Spirit, this is abominably false; for our bodies are God's handy-work, and God, by his apostle, commands,' "Glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's." 'Not to tell you, that you yourselves, now-a-days, perform somewhat of bodily worship.' Indeed we do, and ever did, and ever shall, I hope, while we have

bodies to worship God in. We are so far from denying the body what share is due to it, that with the apostle, 1 Cor. vi. 19. we say, "What, know ye not that your bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God, and you are not your own?" Of which I would have the bishop well consider: for, if our very bodies are under the influence of the Holy Ghost, how much more reasonable is it to believe, that it dwells in our souls; and that our hearts must be prepared, and animated by the Holy Spirit, in all our devotion towards God. But two things I must remark to the bishop, first, That we did not give him the least occasion to suspect we denied bodily worship, as appears by the gospel-truth now in question: for it is plain there, by these words, 'worship in this day is inward and spiritual,' that we only distinguish between gospel worship, and the ceremonial and pompous worship of the law; and that by spiritual worship, we understand praying, praising, and preaching by the preparation and sanctification of the Spirit of God; which the bishop does not, and, I hope, dares not, deny: yet unkindly, and I think unjustly, brings in his, 'as it would seem,' to make us, by an uncharitable inuendo, look to his reader, as if we denied bodily worship. And yet, to avoid so hard a chapter, as maintaining this aspersion would prove to the bishop, he is forced to confess 'that now-a-days we perform somewhat of bodily worship:' as if we did not perform any formerly, and but a little now: which shows not that candour that his character owes us, and but too plainly tells every impartial reader, how much more mind he has that we should be in the wrong than in the right. I must confess, we have less pomp and gaudiness in our worship, as well as in our clothes, than is the custom of some other churches, and think it our happiness, that we are freed from such an unprofitable, as well as unsuitable, incumbrance. Whatever it be, it is such as we believe God by his Holy Spirit hath led us into; and though it be not so entertaining to those who are governed more by their outward senses than their souls, yet I hope it will be allowed us to be grave, solemn, and fervent.

The other remark I make upon the bishop's exceptions is this, that the spiritual worship he there allows of, seems to be but the worship of man's spirit, and not of the Spirit of God working upon the spirit of man. I would not imitate him, lest I should be uncharitable too: for if my reader can make more of it, he has my consent; but that seems to me to be the bishop's interpretation upon Christ's words, cited by us, on this occasion, viz. "God will be worshipped in spirit and in truth:" though there is a truth in that also, yet this not being so peculiar to the gospel-dispensation,

could not be the extent of Christ's words, whose drift certainly was, to draw men's minds to a more inward and spiritual worship; not only to have less ceremony than was practised among the Jews, but to feel more of the power and Spirit of God in our adoration and praises, than belonged to the former dispensation; and with which I heartily wish the bishop a better acquaintance. Upon the whole matter, I am apt to think my reader believes with me, he might as well have spared his pains upon us about the first part of this Gospel Truth, as he is silent of the latter, viz. 'that we may preach in power as well as words; and, as God promised, and Christ ordained, without money and without price.'

The bishop, in his tenth paragraph, is pleased to endeavour to lessen the authority and credit of our ninth Gospel Truth, relating to the vain fashions and customs of the world. His words are these: 'You tell us of denying all the vain customs and fashions of the world, as also excess in all things; I know no sort of Christians who teach otherwise; I wish I knew none (even of yourselves) that practise otherwise. It is one part of the catechism we teach our children.' He first concurs with our doctrine, for he says, 'he knows none that preach otherwise;' and that they do the like in their catechism. So far, then, he allows us to be sound. But he wishes he 'knew none (even of us) that practise otherwise.' This is a sort of charge, and being not proved, looks like a calumny. Some, perhaps, do not walk quite so strictly as becomes them, to their profession; but are they owned by us therein? Or indulged itself? If not, what are we to conclude, but that the bishop's insinuation is to balance accounts with us for the failures of his own people? But, pray are our excesses equal, or the numbers, that in proportion do transgress? I would not have him comfort himself with his uncharitableness to his honest and friendly neighbours: as it will not excuse his lest exact friends, that any of ours live larger than they profess, so it cannot justly affect our body, where so few are faulty, when it is so well known that such are sure to meet with due reproof.

But he adds, that 'there are many innocent and laudable customs we call vain:' this is all in a heap, and a reflection by wholesale. I can truly tell him, I know of none; and if he had been more particular, so would I too: perhaps he thought generals best to make his reflections safe: but if it were my place to be plaintiff, I could treat the bishop with a large catalogue of very offensive customs, that would concern him to think upon. However, he is pleased to be particular upon us in one of them, which almost turns his stomach, he says, to think of, viz. 'Would it not

make a man's stomach turn, to hear one forbear, in point of conscience saying, you to a single person, because it is improper; and at the same time, while he is talking to his superior, because, thou dost, sounds a little rudely, to soften the thou, and say, thee doest, which is commonly your people's practice.' It is pity the bishop could find nothing else to observe from us, that might have better edified us and his readers: yet if this be that, among the laudable customs which we call vain, which is most offensive to his stomach, it shows him to have a very weak one. However, a weak stomach is better than a weak head; and such an one I should take mine to be, if my instances were no more to the purpose and my reader's instruction.

But I have somewhat to say to the bishop, before I leave him, upon the old topic of sincerity and charity, in this re-reflection, as I have had in most of the other, viz. that he makes the ground of our conscientiousness, about the saying of you to a single person, to be only propriety of speech; which he (I was going to say) in his conscience must know is not so: but that the true reason of it is, first, that it is the language of the scriptures of truth; and next, that the original of you, to a single person, was pride and flattery, being a plural honour to a single person, given first to potentates, and then gradually to all subordinate ranks of people. In ancient and unmixed tongues, thou to a single person is kept still, as also among the common people of the present languages, and particularly in that kingdom where he is a bishop. I refer him to a book, intituled, 'No Cross, No Crown,' where he will find other reasons for our tenderness in that matter than he alleges, or we have room for here; though the bishop confines us to propriety, as the only reason of our practice, that he might the better lash us with the impropriety of thee for thou; which yet he might have spared, since nothing is more common with all people, than to take the like freedom in speech, in cases as well as tenses, not excepting the learned themselves. But be it so, we keep numbers, and intend not clipping of cases; and that is our point, though not the bishop's, it seems; which it should have been, would he have been just to us upon the question. As for the levity and scorn, with which he is pleased to treat us upon this head, I shall only say, it unbecame him, and confirms us, more than it exposes us, whatever it does him.

But I confess I am surprised to find a man of his character and pretensions, propose so loose a question as that with which he closes his paragraph, viz. 'Will you ever be able to prove, the primitive Christians used a dialect, or dress,

different from others of their nation or quality, and placed religion in it? Does not Christ require saluting those that salute not us? And, no doubt, his and his apostles' salutations were in the common form.' Doubtless, we are able, most easily and fully: and it is admirable to conceive how he could be ignorant of those proofs, who ought to be so well read in scripture and antiquity. "I beseech you therefore, brethren," says the apostle, "by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God; which is your reasonable service: and be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your minds," Rom. xii. 1, 2. Again, the apostle Peter, chap. i. 13, 14. exhorts the believers "to gird up the loins of their minds, and be sober, as obedient children, not fashioning themselves according to the former lusts in their ignorance;" which was the custom of their country. And chap. iii. 3, 4. "Whose adorning, let it not be that of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel: but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is, in the sight of God, of great price." Thus the apostolical counsel to the churches. But for all this, the bishop of Cork cannot tell how to think we are able to prove, 'that the primitive Christians differed in their dress, from other people in their country and quality.' Nor was this only the strictness of that time; for the same apostle adds, verse 4, as an argument to enforce his advice, "For, after this manner," says he, "in the old time, the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves." But can a man of his letters really be at a loss for a proof of the singularity of primitive Christians, in dress, speech, and behaviour? Or is it to try whether we have any to resolve his question? Or, taking our illiterature for granted, that he puts upon us? I beseech him to converse with Ouzelius upon Minutius Felix, and he will tell him that the first Christians were taxed and despised for ill-bred in manners, unpolished in speech, unfashionable in behaviour; in fine, rustics and clowns: as the Christians, ironically, returned their scorners the style of well-bred and eloquent. This, and much more, he cites out of Arnobius, Lactantius, Theodoret, &c. And Jerome, writing to Celantia and Demetias, noble women of that time, sets them a singular form of life from that of the people of their quality: and Paulinus, bishop of Nola, was so far from pleading for Christians temporising with the people of their own nation, or quality, according to the bishop of Cork, that he sharply reproves Sulpitius Severus for it, in a letter to him; as the

learned Casaubon, in his 'Discourse of Use and Customs,' observes. If the bishop would look into the 'Constitutions,' that go under the name of Clemens Romanus, with Tertullian, Gregory Naz. Clemens Alexandrinus, Austin, Gregory the Great, and other ancients, he would perceive the care and zeal of those eminent men to suppress the educations and customs of the Gentiles, and to encourage and recommend the simplicity and moderation of the manners and behaviour of the first Christians, which Machiavel, in his 2nd book of 'Disputations,' takes notice of, and is none of the least proofs to our point.

And to finish my authorities, passing by Petrus Belonius, Gratian, Cardan, Luther, &c. I must recommend to the bishop the history of the Waldenses, (an early people, if not successive from the primitive times) written by one Perrin, more especially concerning their faith, worship, and discipline; and there he may, if he please, observe the simplicity, plainness, and distinction of that people from the customs of the countries they lived in, and those that have the name of reformed ones now.

But he tells us, 'Christ and his apostles had salutations;' and I tell him, so have we. But he will have it, 'that Christ and his apostles saluted after the fashion of the country they were in;' which is sooner said than proved. For Christ asked the Jews, "How can you believe, that receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?" Now this, certainly, must be unlawful to give or receive, which hinders true faith. And what was this honour, but salutations after the fashions of the times? As the text shews, Matt. xxiii. And for calling, and being called of men, Rabbi, Christ was so far from commanding, or imitating them in such things, that he expressly forbids it. But the meaning of Christ's saying, Matt. v. "And if you salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? Do not even the publicans so?" is this; that in all acts of love, mercy and goodness, they were to exceed the practice of that time: they were to take more notice of, and to look more kindly and friendly upon, all men. But, in another sense, he that bid them salute enemies as well as friends, also forbids his disciples to salute any man, or call any man Rabbi, or Master; for that one was their Lord and Master, and they were all brethren, Matt. xxiii. 6, 7, 8. and Luke x. 4. And between such relations, worldly honours were of no use, as well as of no value. And did a primitive spirit prevail in those that so much pretend to be the successors of the apostles, we should see them more exemplary in self-denial and holiness; encouraging, and not underva-

luing and brow-beating, the serious and conscientious. But "Trees are known by their fruit; for grapes are not gathered of thorns, nor figs of thistles."

In the mean time, if my reader please to peruse the ninth and tenth chapters of that book, intituled, 'No Cross, No Crown," he will, I hope, be satisfied, that we are for honour, respect, and civility, according to scripture; though non-conformists to the empty and troublesome ceremonies of the times; left by us, not of rudeness, but conviction; and forborne of duty, and no otherwise of choice: for, humanly speaking, that contradiction to custom cannot be pleasant to us. I have detained my reader longer upon this head than I expected, or perhaps he desired: I shall therefore proceed to the bishop's next paragraph, which contains his exceptions to our tenth Gospel Truth about baptism and the supper, and the last he has to take notice of; the eleventh, about government, being by him already granted in the beginning of his paper.

He begins thus: 'In your tenth article you believe a spiritual baptism, and a spiritual supper, and communion, but acknowledge, you disuse the outward signs, by us commonly called sacraments: now did not Christ command water-baptism?' "Go ye and baptize all nations," Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

He goes on, 'The baptism here commanded, was water-baptism:' his reasons are, first, 'That baptizing with the spirit was God's work, not the apostles'. 2ndly, Primitive practice, Acts x. 47, 48. in Cornelius's case; "Who can forbid water?" But this is also *gratis dictum*: for the first reason is no reason, since it is not true: and the second seems to me defective and short. I am very sensible of the disadvantage I am under, and that I touch a tender place; and what I say upon this head, as also anon upon the supper, will be against wind and tide with the generality. But as I hope I shall express myself reverently, as well as plainly, upon this occasion, so I beseech my reader, for his own sake, as well as ours, not to prejudge us; as I am sure he will not, if he be a searcher after truth, and that I charitably suppose of him.

I say then, the bishop's first reason is not true: for God, by the apostles, did baptize believers with the Holy Ghost. It fell upon them, through the powerful preaching of the word: thus, Acts x. 44. "While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word." By which it is evident, that Peter, in that sermon, was the minister of the spiritual baptism to Cornelius and his company.

And Peter gives this account to those of the circumcision at Jerusalem, Acts xi. 15. "And as I began to speak, the Holy Spirit fell on them, as on us at the beginning: then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit." So that Peter evidently declares the gift of the spirit, by the ministry of the gospel, to be the baptism of Christ, or the baptism of the Holy Spirit and fire, which Christ promised at his ascension into heaven.

But the apostle Paul puts this matter beyond all doubt, in his excellent account he gives of his conversion and commission to king Agrippa, Acts xxvi. where my reader will find these words dropping from the mouth of the Lord Jesus to Saul: "Delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, to whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among them which are sanctified through faith that is in me," verse 17, 18. Now if this could be done without the Holy Ghost, let my reader judge. It was with the Holy Ghost that Peter's hearers were pricked to the heart, and fitted to receive more of it: and it was by the same Holy Ghost that Paul's hearers had the eyes of their minds opened, to see the mysteries of God's kingdom, and by which they were converted from darkness to light, that they might receive the forgiveness of their sins, and an inheritance among them which are sanctified. So that the very end and benefit of the apostolical ministry was converting, that is, baptizing them into Christianity, in the nature, power, and life of it, by the Holy Ghost.

Now, for the bishop's second reason, viz. Practice: I say it is granted, that water-baptism having got place among them by John's ministry, the fore-runner, it held after Christ's coming; but was *ex gratiâ*, and of condescension, not of commission: for that properly ceases, when his ministration begins, of which John's was but the fore-runner. For Moses and the prophets were till John, and John till Christ. And this, John, the water-baptist, tells us, Matt. iii. 11. "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire," see Mark i. 8. Luke iii. 16. Here is a different baptism and baptizer, the servant and the master, the water and the Holy Ghost. One transient, the other permanent: one the end of the Jewish, and the other the beginning of the gospel dispensation. Wherefore, says our Lord Jesus Christ, "the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than John," Matt. xi. 11.

Why, is not John in heaven? No doubt of it at all, and a glorious saint too: but the least in Christ's dispensation, viz. 'The kingdom of God in the soul, the work of Christ, the baptizer with the Holy Ghost and fire, is greater than John, as to the nature of his administration. See John iii. 30, 31. "He must increase, but I must decrease." What! John decrease, or his ministry? His ministration, certainly, which he calls earthly, in comparison of Christ's. So that the baptist, in his watery dispensation, did but forerun Christ, in reference to the kingdom that he was to set up in men. He pointed to Christ, and showed what Christ was to do, viz. to wash, fan, and thorougly purge his floor; that is, his people, and sanctify them throughout, by his spiritual baptism, according to the apostle, in body, soul, and spirit, 1 Thess. v. 23. So that, in short, practice, properly, can be no institution, where the thing practised has no commission; which, I suppose, the bishop will not think fit to deny: 'But,' says he, 'it has a commission,' Matt. xxviii. 19. which is, under favour, but his say-so; and that I think it is no more, I do, with all humility and submission, say, first, I cannot tell how to reconcile it to good sense, or common usage, in sacred or civil matters, that any thing should be in force by a commission, that is not so much as once named in the commission. I say, to me, it does not appear congruous, any more than cogent, or obliging. And this is the cause in hand: for there is not a word of water in the text alledged for water; nor yet in the context. And unless there were no other baptism than that of water, as there are several, it must, at least, be allowed to be a question, what baptism Christ meant in that commission, when he said, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

But it may be returned upon me 'Nor does the text say it is the baptism of the Holy Ghost,' and so the bishop is upon equal terms with me. Grant it, that the word Holy Ghost is not literally joined to baptizing, any more than the word water in that part: but if I am able to show that the thing is there, and that the baptism of the Holy Ghost was the subject of Christ's discourse, when he gave that commission at his farewell, I presume it will be granted me, that Christ intended a spiritual, and not a water-baptism; and that is what I shall do, I hope, with much clearness. First, the fact, and then my arguments. Matthew, the evangelist, large in his history upon other points, seems short and abrupt in the context of this commission, as the reader may observe. And as it is usual for one evangelist to explain another, (which was the great wisdom, as well as goodness

of God, that those Christian memorials might come with less suspicion to the world of any human contrivance); so Luke supplies the shortness of the other evangelist in his context to this commission. Luke xxiv. 45, to 50, particularly the 47, 48, 49, verses. "And that repentance, and remission of sins, should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. And ye are witnesses of these things. And behold I send the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from on high." Where, as it is plain that this evangelist, in his account of Christ's commission, (to wit, the work Christ gave his disciples to do) names no baptizing at all, though that which it implies, in my sense of the word, is there, viz. the promise of the Father, which is the power from on high they were to tarry at Jerusalem for. So is there not one word of water here mentioned, to induce us to think that Christ intended to give it any place in his commission. In short it appears that the disciples were to be qualified, before they were to go forth as his witnesses, and that this qualification is the promise of the Father, that he would quickly send them. Now I must desire my reader to turn to the Acts of this evangelist, chap. i. 4, 5. where he farther opens the manner and matter of Christ's discourse, and farewell to his disciples: "And (Christ) being assembled with them, commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have learnt of me: for, John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence." It can be, methinks, no longer a doubt what baptism it is that Christ's words, Matt. xxviii. 19. refer to; since we see not only that Christ distinguishes between John's baptism and his own, and between water and Holy Ghost; but also he assigns water-baptism to John, as his baptism, and not Christ's, and thereby declares the Holy Ghost to be his own baptism, and none of John's, and which yet is no more than what John had said before.

So that comparing both texts together, Matt. xxviii. 19. and Acts i. 4, 5. we may see, if we please, that the commission in the one, is to be explained by the qualifications in the other, which was omitted by the first evangelist. There they are bid to go, here they are bid to stay: that is to say, 'stay, before you go, and receive your qualifications, before you go to qualify,' viz. the promise of the Father; that is, the baptism of the Holy Ghost, which is followed by the power from on high, verse 8. And indeed, had we not this express force on our side from the text itself, the word therefore, in the commission, (referring plainly to the foregoing

verse, as the reason of what follows) justifies our sense. For whereas the bishop has objected against our assertion, 'That it must not be a spiritual baptism, because that was the work of God, and not of the apostles;' it is plain that our Lord takes off the force of his exception, since the reason why he bid them go, &c. is, "Because," says he, "all power in heaven and earth is given unto me," ver. 18. as much as if he had said, 'Go, do all that I have said unto you, and be not doubting or fearful, about the performance of it; for all power in heaven and earth is given unto me, that bid you go, and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.' Which need not have been said, as an encouragement to them, in reference to water-baptism, since that was practised by them, as well as by John's disciples, long before.

Nor is this all; for the very text, duly considered, will not have it to be water, since that could baptize none into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and so the bishop knows the Greek text runs εἰς τὸ ὄνομα. For they that are baptized into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, must be baptized with the baptism of the Holy Ghost: since it is to become their likeness, and bear their image, which is holiness. And had not the apostles understood their commission as I render it, when they had baptized with water they would certainly have used the terms that bore the force of their commission, viz. "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" of which there is not one instance in all the scripture.

But that which farther shows that water cannot be understood to be meant in the apostolical commission, is, that one of the greatest of the apostles, he that came behind (and was added to by) none of them, denies it (1 Cor. i. 27.) to be any part of his commission; "For," says he, "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel:" and thanks God for that reason, in the foregoing verses, that he had baptized so few; which, to be sure, he ought not to have done, but, on the contrary, to have been sorry he had baptized no more, had water-baptism been part of the apostolical commission, Matt. xxviii. 19. Again, this eminent apostle, the great grand-father, [not to say god-father] of Gentile-Christians, delivered to them for doctrine, Eph. iv. 5. that there was but "one Lord, one faith, and one baptism." And if so, that must be the baptism of fire and of the Holy Ghost, which is Christ's baptism, and proper to the gospel-dispensation. Now, could any other make a man a true Christian, or a child of God, then? Nor can any be so now without it. That baptism, therefore, without which a man cannot be a true Jew, or Christian, or of the "circumcision made without hands, that

worships God in the spirit, and hath no confidence in the flesh," must needs be the one baptism: but such is the baptism of the Holy Ghost: therefore the spiritual baptism is the apostle's one baptism, Rom. ii. 28, 29. Phil. iii. 3. Again; the one baptism must be Christ's baptism: but Christ's is the baptism of the spirit; therefore that, and not water-baptism, must be the one baptism that is in force, according to the apostle. As John was the fore-runner of Christ, so was water, of the Holy Ghost: but that which fore-runs, in nature ceases; and that which succeeds, of course remains: therefore the baptism of the spirit is the one needful and permanent baptism.

Yet farther; If it be gospel, "That he is not a Jew that is one outward, nor that circumcision that is outward in the flesh; but that he is a Jew that is one inward, and that is circumcision that is of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God," as Rom. ii. 28, 29. then, unanswerably, 'he is not a Christian that is one outward, nor is that baptism that is of the flesh: but he is a Christian that is one inwardly, and that is baptism that is of the heart, in the spirit; whose praise is not of men, but of God.' For, indeed, in all ages, men cry him down, as a slighter of God's ordinances; but his praise, however, is of God, let men say what they will; and this is the inward Christian's comfort, in all undervaluings and reflections he meets with from outside Christians. For it is not to be thought that the apostle meant or designed to undervalue one observation, as that of circumcision, because it is outward, and set up another outward observation instead of it, viz. water-baptism.

Again, If "in Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature;" as saith the same Apostle, Gal. vi. 15; then, by the same reason, 'neither being baptized with water availeth any thing, nor being not baptized with water, but a new creature.'

I will repeat the apostle's discourse at large upon this subject, in the same chapter, because it is very instructing, and seems decisive in this case: "As many," says he, "as desire to make a fair show in the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised; only lest they should suffer persecution for the cross of Christ." It seems they were outside people, that laid stress upon outside things, or something else instead of the cross of Christ; for they temporized in this matter, to shun the shame and persecution that then attended the Christian's cross: which stood, partly, in laying down of outward observations; and which they that desire to make a fair show in the flesh, stand most for. But the apostle goes on; "For," says he, "neither they themselves, who

are circumcised, keep the law, but desire to have you circumcised, that they may glory in your flesh." They were not exact in the other parts of the law, it seems, as strict as they seemed to be for this sacramental practice; which is the case of too many now: yet they pressed it, that they might glory, and value themselves upon gaining others to be conformable to them, whether to excuse their compliance with custom, that they might avoid persecution, or out of love to ceremonial religion.

"But," says that clear-sighted and plain-dealing apostle, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." If he rejoiced in nothing, but in the cross of Christ, then in no other elementary rite, service, or ordinance, any more than in circumcision.

But he proceeds: "For in Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." That is to say, 'For according to Christ Jesus, or in the religion of Christ Jesus, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth, but a new creature, a regenerate soul; one born again by the Spirit of God:' for the apostle, in these excellent words, not only strikes at circumcision, but all outward and elementary observations: neither this, nor that, outward thing availeth in the Christian religion, or according to Christ Jesus, but a new creature:' he does not say, 'but water-baptism,' as some would have it, who tell us, that it succeeds circumcision, by divine institution: by no means! But that which availeth with Christ, and in the religion of Christ Jesus, is a new creature, a new man, one changed, regenerated, or born again, by the word and baptism of the Holy Ghost. "And," says the apostle, to confirm them in this doctrine of inward circumcision, that is of the heart, in the spirit, (which is the same thing with the baptism of the Spirit) "As many as walk according to this rule, peace shall be upon them." So that we, the poor despised Quakers, take comfort in this apostolical benediction, and can say, to God's glory, his peace has been upon us, in our belief and confession of his blessed doctrine of the new creature. It is what we have aimed at, and has been the great drift of our testimony since we were a people; and in order to it, we have directed all to the gift of God's grace in themselves, that by believing in it, and resigning up their wills and affections, and whole man, to the teaching and conduct of it, they may be leavened and sanctified by it, throughout; by which the state of the new creature, which is Christianity indeed, will be experienced; though it was, and is, a mystery to the world.

As for the apostle Peter's question, Acts x. 48. "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" It imports, with submission, no more than this; that Peter, well knowing the narrowness of his countrymen's spirits, was cautious lest his latitude should distaste them: for the Gentiles being unholiness to the Jews, and even Peter himself, without a vision from God, too narrow-spirited for the convictions and devotion of that excellent centurion Cornelius, it behoved him to ask, if any body had any thing to say, why they might not be baptized as well as the Jews, being proselytes to the Christian profession? In all which he seems more concerned to save his own credit, than to recommend, or establish, that of water-baptism. As if he had said, 'Why should this custom be forbidden to the Gentiles more than the Jews?' But this will not warrant the practice in general, because practice is no institution, and that there appears no command to make it one. So that asking, who can forbid, what was not commanded, strengthens his question, instead of weakening it, since what was done of condescension, could not have been forbid upon authority. There needed not so much care or strictness in the matter. And indeed the apostles themselves seem not to have been so clear about the abolishing of the Jewish observations, as appears by the want Peter had of a vision, his own apprehension of the straitness of his brethren, and their calling him to account for what he had done, as may be seen in the same chapter.

But I confess I cannot see why the bishop should assume the power of unchristianing us, for not practising of that which he himself practises so unscripturally, and that according to the sentiments of a considerable part of Christendom; having not one text of scripture, to prove, that sprinkling of water in the face was the water-baptism, or that children were the subjects of water-baptism, in the first times. And yet this is all the baptism the bishop practises, who seems so severe upon us. I think our forbearing of water-baptism, from a belief and sense of the coming of the invisible grace, signified by that visible sign, cannot be reputed such a slight to water-baptism, as presuming to alter the manner and substance of its first institution: for then it was in the river Jordan, now in a basin; it was then unto repentance, now, to children uncapable of repentance. But that which perhaps misled the doctors of the declining church first into this practice, being at the distance of some hundreds of years from the apostolical times, might be the supposition that water-baptism came in the

place of circumcision, and that being to children, so might water-baptism too. But they forgot (among other things, which, even before that time, were crept into the church, without precept, or evangelical example) that repentance was not made a condition to circumcision, as it was to water-baptism. I would beseech the bishop to tread softly in this matter; for if water-baptism should indeed prove a badge of Christianity, he would be at a loss for one that would pass current in scripture. Thus much for this point.

What I have said upon this head of water-baptism, may serve also for what is commonly called the Lord's supper, which the bishop reproves us for omitting to practise; urging Luke xxii. 19. "This do in remembrance of me;" and the apostle's words, 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. It is true, indeed, Christ said, when he eat it with his disciples, "That they should do it in remembrance of him till he came." And this seems much more of the nature of a commission, than that cited by the bishop for water-baptism: but the limitation Christ gives to the practice of it, and a right and proper consideration of the import of his words, and the nature of the thing, will best lead us to understand his mind therein.

First, This was also a Jewish practice, as well as water-baptism, and so, in nature, of no gospel institution, but temporary in its use.

Secondly, Christ seems, by this, to break, or open to them, what was so hard for them to bear, to wit, his departure and death, by a token of memorial till he should come to them again.

Thirdly, Christ takes occasion from thence, to show forth to his disciples the mystical supper they should eat, and the fellowship they should have with him, when he came again.

Now we believe this coming was spiritual, suitable to that saying of his, "I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine, till I drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father: and some here shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom," Matt. xvi. 28. Again, "He that dwelleth with you, shall be in you," John xiv. "I in them, and they in me," chap. xvii. All which plainly imports a spiritual coming. Also Rev. iii. 20. "Behold I stand at the door and knock, if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me," which was said near forty years after his ascension. Now since this is acknowledged to be an outward sign of an inward and invisible grace, what can outward bread and wine more properly signify and resemble, than an inward supper? And if so, the words

may reasonably be read thus, 'Eat this supper of outward bread and wine, till I come into and sup with you, and be your supper, that am the bread and wine from heaven, which nourishes the soul unto eternal life.'

Fourthly, The kingdom of God being spiritual, and in the soul, such should be the ordinances of that kingdom. Now Christ tells the Pharisees, Luke xvii. 20. "The kingdom of God is within." And the apostle Paul, Rom. xiv. 17, saith, "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost:" but the outward supper is meat and drink, and therefore not of the kingdom of God, which is not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. And this was made use of by Christ, in the state of humiliation, before his death, and the pouring forth of the Holy Ghost, to fasten upon his disciples, that were weak, and of little faith, the remembrance of him, till they should know him with them, and in them, by his spiritual appearance (as he was "the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit,") according to his promise. For if the scripture be consulted, we shall not only find that Christ reproves the apostles for their infidelity in him, but, after all the example, precepts, and miracles they saw by him, and that he had so very lately left them with such assurances of his coming to them again; yet when Mary, &c. brought them the tidings of his resurrection, it is said, Luke xxiv. 10, 11. "Their words seemed to the disciples as idle tales, and they believed them not." Which sufficiently shows the low state they were in, or that at least they needed a sign or token, as that of the supper, to commemorate him. But this reason, which is yet true, does not credit its continuation; for when the Spirit was come, or Christ in his spiritual appearance, their eyes were opened, and they saw then it was the "Spirit that quickens, the flesh profiteth nothing." John vi. 63.

Fifthly, Most certainly Christ meant no less, when he preached himself "the Bread that came down from heaven," John vi. 31 to 52, and that they that would have life eternal, must "eat his flesh, and drink his blood;" that is, they must feed upon spiritual food; not the outward, but inward supper; the thing signified, and substance itself. For Christ opposes himself, "who is the Bread of God," to the bread their fathers eat in the wilderness, who were dead, which was of an elementary nature: therefore it can never be, that such bread as perisheth, should be the bread of the evangelical supper, when Christ, by comparison, undervalues it to the bread he had to give them.

Sixthly, Our blessed Lord, Mark vii. 18. taught, That it

was not that which went into the man that defileth the man," because it went but into his body, and not into his heart: and if so, the argument is undeniable, that it is not that which goeth into the man, that is, into his body, and not into his heart, that sanctifieth the man: but material bread and wine goeth only into the body, and not into the heart; therefore they cannot sanctify. The import of Christ's words is plainly this, 'Meats and drinks neither defile nor sanctify; they neither benefit nor harm any one upon a spiritual account:' consequently elementary bread and wine cannot be the evangelical supper, but a figure of it, which is ended in Christ, the "Bread of God, that cometh down from heaven," John vi. 31, 32, 48, 49, 50, that a man may eat of, and not die; the substance of all shadows: for, saith the apostle, "The body is of Christ;" and where that is, our Lord tells us, Luke xiii. 37, "the eagles are gathered together:" where the apostle's wise men, 1 Cor. x. 15. seek for the true supper, which nourishes the soul unto eternal life.

Seventhly, But the bishop will have this supper four times repeated in the scripture of the New Testament, besides that of the apostle Paul; which must be his mistake—since there is no command to practise it beyond that very time, but in Luke xxii. 19. if there itself. For though his eating of the passover is there related, as also in Mark and Luke, it was but once done; and the command, "This do in remembrance of me," is only once related among the evangelists, as well as it is once commanded. And would we be strict with the bishop, we need not allow him that command to reach farther than the present time in which it was given; for "This do," or, "Take, eat," are equally in the present tense, "for thereby you show forth my death." And the following words, viz. "I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdon," Matt. xxvi. 29, farther explains it. Thus Mark has it, xiv. 25. "Verily I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God." Luke xxii. 18. gives it thus, "I say unto you, I will not drink of the vine till the kingdom of God shall come." Now it is plain that Christ refers them to the spiritual supper, which we prefer and practise, and which is the supper signified by that of outward bread and wine, that was to serve till the kingdom of God came, and then he would communicate with them in a way suitable to his kingdom: which kingdom, as before said, is not meat and drink, but "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." And as the same

apostle has it, 1 Cor. iv. 20. "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power;" of which power, and its coming from on high upon the apostles, read Acts i. 5, 7, 8.

For when they asked Christ, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom again to Israel," and that he told them, "It was not for them to know the times or the seasons, which the Father had put into his own power;" he also adds, "But ye shall receive power after the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem and Judea, and in Samaria, and in the uttermost parts of the earth." This power was the kingdom of God, for it "stands in power," says the apostle: but it seems he thought fit to wave their question, as to a direct answer, and left it a secret to be revealed unto them, when the Holy Ghost should come, and the power from on high should fall upon them: and thus he takes his leave of them, and is immediately received by a cloud out of their sight.

Before I conclude this paragraph, I would observe, First, That it was the passover, and custom of the Jews, which, properly speaking, we conceive have no just plea to continue as a gospel-ordinance, or institution, since it was a type of him to come, and therefore ended, as to institution, by his coming.

Secondly, That the evangelist John, the beloved disciple, that lay in the bosom of Christ, does not so much as mention it, or water-baptism, as left by Christ, to be continued by his followers. Concerning the Spirit's baptism, though he uses not the word baptism, he is very full, John 14th, 16th, and 17th chapters, where he tells them, "that he would send them the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, to lead them into all truth, and that he would dwell with them for ever." I say, it seems very improbable, if not incredible, that what the bishop stiles the 'Badges of Christianity,' in his 17th paragraph, should be wholly forgotten by so great an apostle of Christianity.

Thirdly, And as the beloved disciple says nothing of these visible signs, which the bishop calls the 'Badges of Christianity,' so neither are they made an article of any of the ancient creeds extant, which certainly does not make for their credit or authority: since, had they been of that importance they are now by some esteemed, we cannot think they would have been forgot by the compilers of those creeds.

Fourthly, The apostle Paul, though he repeats the tradition he received of the Lord's supper, that night he was betrayed, does not injoin it; but as often as the Corinthians

did it, he tells them, they should do it in remembrance of Christ: which is as far from commanding it, as it would be, if the bishop should say to his friend, 'As often as he comes to Cork, he should come and eat with him,' an obligation upon that person to come often to Cork. So that though the apostle bids them, that as often as they did it, they should do it in remembrance of Christ, yet he does not thereby bid them do it often, if at all.

Fifthly, And whereas the bishop would make it a fresh revelation to the apostle, when he says, "For I have received of the Lord, that which also I delivered unto you," I must dissent from him. I cannot apprehend that means any more than this, 'that what account he had received of Christ's eating the supper with his disciples, the night before he was betrayed, the same also he had delivered unto them:' for what need could there be of an immediate revelation, for so late a fact, so well witnessed by the disciples? But if my reader will peruse that part of the chapter which relates to the supper, he will find the stress lies upon "remembering of the Lord," which is, indeed, our daily, indispensable duty; and he that lives without it, may be said "to live without God in the world;" of which those Corinthians at that time seemed so insensible, and as such are severely reproved by the apostle, being irreverent, greedy, and drunken, hardly fit for the sign, and less able to discern the thing signified.

Sixthly, Nor does the apostle seem to recommend this practice, but rather reprehend the abuse of it: and if my reader will look back to the foregoing chapter, from the beginning to the 18th verse, he may find a more spiritual supper, and mystical bread and cup, hinted at by the apostle, as well as Mat. xxvi. 29. Rev. iii. 20. by our Lord Jesus Christ himself: which is, indeed, very copiously expressed by Luke, in the parable of the supper, chap. xiv. from the 16th to the 24th verse, where one that was at meat with Christ, speaking of the blessedness of eating of bread in the kingdom of God, Christ takes occasion to show forth the gospel-supper by a parable, viz. "A certain man made a great supper, and bid many, but they refused, upon divers pretences, and came not: he sent out a second and third time to invite an inferior sort of guests, and they came to the supper," that is, they received the gospel, which is the power of God to salvation, and the evidence, as well as means, of it: which Christ in the 27th verse farther expresses thus, viz. "And whosoever doth not bear my cross, and follow me, cannot be my disciple." Now "the cross of Chrsst," the same apostle also says, "is the power of God," 1 Cor. i. 18. All

which refers to an inward and spiritual work, and supper, and that they who receive Christ in spirit, sup with him in spirit, being the partakers of his spiritual supper, which Christ promises, and prepares for all those that open, at his knocks, the door of their hearts unto him, Rev. iii.

Seventhly, But besides what I have said, both from scripture, and the nature of the thing, in proof of Christ's spiritual supper, and defence of our disuse of the visible sign, the bishop himself does the same thing, in relation to another ordinance: for our Lord Jesus Christ did as solemnly command his disciples to "wash one another's feet," as to 'eat the supper.' The passage is large and edifying, and I must recommend to my reader, to peruse his Bible, John xiii. But that part of it which more strictly concerns this point, between the bishop and me, I shall repeat here, verses 12, 13, 14, 15. "So after he had washed their feet, and taken his garments, and was set down again, he said unto them, Know ye what I have done to you? Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well; for so I am: if I, then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet: for I have given you an example that ye should do as I have done to you." Thus Christ commanded his disciples, not only by his authority, but example. Now does the bishop, and his friends, follow Christ's example, and obey this precept? He and they know they do not. What must I infer from thence, that the bishop is no Christian? I suppose he would take it very ill from me, though he has treated me, and my friends, after that sort. But I will show him a better example, and suppose he thinks, that if Christian ministers and people walk humbly towards God, and one with another, they fulfil this commandment, though they disuse the sign, by which the Lord Jesus expressed and recommended humility to his followers: now that which excuses the bishop, in reference to this ordinance of 'washing of feet,' will also excuse our disuse of the supper, viz. 'Our eating of the spiritual bread and wine of the kingdom; the thing signified by the outward supper.' But it is an error incident to frail man, to prefer the practice of those things that have a show of religion, and have least of uneasiness, and of the nature of the cross of Christ, in their performance. Just thus it is easier to receive the supper, than to be humble, if not easier than to wash feet: for one is but a memorial of Christ, but the other, perhaps, is a reproach of the present practice, and, to be sure, a command to mortification and self-denial, the hardest lesson in religion. And who knows but for that reason it has been dropped so long; since it must be very

uneasy for people to continue a custom, to which their daily practice is so visible a contradiction: though, I hear, the Roman bishop mocks the text once a year.

Eighthly, But in relation to the supper, we farther say, the practice is varied; then they sat; now one sort stands; another walks; a third kneels; a fourth lies down upon the ground, as in the East-countries. The Romans have one opinion, the Greeks another; and the Lutherans and Calvinists divide, to great bitterness, in their sentiments about it.

Ninthly, Again, in those days they were disciples, such as followed Christ; now all are admitted that profess Christianity, though they do not follow him, or forsake any thing for his name-sake, or keep any of his holy precepts, Matt. the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters.

Tenthly, Nor is this all we have to say, to justify our disuse of this practice: it is too much looked at, and relied upon, by the people: and, indeed, is become a kind of Protestant extreme unction: for if the generality of them can but have it administered just before they die, they are apt to presume upon it for an acceptance in the other world. And, indeed, it is very frequent, if not natural, for many men to excuse their disobedience by sacrifice; and where ceremonies, or shadowy services, are continued, people rest upon the observance of them, and indulge themselves in the neglect of the doctrine of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. I need not look far, nor yet the bishop, for a proof of what I say; we can hardly miss, which way soever we throw our eyes, the more is the pity; and as this is no small abuse of primitive practice, so no small argument for our disuse of it. For when the brazen serpent was over-valued by the Jews, God, that had commanded it for their benefit, stirred up Hezekiah to destroy it.

Eleventhly, Besides, these things are become matter of gain, and made a sacerdotal revenue, not to say merchandize; which has also helped to scandalize people of tender consciences, who think it a profanation of religion, to suffer any part of it to be excised to the people, that ought to be free.

Twelfthly, But passing that by at present, and supposing water-baptism and the supper were not antiquated, but still in force, who is there qualified to administer them? Who has received a commission, or the mind of the Holy Ghost, and power from on high to perform these things? For if those that hold they are in force, have no divine force or authority to qualify them to administer them, there will be but a lifeless imitation, instead of an edifying reality. Which

leads me to what I promised long since, that I would, at the close of this discourse, say something of the 'true ground of our difference and dissent.'

I say then, that where we are supposed to differ most, we differ least; and where we are believed to differ least, we most of all differ: which I explain thus. It is generally thought, that we do not hold the common doctrines of Christianity, but have introduced new and erroneous ones in lieu thereof: whereas we plainly and entirely believe the truths contained in the creed, that is commonly called The Apostles'; which is very comprehensive, as well as ancient. But that which hath affected our minds most, and engaged us in this separation, was the great carnality and emptiness, both of ministers and people, under their profession of religion: they having hardly "the form of godliness," but, generally speaking, "denying the power thereof," from whom, the scripture warns believers to "turn away."

Next, ministers being made such, and preaching, and the people worshipping, without the spirit, confining the operations of it to the first or apostolical times, as if these did not want them as much, or that Christ would be less propitious, where his gifts were not less needful; I say, an human and lifeless ministry and worship, together with the great worldliness of professors, have occasioned our separation; and the persecution that has commonly followed it, hath abundantly confirmed our judgment in that matter. Hence it was we retired ourselves to wait upon God together, according to the gift of his Holy Spirit; and, as the apostle Paul exhorted the Athenians, Acts xvii. "We felt after him (with our souls) if by any means we might find him, and hear what God the Lord would say unto us, who speaks peace unto his people, and his saints; but let them never turn to folly any more.' We could not, I say, tell how to think that such as God had never sent, but ran of themselves, and were made ministers by human learning and authority, not knowing the work of the spirit to their own regeneration, could possibly profit, or edify the people unto their regeneration: and yet that is the very work and end of the true gospel-ministry; for no man can guide another in the way he himself never trod.

Besides, we apprehended the ministry was very much a temporal preferment, and therefore few were to be found among them, that did not court the better places, I mean those that gave the greatest pay, and by those methods mounted to worldly wealth and honour, as the rest of the world did: turning alms into dues, and, by law, making gifts rents; and vexing those extremely, that, for conscience-

sake, could not uphold them: which we thought very foreign to a primitive and apostolical spirit; and short of a true and thorough reformation. This is not said with any disrespect to their persons, or yet calling, simply considered; "for he that desires the office of a bishop, certainly desires a good thing," but the Holy Ghost, in those days, had the making of them; and the "good thing" then, was their service, and not revenue, or worldly dignity. They were then not only no lords (one being their Lord) but they lorded it not over God's clergy or heritage, which was the people in those days, for so the word Κλήρων signifies, though it is now ascribed to the ministry. Then, the ground of prophecy, or ministry, was the revelation of the spirit, in those ancient assemblies, as may be read, *1* Cor. xiv. *29, 30, 31, 32.* "For all might prophecy," that is, preach, as the spirit of God moved upon their spirit, and gave them utterance, both for reproof, instruction, and consolation: now, study, collection, and memory.

In those days they preached their own experience of the work of God upon their hearts; but most now preach of the experiences of others, recorded in scriptures, but according to their own and others' human apprehensions. To be brief, we ground our conviction, conversion, ministry, prayer, and praise, upon the light and spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the powerful and effectual spring of our religious performances, and that alone which prepares the soul, and enables it to perform those respective services and duties in a manner acceptable to God. And that ministry and worship which stands not in the spirit, and is not performed in the preparation and inspiration thereof, but according to the compilings, traditions, and precepts of men, we cannot allow to be primitive and evangelical, and consequently cannot join in them. And we are satisfied that it is the good pleasure of God, that all who profess the name of his dear, and only begotten, and well-beloved Son, should acquaint themselves with the spirit of his Son in their own hearts, in its reproof, instruction, conviction and consolation, that they may become "spiritually-minded," such as mind spiritual things more than earthly ones; and that daily "sow to the spirit;" that is, bring forth the fruits of the spirit, and become the children of God, who are led by the spirit of God. "Now the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance: against such there is no law. And they that are Christ's, have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts thereof. But the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these, adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lascivi-

ousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murder, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of which I told you before, as also in time past, that they which do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God," Rom. viii. 6. 14. Gal. v. 16, to 24. chap. vi. 7, 8. And under these marks and directions all people may examine themselves, and know their birth, family, and inheritance, whether they are the offspring of God, and true Christians, or children of the evil one: those that are born of the spirit, for whom is reserved "an inheritance with the saints in light," or the seed of evil-doers; for whom is reserved the "blackness of darkness for ever." And truly it seems just with God, that those who love darkness better than light in this world, should have their fill of it in the next; from which, God Almighty redeem thee, reader, that thou mayest walk in his blessed light, as he is in the light, then thou wilt have "fellowship with the children of light, and the blood of Jesus Christ (the great atonement) shall cleanse thee from all sin," 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. yea; "from the filthiness both of flesh and spirit;" and being sanctified throughout, in body and spirit, thou mayest live to serve God in the newness of his holy spirit, Rom. vii. 6. and come to be made a new man; that is, another man: from a proud, an humble man; from a passionate, a patient man; from a rough, a meek man; and of a cruel, covetous, unjust, lascivious, intemperate, vain and ungodly man, thou mayest become a merciful, liberal, just, chaste, sober, and godly man. And where this change, this new birth, or new creature, is not known, sacrifices avail nothing, religion is but formality, and the peace of God will never be their recompence of reward. But they that walk after the blessed unerring rule of the new covenant, "peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God," Gal. vi. 15, 16. "who are the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ," Col. iii. 11. even that of the heart, in the spirit, whose praise is not of men, but of God," Rom. ii. 29. And who, therefore, "Worship God in the spirit, and have no confidence in the flesh," Phil. iii. 3. that is, in fleshly ordinances, or the observation of figures and signs compounded of outward elements, which represent heavenly things: wherefore the apostle exhorted and commanded, Col. ii. 16, 17. "Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holyday, &c. which are shadows of things to come, but the body is of Christ;" that is, Christ is the substance of all outward representations, and they that have Christ, have the end of

all those things: who, reader, we labour and pray, may be better known, received, and obeyed, by the professors of his holy name and religion. That as he is given of God to be our priest, prophet, and king, we may all know, feel and enjoy him such in ourselves, and then the kingdom of God will be come in us, and his will done in our earth, as it is in heaven: which God grant, I most humbly beseech him.

For the conclusion of the bishop's paper, it is either repetition or reflection; the one needs no answer, and the other wants a defence. However, I will not have it said that I either wave or suppress it, and therefore without any reflection I will consider his: which should have no weight with my reader, but against him.

He says in his 12th paragraph, 'He pities us, thinking many of us harmless and well-meaning, but under the power of strong delusions.' And in his 13th paragraph he gives us his sense of the cause thereof, viz, 'That we make the light within a rule of faith and practice, co-ordinate, if not superior and antecedent, to the holy scripture.' To prove which to be our sentiment, he cites these words out of our gospel-truths, where speaking of the Holy Spirit, and the scriptures, we say, 'they are the double and agreeing record of true religion.' Now if the light and spirit agree with the scripture, there is no fear of contradicting the scripture, and so we can have nothing to answer for on our account of that expression; for what agrees with the scripture, establishes it, instead of slighting or superseding the authority of it.

And though we used no such words as co-ordinate, much less superior and antecedent, (which is the bishop's gloss, to render our most true and inoffensive expression suspected, and make way to fasten his supposed strong delusions upon us) I will be very frank with him in this matter, that we believe the scripture to be the declaration of the mind of the Holy Ghost, and therefore not superior to the Holy Ghost, but credited, confirmed, and expounded by the Holy Ghost; so that without the illumination of it, the scripture cannot be understood by them that read it. The grammatical and critical sense of the words, and allusions therein, may be understood; but the inside and spiritual signification of them, is a riddle to those that are not spiritually instructed therein, though they were ever such grammarians or linguists.

Again, Christ says "He that loves the light, brings his deeds to the light, to see if they are wrought in God," John iii. 21. which was before the New Testament scripture was in being; and this makes it both rule and judge of the life and deeds of men. What says the bishop to this? Also John 14, 15, and 16th chapters, Christ promises, "The

spirit to lead them, his people, into all truth," and this was not the scripture, but something at least co-ordinate, if not superior and antecedent, to the scripture, which is more than we said before. Also the apostle Paul tells the Romans, chap. viii. "That as many as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sons of God:" then the spirit is to lead believers, or they cannot be the children of God. And that which leads, rules; and that which rules, is a rule to them that follow it. And the same apostle referred the Galatians, chap. vi. 15, 16. to the rule of the new-creature to walk by, and that must be the spirit, which begets the new-creature viz. "Christ formed in them," of whom he tells them, chap. iv. 19. he "travailed in birth again. "And the beloved disciple expressly says to the Christians in his first epistle, chap. ii. 20. "That they had an unction from the Holy One, and they knew all things;" that is, all things they had to believe, know, and practise. And verse 27. he adds, "But the anointing which ye have received abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth." If the bishop will break through all these scriptures, to undervalue the light and spirit of Christ (for no other light or spirit do we assert, recommend people to, or contend for) that he might render us guilty of 'strong delusions,' I cannot help it, but must be truly sorry for him. But I beseech him to have a care that he does not, like the Jews of old, undervalue, and indeed blaspheme against, the holy light and spirit of God, by miscalling the fruits and effects of its power, 'strong delusions, and transformations of Satan:' for God will not hold such guiltless, in his great and terrible day of judgment.

And, after all, the best and first reformers and martyrs, as well as fathers, concur in our assertion and testimony: as Zuinglius, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Beza, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Erasmus too: also our own excellent martyrs, viz. Lambert, Rogers, Philpot, Bradford, Hooper, Woodman, &c. 'That the double and agreeing testimony of the spirit of God within, and the scriptures of truth without, is the rule and judge of faith, doctrine and practice;' yea, 'That the spirit is given to believers, to be the rule and judge, by which they are to understand the true sense and meaning of the scriptures.' Now let the reader judge who gives the truest honour to the scripture, the bishop, or the people called Quakers? They, that say, the scriptures have a double record, that is, the evidence of the spirit of truth in the hearts of believers, as well as their own: or the bishop, who, by his way of treating us, and our principle, will allow us no other evidence of their truth, but them-

selves? For to say, the evidence of the spirit of God, with that of the scripture, make a double and agreeing testimony, is, with him, 'to undervalue the scripture,' and the ground, in his apprehension, of our 'strong delusions.' It must be my turn to pity the bishop, and truly I do it with all my heart, to see him strain so sound, as well as inoffensive an expression, as that which he makes the reason of our delusion, that he might have an occasion to lessen our credit with the professors of Christianity, and especially protestants. Can it dishonour the scripture, to assert the evidence of the principal and author of the scripture, to back the authority of the scripture? Or doth not he rather lessen the authority of scripture, that will not allow us another evidence of the truth of scripture than its own, for fear of coordinacy, which was not so much as once intended to be insinuated by us, nor do the words import any such thing; yet it had been no strong, nor any, delusion at all, to give the Holy Ghost the preference. But I shall keep to the terms of the paper, whatever the bishop is pleased to do; knowing that whoever concludes an argument in terms not in the question, nor plainly deducible from the premises, is not a fair dealer in controversy: in which the bishop, if he pleases, may reasonably enough think himself more than once concerned.

Blessed be God, we have known the power and efficacy of this holy light and spirit of Christ in ourselves; and being in good measure witnesses thereof, we do not only speak by report, but by experience. We had the scriptures, in the days of our ignorance, and worldly-mindedness; but disregarding the reproofs and instruction of the light of Jesus in our hearts, we never could come to know the power of those truths the scripture declares of. But when it pleased God, in the riches of his love, to cause his blessed light, that had shined in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not, to shine out of darkness, and give us the knowledge of himself in the face (or through the manifestation) of his Son Jesus Christ, we saw and bewailed ourselves, and, by an unfeigned sorrow and repentance, returned, as penitent prodigals, towards our father's house, and in this turn, we were brought to die daily to that love and satisfaction we once had in the glory, pleasures, honours, friendships and diversions of the world, which now became burdensome, more than ever they were pleasing to us.

Hence it was, and from no sinister ends or self-righteous conceits, that we became an altered and distinguished people, in our behaviour, garb and conversation; more retired, watchful, silent, and plain, than formerly; equally avoiding

luxury and avarice. I say, it was the work of God's spirit upon our hearts, who, by his light, gave us to see the just difference of things, and to distinguish between that which pleased him, and that which pleased him not. And this holy pattern he gave us in the light of his beloved Son, which we design to follow, as did the holy ancients; and is a full answer to the bishop's unfriendly queries upon our distinguishing behaviour, in his 14th and 15th paragraphs, as if it were not out of fear towards God, or upon a conscientious bottom, but to serve a worldly turn? For he asks us, 'Is it not your main aim, end, and study, by pretended mortifications, to make yourselves a party considerable?' Again, 'Are not to this purpose your different garb, speech, looks and gestures, and to make yourselves remarkable, rather than out of a sense of duty, or conscience of obligation?' Which, as it is the worst construction that the most irreligious and profane could make upon our behaviour, so I beseech God to forgive the bishop, and make him sensible how little such treatment of strict and sober living advances the common cause of religion, and how much it indulges those, that know no reins or check to their excesses, in his own church. But to go no farther than the bishop and his clergy, pray who distinguish themselves more by their garb from other people than they? Though I cannot say as much of their behaviour. So, indeed, did the Chemarims, or Black-coats, of old, and those that wore long robes in our Saviour's time; but, as I take it, they went not without his censure, while I think the bishop will find none in scripture against our plainness. But the bishop's pontifical robes, do, in my opinion, look much more like singularity and a sight than ours; for our garb is like other mens, only freed of their superfluity. In short, I wish him a better understanding of the true grounds of our stricter conduct, and where and who they are that make a trade of religion; that if he has any shot left against mercenary religionists, he may not miss the mark next time, but may make it his main aim, end, and study, to expose hirelings and hypocrites in their proper colours: and some are of opinion he need not go far to find too many of them.

It is strange the bishop should be so insensible of the advantage he gives me by his queries, and what a wide door he opens to a severe retaliation; but I desire to be modest; and to be silent upon such advantages, is, I think, to be abundantly so.

Howbeit, I must take notice of one expression, for it may too seriously affect us not to be observed to him. When he asks, 'If it be not our main end and study, by pretended

mortifications, to make ourselves a party considerable?' He adds, 'and such to which, for reasons of state, peculiar privileges must be indulged.' If this were not more than mockery, I should wave my notice; but calling the meaning of the government in question about the liberty of conscience we enjoy, he must forgive me if I bestow a few remarks upon that expression. It seems, then, our liberty flows not from the inclination of the government to liberty, less from compassion, and least of all from justice and a Christian principle. Which motives carry with them a prospect of the continuance of liberty, if not for liberty's sake. But the bishop believes no such thing; and if he would not have us of his mind, he did weakly to tell us so. Well, then, we are all of us to take his advertisement, that our liberty holds but by slender threads, and a reason of state, and not of nature, right, or Christianity; which certainly is not to bespeak this considerable party to the advantage of the government: and for which I think the bishop a very moderate statesman, and the government as little beholden to his politics, as we are to his charity. However, we will have a better opinion of our superiors' regard to liberty, and conclude that their inclination equals their discretion, and that their judgment, as well as prudence, is on that side, let the bishop say what he pleases. And though he deserves it not at my hands, I could almost persuade myself to think that he does not begrudge it us, and means not so loosely as he writes. But be it as it will, that God, that has upheld us by his free spirit to this day, through many and great afflictions, we firmly believe will suffer nothing to attend us, that shall not in the conclusion work for his glory and our good, if we continue steadfast to the end, in the blessed way of righteousness, wherein he has so often and signally owned and preserved us; notwithstanding the violence of open enemies, and the treacherous and restless endeavours of false friends.

His sixteenth paragraph multiplies reflection, as before observed, and repeats what I have already largely answered; particularly, that we own the Christian faith, which he makes us to wave, suppress, or at least not to confess; and have expressed it, even in the paper he has faulted so much of shortness, and that more fully, in all points, than in the creed commonly called the Athanasian; except that about the Trinity, which seems to me to be less plain by that copious way taken to explain it.

He also says, 'We reject all outward, positive parts of worship,' which we deny: for we own and use prayer, preaching, and praising, in the Spirit, without which they

cannot be owned or joined with; for they cannot be so performed to edification by a true Christian worshipper; since God, who is a Spirit, will be worshipped in spirit, and in truth, which Christ's Spirit must enable us to perform: and such worshippers only, God the Father seeks to worship him: implying, he regards not other worshippers.

'But, especially,' the bishop says, 'we reject baptism and the supper.' We say, we do not reject, but disuse the signs, because we felt the invisible graces in our souls they were signs and shadows of; and therefore, not in disrespect to the signs, but in reverence to the divine substance they show forth, we discontinue their use among us. They obtained place in the infancy and twilight of the church; in her more weak and ceremonious time, directing, as I may say, that *interregnum* between the law and the gospel, before the dispensation of the Holy Ghost had fully obtained place and pre-eminence in the church. But of this I have been already very particular.

He grows warm in his 17th paragraph, and episcopal; for he says, 'In a word, I again require you, as you will answer all your secret arts and pretensions at Christ's tribunal, that you either embrace and profess the entire Christian truth, in the points wherein I have shown you to be defective; and that you receive the Christian seals or badges, baptism, and the Lord's supper; or else that you desist to lay claim to the name of Christians.'

But first I must return the bishop his secret arts and pretensions, in all which he is grievously mistaken. For either I do not understand his meaning, or I abhor it. Next, be it known to him, we wave not, we suppress not, but heartily embrace and profess, before the whole world, all points of Christian doctrine, according to the mind of the Holy Ghost, as I have amply signified before upon this subject: and where the bishop takes leave of the text, he must excuse me if I leave him, to keep company with it. We did not entitle our paper 'All Gospel-Truths,' but 'Gospel-Truths,' which extended so far as we were taxed with error about those truths: and yet he must have but a little charity that will not allow a believer and follower of those truths to be a Christian. Nor, indeed, has the bishop given us the articles of faith he says we wave or suppress, or told us his own, or that one church's faith he would have us receive, as I have complained already. But that the bishop should forbid us so much as to lay claim to the name of Christians, unless we will practise what he calls the seals or badges of Christianity, (which divers churches in Christendom think he misuses) is very uncharitable and dogmatical. But, besides

what I have said at large in our excuse and defence in that matter, he produces not one scripture that calls them either seals or badges. But yet there are other things that are so represented by our blessed Saviour and his apostles, which he takes no notice of: as Matt. xvi. 24. where, they that will be reputed Christ's disciples must take up his cross and follow him. Christ's cross is a Christian's badge and seal of discipleship. Again, John xiii. 35. He said to his disciples, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." Likewise Matt. xxv. 34, 35, 36. The distinguishing character of the last day is not water-baptism and the outward supper, but love, mercy, and compassion; bowels and charity; not being ashamed or afraid of owning and helping the Lord's servants in their afflictions, viz. "I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me." This is the Christian badge that will be recognized by our Lord Jesus Christ at the last day: we have his own word for it. In all which he is so far from mentioning either of the other badges, that, Luke xiii. he brings in the unhappy, that are on his left-hand, using this argument to engage him to receive them into blessedness, viz. "We have eaten and drank in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets." A plain instance they had the use of such ordinances as the bishop reputes badges of Christianity; but it is as plain that such pleas would not do: for, behold, the Lord Jesus says unto them in the parable, "I know you not, depart from me, ye workers of iniquity!" I recommend the perusal of the following verses to my reader, which confirm my sense of the text: for he spoke to an outside people, that counted themselves the people of God, and were observers of meats and drinks, and divers washings: and that which was doctrine and caution then, is doctrine and caution now; for truth holds the same to the end.

I might add, holiness, for a characteristic, "without which no man shall ever see the Lord;" and that "neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature," Gal. v. 6. Also, the fruits of the Spirit, chap. 5. among which there is not one word about water-baptism, or the outward supper, with many more passages that are close and cogent.

His eighteenth and last paragraph tells us, 'He will not judge us,' and yet his whole paper is but one continued judgment of us: 'but, from God,' as he says, 'and, as his minister, he bids us judge ourselves.' First, We thank God

we are before-hand with the bishop, having judged ourselves, and that by the judgment of God upon us, and so have right to judge others according to that judgment. Secondly, We have no proof that the bishop speaks from God to us: nor can I tell how he should, that does not acknowledge the inspeaking word of God in the soul. Thirdly, For his being God's minister, he has not shown us his commission yet, and I fear it will not be from heaven, whenever he does. But if my reader will take the pains of perusing this very paragraph, he will not only see a judging spirit, but that the bishop holds out abusing us to the last, rendering us as bad as bad can be, viz. 'That we subvert the faith once delivered to the saints, and equal our conceits to the divine oracles, using and disusing what parts of God's instituted worship we please;' adding, 'I will not interpose your making gain your godliness.' But, as I have already taken ample notice of this charge, so I shall say no more of his irreligious slant at our sincerity than this, that I cannot pretend to tell the bishop what tribe of men, in Christendom, it is that have long made gain their godliness, and the pretence of it their worldly inheritance; since he has been so much more sensibly instructed in this affair than myself: but one thing I am sure of, that if gain, and not godliness, was our motive to be the people we are, we mightily mistook our way when we left the bishop's: for afflictions, spoils, prisons, banishments, yea, and death itself, have attended us, since God was pleased to manifest his truth to us: and if, under all those calamities that have followed us since we were a people, for the sake of our unfashionable profession, the bishop, or any else, is so unnatural, as to envy us the blessing of God upon our honest industry, and to render that which is an effect of God's goodness, the reason and end of our religion, God forgive them. I could enlarge upon this topic, but time would fail, and the discourse swell beyond bounds, as indeed it hath already, beyond my expectation; for which I should excuse myself to my reader, but that it was not simply from the regard I had to the bishop's sheet, since that could not have deserved this notice from me, but might have been answered as concisely as that was written, had I only considered his undertaking and treatment, and not my reader's satisfaction, in the better knowledge of our so much misrepresented persuasion: especially in a nation, where of late I had occasion so generally to travel, and the bishop's paper hath been, I suppose, as generally dispersed. I owe it, therefore, to my profession, to myself, and to the country, to vindicate the one, and to express my Christian regard and acknowledg-

ment to the other; having received a more than common civility from the inhabitants in general: to whom I wish, as to my own soul, the saving knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus: that Christians indeed, and at heart, they may be, to the glory of God their Creator, and the eternal salvation of their souls, through Jesus Christ, the alone Redeemer; to whom with the Father, by the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, thanksgiving, and praise, world without end.

THE ADVICE

OF

WILLIAM PENN TO HIS CHILDREN,

RELATING TO THEIR

Civil and Religious Conduct.

Published in the Year 1699.

CHAP. I.

My dear Children,

§. 1. Not knowing how long it may please God to continue me amongst you, I am willing to embrace this opportunity of leaving you my advice and counsel, with respect to your Christian and civil capacity and duty in this world: and I both beseech you and charge you, by the relation you have to me, and the affection I have always shown to you, and indeed received from you, that you lay up the same in your hearts, as well as your heads, with a wise and religious care.

§. 2. I will begin with that which is the beginning of all true wisdom and happiness, the holy fear of God.

Children, Fear God: that is to say, have an holy awe upon your minds to avoid that which is evil, and a strict care to embrace and do that which is good. The measure and standard of which knowledge and duty, is the light of Christ in your consciences, by which, as in John iii. 20, 21, you may clearly see if your deeds, aye, and your words and thoughts too, are wrought in God or not; for they are the deeds of the mind, and for which you must be judged: I say, with this divine light of Christ in your consciences, you may bring your thoughts, words, and works, to judgment in yourselves, and have a right, true, sound, and unerring sense of your duty towards God and man. And as you come to obey this blessed light in its holy convictions, it will lead you out of the world's dark and degenerate ways and works, and bring you unto Christ's way and life, and to be of the number of his true self-denying followers, to take up your cross for his sake, that bore his for yours; and to become

the children of the light, putting it on, as your holy armour; by which you may see and resist the fiery darts of Satan's temptations, and overcome him in all his assaults.

§. 3. I would a little explain this principle to you. It is called light, John i. 9. chap. iii. 19, 20, 21. and chap. viii. 12. Eph. v. 8. 13, 14. 1 Thess. v. 5. 1 John i. 5, 6. 7. Rev. xxi. 23. because it gives man a sight of his sin. And it is also called the quickening spirit; for so He is called; and the Lord from heaven, as 1 Cor. xv. 45. 57, who is called, and calls himself, the light of the world, John viii. 12. And why is he called the Spirit? Because he gives man spiritual life. And, John xvi. 8. Christ promised to send his Spirit to convince the world of their sins: wherefore that which convinces you and all people of their sins, is the Spirit of Christ: this is highly prized, Rom. viii. as you may read in that great and sweet chapter, for the children of God are led by it. This reveals the things of God, that appertain to man's salvation and happiness, as 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11, 12. It is the earnest God gives his people, 2 Cor. v. 5. It is the great end and benefit and blessing of the coming of Christ, viz. The shining forth of this light, and pouring forth of this spirit. Yea, Christ is not received by them that resist his light and Spirit in their hearts; nor can they have the benefit of his birth, life, death, resurrection, intercession, &c. who rebel against the light. "God sent his Son to bless us, in turning us from the evil of our ways:" therefore have a care of evil, for that turns you away from God; and wherein you have done evil, do so no more: but be ye turned, my dear children, from that evil, in thought as well as in word or deed, or that will turn you from God, your Creator, and Christ, whom he has given you for your Redeemer; who redeems and saves his people from their sins, Tit. ii. 14. not in their sins: read Acts ii. and Heb. viii. and the Christian dispensation will appear to be that of the Spirit, which sin quenches, hardens the heart against, and bolts the door upon. This holy divine principle is called grace too, 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12. there you will see the nature and office of it, and its blessed effects upon those that were taught of it in the primitive days. And why grace? Because it is God's love, and not our desert, his good-will, his kindness. "He so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life," John iii. 16. And it is this holy Son, that in John i. 14. 16. is declared to be "full of grace and truth," and that "of his grace we receive grace for grace;" that is, we receive of him, the fulness, what measure of grace we need. And the Lord told

Paul in his great trials, when ready to stagger about the sufficiency of the grace he had received to deliver him: "My grace is sufficient for thee." 2 Cor. xii. 9. O children, love the grace, hearken to this grace; it will teach you, it will sanctify you, it will lead you to the rest and kingdom of God; as it taught the saints of old, first, what to deny, viz. "To deny ungodliness and wordly lusts; and then what to do, viz. 'To live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world,' Tit. ii. 11, 12. And he that is full of grace, is full of light; and he that is full of light is the quickening Spirit, that gives a manifestation of his Spirit to every one to profit with, 1 Cor. xii. 7. And he that is the quickening Spirit, is the truth. "I am the way, the truth, and the life," said he to his poor followers, John xiv. 6. "And if the truth make you free," said he to the Jews, "then are you free indeed," John viii. 32. 36. And this truth sheds abroad itself in man, and begets truth in the inward parts, and makes false, rebellious, hypocritical man, a true man to God again. Truth in the inward parts is of great price with the Lord. And why called Truth? Because it tells man the truth of his spiritual state; it shows him his state, deals plainly with him, and sets his sins in order before him. So that, my dear children, the light, spirit, grace, and truth are not divers principles, but divers words, or denominations, given to one eternal Power and heavenly principle in you, though not of you, but of God, according to the manifestation or operation thereof in the servants of God of old time: light, to discover and give discerning: spirit, to quicken and enliven: grace, to wit, the love of God: truth, because it tells man the truth of his condition, and redeems him from the error of his ways: so that as darkness, death, sin, and error, are the same; light, spirit, grace, and truth, are the same.

§. 4. This is that which is come by Christ, and a measure of this light, spirit, grace, and truth, is given to every man and woman to see their way to go by. This is that which distinguishes friends from all other societies, as they are found walking in the same, which leads out of vain honours, compliments, lusts, and pleasures of the world.

O, my dear children, this is the pearl of price; part with all for it, but never part with it for all the world. This is the gospel leaven, to leaven you, that is, sanctify and season you in body, soul, and spirit, to God your heavenly Father's use and service, and your own lasting comfort. Yea, this is the divine and incorruptible seed of the kingdom; of which all truly regenerate men and women, Christians of Christ's making, are born. Receive it into your hearts, give it room there, let it take deep root in you, and you will be fruitful

unto God in every good word and work. As you take heed to it, and the holy enlightenings and motions of it, you will have a perfect discerning of the spirit of this world, in all its appearances, in yourselves and others; the motions, temptations, and workings of it, as to pride, vanity, covetousness, revenge, uncleanness, hypocrisy, and every evil way; you will see the world in all its shapes and features, and you will be able to judge the world by it, and the spirit of the world, in all its appearances: you will see, as I have done, that there is much to deny, much to suffer, and much to do: and you will see that there is no power or virtue, but in the light, spirit, grace, and truth of Christ, to carry you through the world to God's glory and your everlasting peace. Yea, you will see what religion is from above, and what is from below; what is of God's working, and of man's making and forcing; also what ministry is of his Spirit and giving, and what of man's studying, framing, and imposing. You will, I say, discern the rise, nature, tokens and fruits of the true from the false ministry, and what worship is spiritual, and what carnal; and what honour is of God, and what that honour is which is from below, of men, yea, fallen men, that the Jews and the world so generally love, and which is spoken against in John v. 44. You will see the vain and evil communication, that "corrupts good manners;" the snares of much company and business, and especially the danger of the friendship of this present evil world. And you will also see, that the testimony the eternal God hath brought our poor friends unto, as to religion, worship, truth-speaking, ministry, plainness, simplicity, and moderation, in apparel, furniture, food, salutation, as you may read in their writings, from the very beginning, is a true and heavenly testimony of his mind, will, work, and dispensation in this last age of the world to mankind, being the revival of true primitive Christianity: where your most tender father prays that you may be kept, and charges you to watch, that you may be preserved in the faith and practice of that blessed testimony; and count it no small mercy from God, nor honour to you, that you come of parents that counted nothing too dear or near to part with, nor too great to do or suffer, that they might approve themselves to God, and testify their love to his most precious truth in the inward parts, in their generation. And I do also charge you, my dear children, to retain in your remembrance those worthy ancients in the work of Christ, which remained alive to your day and memory, and yet remain to your knowledge; more especially that man of God, and prince in Israel, the first-born and begotten of our day and age of truth, and the

first and the great early instrument of God amongst us, George Fox: and what you have heard, seen and observed, of those heavenly worthies, their holy wisdom, zeal, love, labours, and sufferings, and particular tenderness to you, treasure up for your children after you, and tell them what you have heard, seen, and known, of the servants and work of God, and progress thereof, as an holy, exemplary, and edifying tradition unto them. And be sure that you forsake not the assembling yourselves with God's people, as the manner of some was, Heb. x. 25. and is at this day, especially among young people, the children of some friends, whom the love of this present evil world hath hurt and cooled in their love to God and his truth. But do you keep close to meetings, both for worship and business of the church, when of an age and capacity proper for it; and that not out of novelty, formality, or to be seen of men, but in pure fear, love, and conscience to God, your Creator, as the public, just, and avowed testimony of your duty and homage to him. In which be exemplary, both by timely coming, and a reverent and serious deportment during the assembly; in which be not weary, or think the time long till it be over, as some did of the sabbaths of old time; but let your eye be to him you come to wait upon and serve, and do what you do as to him, and he will be your refreshment and reward; for you shall return with the seals and pledges of his love, mercy, and blessings.

§. 5. Above all things, my dear children, as to your communion and fellowship with friends, be careful to keep the unity of the faith in the bond of peace. Have a care of reflectors, detractors, backbiters, that undervalue and undermine brethren behind their backs, or slight the good and wholesome order of truth, for the preserving things quiet, sweet, and honourable in the church. Have a care of novelties, and airy changeable people, the conceited, censorious, and puffed up, who at last have always shown themselves to be clouds without rain, and wells without water, that will rather disturb and break the peace and fellowship of the church, where they dwell, than not have their wills and ways take place, I charge you, in the fear of the living God, that you carefully beware of all such: mark them, as the apostle says, Rom. xvi. 17. and have no fellowship with them; but to advise, exhort, intreat, and finally reprove them, Eph. v. 11. For God is, and will be, with his people in this holy dispensation we are now under, and which is now amongst us, unto the end of days: its shall grow and increase in gifts, graces, power, and lustre, for it is the last and unchangeable one: and blessed are your eyes, if they see it,

and your ears if they hear it, and your hearts if they understand it; which I pray that you may, to God's glory, and your eternal comfort.

§. 6. Having thus expressed myself to you, my dear children, as to the things of God, his truth and kingdom, I refer you to his light, grace, spirit, and truth within you, and the holy scriptures of truth without you, which from my youth I loved to read, and were ever blessed to me; and which I charge you to read daily; the Old Testament, for history chiefly; the Psalms, for meditation and devotion; the Prophets, for comfort and hope, but especially the New Testament, for doctrine, faith, and worship: for they were given forth by holy men of God in divers ages, as they were moved of the holy Spirit; and are the declared and revealed mind and will of the holy God to mankind under divers dispensations, and they are certainly able to make the man of God perfect, through faith, unto salvation; being such a true and clear testimony to the salvation that is of God, through Christ, the second Adam, the light of the world, the quickening Spirit, who is full of grace and truth; whose light, grace, spirit, and truth, bear witness to them, in every sensible soul; as they frequently, plainly and solemnly, bear testimony to the light, spirit, grace and truth, both in himself, and in and to his people, to their sanctification, justification, redemption, and consolation; and in all men, to their visitation, reproof, and conviction in their evil ways. I say, having thus expressed myself in general, I refer you, my dear children, to the light and spirit of Jesus, that is within you, and to the scriptures of truth without you, and such other testimonies to the one same eternal truth as have been borne in our day; and shall now descend to particulars, that you may more directly apply what I have said in general, both as to your religious and civil direction in your pilgrimage upon earth.

CHAP. II.

§. 1. I WILL begin here, also, with the beginning of time, the morning: so soon as you wake, retire your mind into a pure silence from all thoughts and ideas of worldly things, and in that frame wait upon God, to feel his good presence to lift up your hearts to him, and commit your whole self into his blessed care and protection. Then rise, if well, immediately: being dressed, read a chapter, or more, in the scriptures, and afterwards dispose yourselves for the business of the day; ever remembering that God is present, the overseer of all your thoughts, words, and actions; and

demean yourselves, my dear children, accordingly; and do not you dare to do that in his holy all-seing presence, which you would be ashamed a man, yea, a child, should see you do. And as you have intervals from your lawful occasions, delight to step home, within yourselves, I mean, and commune with your own hearts, and be still; and, as Nebuchadnezzar said on another occasion, "One like the Son of God," you shall find and enjoy, 'with you and in you: a treasure the world knows not of, but is the aim, end, and diadem of the children of God.' This will bear you up against all temptations, and carry you sweetly and evenly through your day's business, supporting you under disappointments, and moderating your satisfaction in success and prosperity. The evening come, read again the holy scripture, and have your times of retirement, before you close your eyes, as in the morning; that so the Lord may be the alpha and omega of every day of your lives. And if God bless you with families, remember good Joshua's resolution, Josh. xxiv. 15. "But as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord."

§. 2. Fear God; show it in desire, refraining, and doing: keep the inward watch, keep a clear soul and a light heart. Mind an inward sense upon doing any thing: when you read the scripture, remark the notablest places, as your spirits are most touched and affected, in a common-place book, with that sense, or opening, which you receive; for they come not by study, or in the will of man, no more than the scripture did; and they may be lost by carelessness, and overgrowing thoughts and businesses of this life: so in pursuing any other good or profitable book: yet rather meditate, than read much. For the Spirit of a man knows the things of a man; and with that spirit, by observation of the tempers and actions of men you see in the world, and looking into your own spirit, and meditating thereupon, you will have a deep and strong judgment of men and things. For from what may be, what should be, and what is most probable or likely to be, you can hardly miss in your judgment of human affairs; and you have a better Spirit than your own, in reserve for a time of need, to pass the final judgment in important matters.

§. 3. In conversation, mark well what others say or do, and hide your own mind, at least till last; and then open it as sparingly as the matter will let you. A just observance and reflection upon men and things, gives wisdom; those are the great books of learning, seldom read. The laborious bee draws honey from every flower. Be always on your watch, but chiefly in company; then be sure to have

your wits about you, and your armour on: speak last and little, but to the point. Interrupt none, anticipate none: read Prov. x. 8, 13. "Be quick to hear, slow to speak," Prov. xvii. 27. It gives time to understand, and ripens an answer. Affect not words, but matter; and chiefly to be pertinent and plain: truest eloquence is plainest; and brief speaking (I mean, brevity and clearness, to make yourselves easily understood by every body, and in as few words as the matter will admit of) is the best.

§. 4. Prefer the aged, the virtuous, and the knowing; and choose those that excel for your company and friendship; but despise not others.

§. 5. Return no answer to anger, unless with much meekness, which often turns it away: but rarely make replies, less rejoinders; for that adds fuel to the fire. It is a wrong time to vindicate yourselves, the true ear being then never open to hear it. Men are not themselves, and know not well what spirits they are of: silence to passion, prejudice and mockery, is the best answer, and often conquers what resistance inflames.

§. 6. Learn, and teach your children, fair writing, and the most useful parts of mathematics; and some business when young, whatever else they are taught.

§. 7. Cast up your income, and live on half; if you can, one third; reserving the rest for casualties, charities, portions.

§. 8. Be plain in clothes, furniture and food, but clean; and then the coarser the better; the rest is folly, and a snare. Therefore, next to sin, avoid daintiness and choiceness about your person and houses. For if it be not an evil in itself, it is a temptation to it; and may be accounted a nest for sin to brood in.

§. 9. Avoid differences: what are not avoidable, refer; and keep awards strictly, and without grudgings. Read Prov. xviii. 17, 18. xxv. 8. Matt. v. 38 to 41. I Cor. i. 10 to 13. It is good counsel.

§. 10. Be sure draw your affairs into as narrow a compass as you can, and in method and proportion, time, and other requisites proper for them.

§. 11. Have very few acquaintance, and fewer intimates, but of the best of their kind.

§. 12. Keep your own secrets, and do not covet others': but if trusted, never reveal them, unless mischievous to somebody; nor then, before warning to the party to desist and repent. Prov. xi. 13. c. ii. 23. c. xxv. 9, 10.

§. 13. Trust no man with the main chance, and avoid to be trusted.

§. 14. Make few resolutions, but keep them strictly.

§. 15. Prefer elders and strangers on all occasions: be rather last, than first, in conveniency and respect; but first, in all virtues.

§. 16. Have a care of trusting to after-games, for then there is but one throw for all; and precipices are ill places to build upon. Wisdom gains time, is before-hand, and teaches to choose seasonably and pertinently; therefore ever strike while the iron is hot. But if you lose an opportunity, it differs, in this, from a relapse; less caution, and more resolution and industry, must recover it.

§. 17. Above all, remember your Creator; remember yourselves and your families, when you have them, in the youthful time and fore-part of your life; for good methods and habits obtained then, will make you easy and happy the rest of your days. Every estate has its snare: youth and middle age, pleasure and ambition; old-age, avarice. Remember, I tell you, that man is a slave where either prevails. Beware of the pernicious lusts of the eye, and the flesh, and the pride of life, 1 John ii. 15, 16, 17. which are not of the Father, but of the world. Get higher and nobler objects for your immortal part, O my dear children, and be not tied to things without you; for then you can never have the true and free enjoyment of yourselves to better things; no more than a slave in Algiers has of his house or family in London. Be free, live at home, in yourselves I mean, where lie greater treasures hid than in the Indies. The pomp, honour, and luxury of the world, are the cheats, and the unthinking and inconsiderate are taken by them. But the retired man is upon higher ground, he sees and is aware of the trick, contemns the folly, and bemoans the deluded. This very consideration, doubtless, produced those two passions in the two greatest Gentiles of their time, Democritus and Heraclitus, the one laughing, the other weeping, for the madness of the world, to see so excellent and reasonable a creature as man, so meanly trifling and slavishly employed.

§. 18. Choose God's trades before mens'. Adam was a gardener, Cain a ploughman, and Abel a grazier or shepherd: these began with the world, and have least of snare, and most of use. When Cain became murderer, as a witty man said,* he turned a builder of cities, and quitted his husbandry. Mechanics, as handicrafts, are also commendable; but they are but a second brood, and younger brothers. If grace employ you not, let nature and useful arts; but avoid curiosity there also, for it devours much time to no

* Cowley, in his Works on Agriculture.

profit. I have seen a cieling of a room, that cost half as much as the house! a folly and sin, too.

§. 19. Have but few books, but let them be well chosen, and well read, whether of religious or civil subjects. Shun fantastic opinions: measure both religion and learning by practice; reduce all to that, for that brings a real benefit to you, the rest is a thief and a snare. And, indeed, reading many books is but a taking off the mind too much from meditation. Reading yourselves and nature, in the dealings and conduct of men, is the truest human wisdom. The spirit of a man knows the things of a man; and more true knowledge comes by meditation and just reflection, than by reading; for much reading is an oppression of the mind, and extinguishes the natural candle; which is the reason of so many senseless scholars in the world.

§. 20. Do not that which you blame in another. Do not that to another, which you would not another should do to you. But above all, do not that in God's sight, you would not man should see you do.

§. 21. And that you may order all things profitably, divide your day; such a share of time for your retirement and worship of God; such a proportion for your business; in which remember to ply that first which is first to be done; so much time for yourselves, be it for study, walking, visits, &c. In this be firm, and let your friends know it, and you will cut off many impertinencies and interruptions, and save a treasure of time to yourselves, which people most unaccountably lavish away. And to be more exact, (for much lies in this) keep a journal of your time, though a day require but a line; many advantages flow from it.

§. 22. Keep close to the meetings of God's people, wait diligently at them, to feel the heavenly life in your hearts. Look for that, more than words in ministry, and you will profit most. Above all, look to the Lord; but despise not instruments, man or woman, young or old, rich or poor, learned or unlearned.

§. 23. Avoid discontented persons, unless to inform or reprove them. Abhor detraction, the sin of fallen angels, and the worst of fallen men.

§. 24. Excuse faults in others, own them in yourselves, and forgive them against yourselves, as you would have your heavenly Father and Judge forgive you. Read Prov. xvii. 9. and Matt. vi. 14, 15. Christ returns and dwells upon that passage of his prayer above all the rest, forgiveness, the hardest lesson to man, that of all other creatures most needs it.

§. 25. Be natural; love one another; and remember, that

to be void of natural affection, is a mark of apostacy set by the apostle, 2 Tim. iii. 3. Let not time, I charge you, wear out nature; it may kindred, according to custom, but it is an ill one, therefore follow it not. It is a great fault in families at this day: have a care of it, and shun that unnatural carelessness. Live as near as you can, visit often, correspond oftener, and communicate with kind hearts to one another, in proportion to what the Lord gives you; and do not be close, nor hoard up from one another, as if you had no right or claim in one another, and did not descend of one most tender father and mother.

§. 26. What I write is to yours, as well as you, if God gives you children. And in case a prodigal should ever appear among them, make not his folly an excuse to be strange or close, and so to expose such an one to more evil: but show bowels, as * John did to the young man that fell into ill company, whom with love he reclaimed, after his example that sends his sun and rain upon all.

§. 27. Love silence, even in the mind; for thoughts are to that, as words to the body, troublesome: much speaking, as much thinking, spends; and in many thoughts, as well as words, there is sin. True silence is the rest of the mind; and is to the spirit, what sleep is to the body, nourishment and refreshment. It is a great virtue; it covers folly, keeps secrets, avoids disputes, and prevents sin. See Job xiii. 5. Prov. x. 19. chap. xii. 13. chap. xiii. 3. chap. xviii. 6, 7. chap. xvii. 28.

§. 28. The wisdom of nations lies in their proverbs, which are brief and pithy: collect and learn them, they are notable measures and directions for human life: you have much in little; they save time and speaking; and, upon occasion, may be the fullest and safest answers.

§. 29. Never meddle with other folks' business, and less with the public, unless called to the one by the parties concerned (in which move cautiously and uprightly) and required to the other by the Lord, in a testimony for his name and truth; remembering that old, but most true and excellent proverb, *Bene qui latuit, bene vixit*, 'He lives happily, that lives hiddenly or privately,' for he lives quietly. It is a treasure to them that have it: study it, get it, keep it; too many miss it that might have it: the world knows not the value of it. It doubles man's life, by giving him twice the time to himself, that a large acquaintance, or much business, will allow him.

§. 30. Have a care of resentment, or taking things amiss; a natural, ready, and most dangerous passion. but be apter

* Euseb. Ecc. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. xxiii.

to remit than resent; it is more Christian and wise. For as softness often conquers, where rough opposition fortifies; so resentment, seldom knowing any bounds, makes many times greater fault than it finds: for some people have out-resented their wrong so far, that they made themselves faultier by it; by which they cancel the debt, through a boundless passion, overthrow their interest and advantage, and become debtor to the offender.

§. 31. Rejoice not at the calamity of any, though they be your enemies, Prov. xvii. 5. chap. xxiv. 17.

§. 32. Envy none; it is God that maketh rich and poor, great and small, high and low, Psalm xxxvii. 1. Prov. iii. 31. chap. xxiii. 17. chap. xxiv. 1. 1 Chron. xxii. 11, 12. Psalm cvii. 40, 41.

§. 33. Be intreatable. Never aggravate. Never revile or give ill names: it is unmannerly, as well as unchristian. Remember Mat. v. 22. who it was said, "He that calls his brother fool, is in danger of hell-fire."

§. 34. Be not morose, or conceited: one is rude, the other troublesome and nauseous.

§. 35. Avoid questions and strife; it shows a busy and contentious disposition.

§. 36. Add no credit to a report upon conjecture, nor report to the hurt of any. See Exod. xxiii. 1. Psalm xv. 3.

§. 37. Beware of jealousy, except it be godly; for it devours love and friendship; it breaks fellowship, and destroys the peace of the mind. It is a groundless and evil surmise.

§. 38. Be not too credulous. Read Prov. xiv. 15. Caution is a medium; I recommend it.

§. 39. Speak not of religion, neither use the name of God, in a familiar manner.

§. 40. Meddle not with government; never speak of it; let others say or do as they please. But read such books of law as relate to the office of a justice, a coroner, sheriff, and constable; also, 'The Doctor and Student;' some book of clerkship, and a treatise of wills, to enable you about your own private business only, or a poor neighbour's. For it is a charge I leave with you and yours, 'Meddle not with the public, neither business nor money; but understand how to avoid it, and defend yourselves, upon occasion, against it.' For much knowledge brings sorrow, and much doings more. Therefore know God, know yourselves; love home, know your own business, and mind it, and you will have more time and peace than your neighbours.

§. 41. If you incline to marry, then marry your inclina-

tion rather than your interest: I mean, what you love, rather than what is rich. But love for virtue, temper, education, and person, before wealth, or quality, and be sure you are beloved again. In all which be not hasty, but serious; lay it before the Lord, proceed in his fear, and be you well advised. And when married, according to the way of God's people, used amongst friends, out of whom only choose, strictly keep covenant: avoid occasion of mis-understanding, allow for weaknesses, and variety of constitution and disposition, and take care of showing the least disgust or misunderstanding to others, especially your children. Never lie down with any displeasure in your minds, but avoid occasion of dispute and offence; overlook and cover failings. Seek the Lord for one another; wait upon him together, morning and evening, in his holy fear, which will renew and confirm your love and covenant: give way to nothing that would in the least violate it: use all means of true endearment, that you may recommend and please one another; remembering your relation and union is the figure of Christ's to his church: therefore let the authority of love only bear sway your whole life.

§. 42. If God give you children, love them with wisdom, correct them with affection: never strike in passion, and suit the correction to their age as well as fault. Convince them of their error, before you chastise them; and try them, if they show remorse, before severity; never use that, but in case of obstinacy or impenitency. Punish them more by their understandings than the rod, and show them the folly, shame, and undutifulness of their faults rather with a grieved than an angry countenance, and you will sooner affect their natures, and with a nobler sense, than a servile and rude chastisement can produce. I know the methods of some are severe corrections for faults, and artificial praises when they do well, and sometimes rewards: but this course awakens passion worse than their faults; for one begets base fear, if not hatred; the other pride and vain glory; both which should be avoided in a religious education of youth; for they equally vary from it, and deprave nature. There should be the greatest care imaginable, what impressions are given to children: that method which earliest awakens their understandings to love, duty, sobriety, just and honourable things, is to be preferred. Education is the stamp parents give their children; they pass for that they breed them, or less value, perhaps, all their days. The world is in nothing more wanting and reproveable, both in precept and example; they do with their children as with their souls, put them out at livery for so much a year. They

will trust their estates or shops with none but themselves; but for their souls and posterity, they have less solicitude. But do you breed your children yourselves, I mean as to their morals, and be their bishops and teachers in the principles of conversation: as they are instructed, so they are likely to be qualified, and your posterity by their precepts and examples, which they receive from you. And were mankind herein more cautious, they would better discharge their duty to God and posterity; and their children would owe them more for their education than for their inheritances. Be not unequal in your love to your children, at least in the appearances of it: it is both unjust and indiscreet: it lessens love to parents, and provokes envy amongst children. Let them wear the same clothes, eat of the same dish, have the same allowance as to time and expense. Breed them to some employment, and give all equal but the eldest; and to the eldest a double portion is very well. Teach them also frugality, and they will not want substance for their posterity. A little beginning, with industry and thrift, will make an estate; but there is great difference between saving and sordid. Be not scanty, any more than superfluous; but rather make bold with yourselves, than be strait to others; therefore let your charity temper your frugality and theirs.

What I have writ to you, I have writ to your children, and theirs.

§. 43. Servants you will have, but remember, the fewer the better, and those rather aged than young: you must make them such, or dispose of them often. Change is not good; therefore choose well, and the rather because of your children; for children, thinking they can take more liberty with servants than with their parents, often choose the servants' company, and if they are idle, wanton, ill examples, children are in great danger of being perverted. Let them, therefore, be friends, and such as are well recommended: let them know their business, as well as their wages; and as they do the one, pay them honestly the other. Though servants, yet remember they are brethren in Christ, and that you also are but stewards, and must account to God. Wherefore, let your moderation appear unto them, and that will provoke them to diligence for love, rather than fear, which is the truest and best motive to service. In short, as you find them, so keep, use, and reward them, or dismiss them.

§. 44. Distrust is of the nature of jealousy, and must be warily entertained upon good grounds, or it is injurious to others, and instead of safe, troublesome to you. If you trust

little, you will have but little cause to distrust. Yet I have been often whispered in myself of persons and things at first sight and motion, that hardly ever failed to be true; though by neglecting the sense, or suffering myself to be argued or importuned from it, I have more than once failed of my expectation. Have therefore a most tender and nice regard to those first sudden and unpremeditated sensations.

§. 45. For your conduct in your business, and in the whole course of your life, though what I have said to you, and recommended you to, might be sufficient; yet I will be more particular as to those good and gracious qualifications I pray God Almighty to season and accomplish you with, to his glory, and your temporal and eternal felicity.

CHAP. III.

§. 1. Be humble. It becomes a creature, a depending and borrowed being, that lives not of itself, but breathes in another's air, with another's breath, and is accountable for every moment of time, and can call nothing its own, but is absolutely a tenant at will of the great Lord of heaven and earth. And of this excellent quality you cannot be wanting, if you dwell in the holy fear of the omnipresent and all-seeing God; for that will show you your vileness, and his excellency; your meanness, and his majesty; and, withal, the sense of his love to such poor worms, in the testimonies he gives of his daily care, mercy, and goodness; that you cannot but be abased, laid low, and humble. I say, the fear and love of God begets humility, and humility fits you for God and men. You cannot step well amiss, if this virtue dwell but richly in you; for then God will teach you. "The humble he teacheth his ways," and they are all pleasant and peaceable to his children: yea, "he giveth grace to the humble, but resisteth the proud," Jam. iv. 6. I Pet. v. 5. "He regardeth the proud afar off," Psalm cxxxviii. 6. "They shall not come near him, nor will he hear them in the day of their distress." Read Prov. xi. 2. chap. xv. 33. chap. xvi. 18, 19. Humility seeks not the last word, nor first place; she offends none, but prefers others, and thinks lowly of herself; is not rough or self-conceited, high, loud, or domineering: blessed are they that enjoy her. "Learn of me," said Christ, "for I am meek, and lowly in heart." He washed his disciples' feet, John xiii. Indeed himself was the greatest pattern of it. "Humility goes before honour," Prov. xviii. 12. There is nothing shines more clearly through Christianity than humility; of this the holy author of it is the greatest instance. He was humble in his

incarnation; for he that thought it no robbery to be equal with God, humbled himself to become a man; and many ways made himself of no reputation. As first, in his birth, or descent, it was not of the princes of Judah, but a virgin of low degree, the espoused of a carpenter; and so she acknowledges, in her heavenly anthem, or ejaculation, Luke i. 47, 48, 52. speaking of the great honour God had done her: "And my Spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour, for he hath regarded the low estate of his hand-maiden; he has put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree." Secondly, He was humble in his life: he kept no court, but in deserts and mountains, and in solitary places; neither was he served in state, his attendants being of the mechanic size. By the miracles he wrought, we may understand the food he eat, viz. barley-bread and fish; and it is not to be thought there was any curiosity in dressing them. And we have reason to believe his apparel was as moderate as his table. Thirdly, He was humble in his sufferings and death: he took all affronts patiently, and in our nature triumphed over revenge: he was despised, spit upon, buffeted, whipped, and finally crucified between two thieves, as the greatest malefactor; yet he never reviled them, but answered all in silence and submission, pitying, loving, and dying for those, by whom he was ignominiously put to death. O mirror of humility! Let your eyes be continually upon it, that you may see yourselves by it. Indeed his whole life was one continued great act of self-denial: and because he needed it not for himself, he must needs do it for us; "thereby leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps," 1 Pet. ii. 21. And as he was, we should be in this world, according to the beloved disciple, 1 John ii. 6. So what he did for us, was not to excuse, but excite, our humility. For as he is like God, we must be like him; and that the froward, the contentious, the revengeful, the striker, the dueller, &c. cannot be said to be of that number, is very evident. And the more to illustrate this virtue, I would have you consider the folly and danger of pride, its opposite: for this it was that threw the angels out of heaven, man out of paradise, destroyed cities and nations, was one of the sins of Sodom, Ezek. xvi. 49. the destruction of Assyria and Israel, Isa. iii. 16. and the reason given by God for his great vengeance upon Moab and Ammon, Zeph. ii. 9, 10. Besides, pride is the vainest passion that can rule in man, because he has nothing of his own to be proud of: and to be proud of another's, shows want of wit and honesty too. He did not only not make himself, but is born the nakedest and most helpless of almost all creatures. Nor can

he add to his days or stature, or so much as make one hair of his head white or black. He is so absolutely in the power of another, that, as I have often said, he is at best but a tenant at will of the great Lord of all, holding life, health, substance, and every thing at his sovereign disposal; and the more man enjoys, the less reason he has to be proud, because he is the more indebted, and engaged to thankfulness and humility.

Wherefore avoid pride, as you would avoid the devil; remember you must die, and consequently those things must die with you, that could be any temptation to pride; and that there is a judgment follows, at which you must give an account, both for what you have enjoyed and done.

§. 2. From humility springs meekness. Of all the rare qualities of wisdom, learning, valour, &c. with which Moses was endued, he was denominated by his meekness: this gave the rest a lustre they must otherwise have wanted. The difference is not great between these excellent graces; yet the scripture observes some. "God will teach the humble his way, and guide the meek in judgment." It seems to be humility perfectly digested, and from a virtue become a nature. A meek man is one that is not easily provoked, yet easily grieved; not peevish or testy, but soft, gentle, and inoffensive. O blessed will you be, my dear children, if this grace adorn you! There are divers great and precious promises to the meek in scripture. "That God will clothe the meek with salvation;" and "blessed are they, for they shall inherit the earth," Psal. xxxvii. 11. Matt. v. 5. Christ presses it in his own example, "Learn of me, for I am meek," &c. Matt. xi. 29. And requires his to become as little children, in order to salvation, Matt. xviii. 3. And a meek and quiet spirit is of great price with the Lord, 1 Pet. iii. 4. It is a fruit of the Spirit, Gal. v. 22, 23. exhorted to, Eph. iv. 2. Col. iii. 12. Tit. iii. 2. and many places more to the same effect.

§. 3. Patience, is an effect of a meek spirit, and flows from it: it is a bearing and suffering disposition; not choleric, or soon moved to wrath, or vindictive; but ready to hear, and endure too, rather than be swift and hasty in judgment or action. Job is as much famed for this, as was Moses for the other virtue; without it there is no running the Christian race, or obtaining the heavenly crown; without it there can be no experience of the work of God, Rom. v. 3, 4, 5. "For patience worketh," saith the apostle, "experience;" nor hope of an eternal recompence, for experience worketh that hope. Therefore, says James, "Let patience have its perfect work," James i. 4. It has made

the saints' excellency; "Here is the patience of the saints," Rev. xiii. 10. It is joined with the kingdom of Christ, Rev. i. 9. Read Luke xxi. 19. "In patience possess your souls." Rom. xii. 12. chap. xv. 4. 2 Cor. vi. 4. 1 Thes. v. 14. "Be patient towards all men,' Tit. ii. 2. Heb. vi. 12. chap. x. 36. which shows the excellency and necessity of patience, as that does the true dignity of a man. It is wise, and will give you great advantage over those you converse with, on all accounts. For passion blinds men's eyes, and betrays men's weakness; patience sees the advantage, and improves it. Patience enquires, deliberates, and brings to a mature judgment: through your civil, as well as Christian course, you cannot act wisely and safely without it; therefore I recommend this blessed virtue to you.

§. 4. Show mercy, whenever it is in your power; that is, forgive, pity, and help, for so it signifies. Mercy is one of the attributes of God, Gen. xix. 19. Exod xx. 6. Psalm lxxxvi. 15. Jer. iii. 12. It is exalted in scriptureabove all his works, and is a noble part of his image in man. God hath recommended it, Hos. xii. 6. "Keep mercy and judgment, and wait on the Lord." God hath shown it to man, and made it his duty, Mich. vi. 8. "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly," or to humble thyself to walk, "with thy God:" a short but ample expression of God's love, and man's duty; happy are you if you mind it; in which you see mercy is one of the noblest virtues. Christ has a blessing for them that have it, "Blessed are the merciful, (Matt. v.) for they shall find mercy;" a strong motive indeed. In Luke vi. 35, 36. he commands it. "Be you merciful, as your Father is merciful." He bids the Jews, that were so over-righteous, but so very unmerciful, learn what this meaneth; "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice," Mat. ix. 13. He hit them in the eye. And in his parable of the lord and his servants, he shows what will be the end of the unmerciful steward, Mat. xviii. 34, 35. that having been forgiven much by his master, would not forgive a little to his fellow-servant. Mercy is a great part of God's law, Exod. xxiii. 4, 5. It is a material part of God's true fast, Isa. lviii. 6, 7. It is a main part of God's covenant, Jer. xxxi. 34. Heb. viii. 12. And the reason and rule of the last judgment, Mat. xxv. 31. to the end: pray read it. It is a part of the undefiled religion, James i. 27. chap. iii. 17. Read Prov. xiv. 21, 22. But the merciful man's mercy reaches farther, even to his beast; then surely to man, his fellow-creature, he shall not want it. Wherefore, I charge you, oppress nobody, man

nor beast. Take no advantage upon the unhappy; pity the afflicted; make their case your own, and that of their wives and poor innocent children the condition of yours, and you cannot want sympathy, bowels, forgiveness, nor a disposition to help and succour them to your ability. Remember it is the way for you to be forgiven, and helped in time of trial. Read the Lord's prayer, Luke xi. Remember the nature and goodness of Joseph to his brethren; follow the example of the good Samaritan, and let Edom's unkindness to Jacob's stock, Obad. 10 to 16. and the Heathen's to Israel, Zech. i. 21. chap. ii. 8, 9. be a warning to you. Read also Prov. xxv. 21, 22. Rom. xii. 19, 20.

§. 5. Charity is a near neighbour to mercy. It is generally taken to consist in this, 'Not to be censorious, and to relieve the poor.' For the first, remember you must be judged, Matt. vii. 1. And for the last, remember you are but stewards. "Judge not, therefore, lest you be judged." Be clear yourselves, before you fling the stone. Get the beam out of your own eye; it is humbling doctrine, but safe. Judge, therefore, at your own peril: see it be righteous judgment, as you will answer it to the great Judge. This part of charity also excludes whispering, backbiting, tale-bearing, evil surmising, most pernicious follies and evils, of which beware. Read 1 Cor. xiii. For the other part of charity, relieving the poor, it is a debt you owe to God: you have all you have or may enjoy, with the rent-charge upon it. The saying is, 'He who giveth to the poor, lends to the Lord:' but it may be said, not improperly, 'The Lord lends to us to give to the poor:' they are, at least, partners by providence with you, and have a right you must not defraud them of. You have this privilege, indeed, when, what, and to whom; and yet, if you heed your guide, and observe the object, you will have a rule for that too.

I recommend little children, widows, infirm and aged persons, chiefly to you: spare something out of your own belly, rather than let theirs go pinched. Avoid that great sin of needless expense on your persons and on your houses, while the poor are hungry and naked. My bowels have often been moved, to see very aged and infirm people, but especially poor helpless children, lie all night, in bitter weather, at the threshold of doors, in the open streets, for want of better lodging. I have made this reflection, 'If you were so exposed, how hard would it be to endure!' The difference between our condition and theirs has drawn from me humble thanks to God, and great compassion, and some supply, to those poor creatures. Once more, be good to the poor: what do I say? Be just to them, and you will be good to

yourselves: think it your duty, and do it religiously. Let the moving passage, Mat xxv. 35. to the end, live in your minds: "I was an hungry, and thirsty, and naked, sick, and in prison, and you administered unto me," and the blessing that followed: also what he said to another sort, "I was an hungry, and thirsty, and naked, and sick, and in prison, and you administered not unto me!" For a dreadful sentence follows to the hard-hearted world. "Woe be to them that take the poor's pledge," Ezek. xviii. 12, 13, or eat up the poor's right. O devour not their part! less lay it out in vanity, or lays it up in bags, for it will curse the rest. Hear what the Psalmist says, Psal. xli. "Blessed is he that considereth the poor, the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble: the Lord will preserve and keep him alive, and he shall be blessed upon the earth: and thou wilt not deliver him into the will of his enemies. The Lord will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing: thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness." This is the reward of being faithful stewards and treasurers for the poor of the earth. Have a care of excuses; they are, I know, ready at hand: but read Prov. iii. 27, 28. "Withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thine hand to do it. Say not unto thy neighbour, Go, and come again, and to-morrow I will give, when thou hast it by thee." Also bear in mind Christ's doctrine, Mat. v. 42. "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away." But above all, remember the poor woman, that gave her mite; which Christ preferred above all, because she gave all, but it was to God's treasury, Mark xii. 42. 43 44.

§. 6. Liberality, or bounty, is a noble quality in man, entertained of few, yet praised of all; but the covetous dislike it, because it reproaches their sordidness. In this she differs from charity, that she has sometimes other objects, and exceeds in proportion. For she will cast her eye on those that do not absolutely want, as well as those that do; and always outdoes necessities and services. She finds out virtue in a low degree, and exalts it. She eases their burden that labour hard to live: many kind and generous spells such find at her hand, that do not quite want, whom she thinks worthy. The decayed are sure to hear of her: she takes one child, and puts out another, to lighten the loads of overcharged parents; more, to the fatherless. She shows the value of services, in her rewards; and is never debtor to kindnesses, but will be creditor on all accounts. Where another gives sixpence, the liberal man gives his shilling; and returns double the tokens he receives. But liberality

keeps temper too; she is not extravagant, any more than she is sordid; for she hates niggard's feasts, as much as niggard's fasts; and as she is free, and not starched, so she is plentiful, but not superfluous and extravagant. You will hear of her in all histories, especially in scripture, the wisest as well as best of books: her excellency and reward are there. She is commanded and commended, Deut. xv. 3, 4, 7, 8. and Psalm xxxvii. 21, 26. "The righteous showeth mercy, and giveth; and the good man is merciful, and ever lendeth. He shows favour, and lendeth, and disperseth abroad." Psalm cxii. 5, 9. "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty: the liberal soul shall be fat, Prov. xi. 24, 25. "The bountiful eye shall be blessed:" Prov. xxii. 9. The churl, and liberal man, are described, and a promise to the latter, that his liberality shall uphold him, Isa. xxxii. 78. Christ makes it a part of his religion, and the way to be the children of the highest (read Luke vi. 34, 35.) to lend and not receive again, and this to enemies, as well as friends; yea, to the unthankful, and to the evil; no exception made, no excuse admitted. The apostle Paul, 2 Cor. ix. 5, 10. enjoins it, threatens the strait-handed, and promises the open-hearted a liberal reward.

Wheresoever, therefore, my dear children, liberality is required of you, God enabling of you, sow not sparingly nor grudgingly, but with a cheerful mind, and you shall not go without your reward; though that ought not to be your motive. But avoid ostentation, for that is using virtue to vanity, which will run you to profuseness, and that to want; which begets greediness, and that avarice, the contrary extreme; as men may go westward till they come east, and travel till they, and those they left behind them, stand antipodes, up and down.

§. 7. Justice, or righteousness, is another attribute of God, Deut. xxxii. 4. Psalm ix. 7, 8. v. 8. Dan ix. 7. of large extent in the life and duty of man. Be just, therefore, in all things, to all: to God, as your Creator; render to him that which is his, your hearts; for that acknowledgment he has reserved to himself, by which only you are intitled to the comforts of this and a better life. And if he has your hearts, you have him for your treasure, and with him all things requisite to your felicity. Render also to Cæsar that which is his, lawful subjection; not for fear only, but conscience-sake. To parents, a filial love and obedience. To one another, natural affection. To all people, in doing as you would be done by. Hurt no man's name or person. Covet no man's property in any sort. Consider well of

David's tenderness to Saul, when he sought his life, to excite your duty; and Ahab's unjust covetousness, and murder of Naboth, to provoke your abhorrence of injustice. David, though anointed king, took no advantages; "he believed, and therefore did not make haste," but left it to God, to conclude Saul's reign, for he would not hasten it. A right method, and a good end, my dear children; God has shown it you, and requires it of you.

Remember the tenth commandment: it was God gave it; and that will judge you by it. It comprehends restitution, as well as acquisition, and especially the poor man's wages, Lev. xix. 13. Deut. xxiv. 14, 15. Jer. xxii. 13. Amos v. 11. Mal. iii. 5. Samuel is a great and good example of righteousness, 1 Sam. xii. 3. He challenged the whole house of Israel, whom he had oppressed or defrauded. The like did the apostle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. vii. 2. He exhorted the Christians to be careful that they did not defraud, 1 Thes. iv. 6. for this reason, "that God was the avenger of the injured." But as bad as it was, there must be no going to law amongst Christians, 1 Cor. vi. 7. To your utmost power, therefore, owe no one any thing but love, and that in prudence, as well as righteousness: for justice gives you reputation, and adds a blessing to your substance: it is the best security you can have for it.

I will close this head, with a few scriptures to each branch.

To your superiors: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake:" 1 Pet. ii. 13. "Obey those that have the rule over you," Heb. xiii. 17. "Speak not evil of dignities," Jude viii. 2 Pet. ii. 10. "My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change," Prov. xxiv. 21. To your parents: "Honour your father and your mother, that your days may be long in the land which the Lord your God shall give you," Exod. xx. 12. "Children, obey your parents, it is the first command with promise," Ephes. vi. 1, 2. Great judgments follow those that disobey this law, and defraud their parents of their due. "Whoso robbeth his father or his mother, and saith, It is no transgression, the same is the companion of a destroyer," Prov. xxviii. 24. Or such would destroy their parents, if they could. It is charged by the prophet Ezekiel upon Jerusalem, as a mark of her wicked state: "In thee have thy princes set lightly by father and mother, oppressed strangers, and vexed fatherless and widows," Ezek. xxii. 6, 7. To thy neighbour: hear what God's servants taught. "To do justice and judgment, is more acceptable to the Lord, than sacrifice," Prov. xxi. 3. "Divers weights and measures are alike abomination unto

the Lord," Levit. xix. 36 Deut xxv. 13 to 16. inclusive. Prov. xi. 1. chap. xx. 10, 23. Read Prov. xxii. 16, 22, 23. chap. xxiii. 10, 11. Peruse the vith of Micah, also Zech. viii. 16, 17. and especially the xvth Psalm, as a short, but full, measure of life, to give acceptance with God.

I have said but little to you of distributing justice, or being just in power or government; for I should desire you may never be concerned therein, unless it were upon your own principles; and then the less the better, unless God require it from you. But if it ever be your lot, know no man after the flesh; know neither rich nor poor, great nor small, nor kindred, nor stranger, but the cause, according to your understanding and conscience, and that upon deliberate enquiry and information. Read Exod. xxiii. from 1 to 10. Deut. i. 16, 17. chap. xvi. 19, 20. chap. xxiv. 17. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. Jer. xxii. 3, 4. Prov. xxiv. 23. Lam. iii. 35, 36. Hos. xii. 6. Amos viii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Zeph. ii. 3. chap. iii. 1, 3. Zech. vii. 9, 10. Jer. v. 4, 5, 6. chap. viii. 6, 7. which show both God's commands and complaints, and man's duty in authority; which, as I said before, wave industriously at all times; for privacy is freed from the clamour, danger, incumbrance, and temptation, that attend stations in government: never meddle with it, but for God's sake.

§. 8. Integrity, is a great and commendable virtue. A man of integrity is a true man, a bold man, and a steady man; he is to be trusted and relied upon. No bribes can corrupt him; no fear daunt him, his word is slow in coming, but sure. He shines brightest in the fire, and his friend hears of him most, when he most needs him. His courage grows with danger, and conquers opposition by constancy. As he cannot be flattered or frighted into that he dislikes, so he hates flattery and temporizing in others. He runs with truth, and not with the times; with right, and not with might. His rule is straight; soon seen, but seldom followed: it hath done great things. It was integrity preferred Abel's offering, translated Enoch, saved Noah, raised Abraham to be God's friend, and father of a great nation, rescued Lot out of Sodom, blessed and increased Jacob, kept and exalted Joseph, upheld and restored Job, honoured Samuel before Israel, crowned David over all difficulties, and gave Solomon peace and glory, while he kept it: it was this preserved Mordecai and his people, and so signally defended Daniel among the lions, and the children in the flames, that it drew from the greatest king upon earth, and an heathen too, a most pathetical confession to the power

and wisdom of the God that saved them, and whom they served. Thus is the scripture fulfilled, "The integrity of the upright shall guide them." Prov. xi. 3. O my dear children! fear, love, and obey this great, holy, and unchangeable God, and you shall be happily guided, and preserved through your pilgrimage to eternal glory.

§. 9. Gratitude, or thankfulness, is another virtue of great lustre, and so esteemed with God, and all good men: it is an owning of benefits received, to their honour and service that confer them. It is, indeed, a noble sort of justice, and might, in a sense, be referred as a branch to that head; with this difference though, that since benefits exceed justice, the tie is greater to be grateful, than to be just; and consequently there is something baser, and more reproachful, in ingratitude than injustice. So that though you are not obliged, by legal bonds or judgments, to restitution with due interest, your virtue, honour, and humanity, are natural pledges for your thankfulness: and by how much the less you are under external ties, esteem your inward ties so much the stronger. Those that can break them, would know no bounds: for make it a rule to you, the ungrateful would be unjust too, but for fear of the law. Always own, therefore, the benefits you receive: and then, to choose, when they may most honour or serve those that conferred them. Some have lived to need the favours they have done; and should they be put to ask, where they ought to be invited? No matter if they have nothing to show for it; they show enough, when they show themselves to those they have obliged: and such see enough to induce their gratitude, when they see their benefactors in adversity; the less law, the more grace, and the stronger tie. It is an evangelical virtue, and works as faith does, only by love: in this it exactly resembles a Christian state; we are not under the law, but under grace, and it is by grace, and not by merit, that we are saved. But are our obligations the less to God, that he heaps his favours so undeservedly upon us? Surely no. It is the like here; that which we receive is not owed, or compelled, but freely given; so no tie, but choice, a voluntary goodness without bargain or condition: but has this therefore no security? Yes, certainly, the greatest; a judgment writ and acknowledged in the mind: he is his to the altar, with a good conscience: but how long? As long as he lives. The characters of gratitude, like those of friendship, are only defaced by death, else indelible. "A friend loveth at all times," says Solomon, Prov. xvii. 12. chap. xxvii. 10. "And thine own friend, and thy father's friend, forsake not." It is injustice, which makes gratitude a pre-

cept. There are three sorts of men that can hardly be grateful: the fearful man, for in danger he loses his heart, with which he should help his friend: the proud man, for he takes that virtue for a reproach: he that unwillingly remembers he owes any thing to God, will not readily remember he is beholden to man. History lays it to the charge of some of this sort of great men, that, uneasy to see the authors of their greatness, have not been quiet, till they have accomplished the ruin of those that raised them. Lastly, The covetous man is as ill at it as the other two; his gold has spoiled his memory, and will not let him dare be grateful, though perhaps he owes the best part, at least the beginning of it, to another's favour. As there is nothing more unworthy in a man, so nothing in man so frequently reproached in scripture. How often does God put the Jews in mind for their forgetfulness and unthankfulness for the mercies and favours they received from him, read Deut. xxxii. 15. "Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked against God, grew unmindful, forgot and forsook his Rock, that had done mighty things for him." Thus Moses, Deut. xxxi. 16, 17. Also Judges x. 11, 12, 13. and 1 Sam. viii. 8. David likewise, in his lxxviii. cv. cvi. Psalms, gives an historv of God's love to Israel, and their ingratitude. So Isaiah xvii. 1 to 11. Likewise Jer. ii. 31, 32. c v. 7 to 20. c. xv. 6. c. xvi. 10, 11, 12, 20, 21. c. xviii. 15 Hos. viii. 9. It is a mark of apostacy from Christianity, by the apostle, 2 Tim. iii. 2.

§. 10. Diligence is another virtue, useful and laudable among men: it is a discreet and understanding application of one's self to business; and avoids the extremes of idleness and drudgery. It gives great advantages to men: it loses no time, it conquers difficulties, recovers disappointments, gives dispatch, supplies want of parts; and is that to them, which a pond is to a spring; though it has no water of itself, it will keep what it gets, and is never dry. Though that has the heels, this has the wind; and often wins the prize. Nor does it only concern handicrafts and bodily affairs; the mind is also engaged, and grows foul, rusty, and distempered without it. It belongs to you, throughout your whole man: be no more sauntering in your minds than in your bodies. And if you would have the full benefit of this virtue, do not baulk it by a confused mind. Shun diversions; think only of the present business, till that be done. Be busy to purpose; for a busy man, and a man of business, are two different things. Lay your matters right, and diligence succeeds them; else pains are lost. How laborious are some to no purpose! Consider your end

well, suit your means to it, and then diligently employ them, and you arrive where you would be, with God's blessing. Solomon praises diligence very highly. First, It is the way to wealth: "The diligent hand makes rich," Prov. x. 4. "The soul of the diligent shall be made fat," chap. xiii. 4. There is a promise to it, and one of another sort to the sluggard, chap. xxiii. 21. Secondly, It prefers men, ver. 29. "Seest thou a man diligent in his business, he shall stand before kings." Thirdly, It preserves an estate: "Be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks, and look well to thy herd; for riches are not for ever," chap. xxvii. 23, 24. There is no living upon the principal; you must be diligent to preserve what you have, whether it be acquisition or inheritance; else it will consume. In short, the wise man advises, "Whatsoever thy hand finds to do, do it with thy might." Eccl. ix. 10. As it mends a temporal state, no spiritual one can be got or kept without it. Moses earnestly presses it upon the Israelites, Deut. iv. 9. and vi. 7. The apostle Paul commends it in the Corinthians, and Titus to them for that reason, 2 Cor. viii. 7. 22. So he does Timothy to the Philippians on the same account, and urges them to work out their salvation, Phil. ii. 12. 20, 21. Peter also exhorts the churches to that purpose: "Wherefore the rather, brethren," says he, "give diligence to make your calling and election sure: for if you do these things you shall never fail, 2 Pet. i. 10. and in chap. iii. 13, 14. "Wherefore, beloved, seeing that you look for such things," (the end of the world, and last judgment) "be diligent, that you may be found of him in peace, without spot, and blameless." Thus diligence is an approved virtue: but remember, that is a reasonable pursuit or execution of honest purposes, and not an overcharging or oppressive prosecution, to mind or body, of most lawful enterprizes. Abuse it not, therefore, to ambition or avarice. Let necessity, charity, and conveniency govern it, and it will be well employed, and you may expect prosperous returns.

§. 11. Frugality is a virtue too, and not of little use in life; the better way to be rich, for it has less toil and temptation. It is proverbial, 'A penny saved is a penny got:' it has a significant moral; for this way of getting is more in your own power, and less subject to hazard, as well as snares, free of envy, void of suits, and is before-hand with calamities. For many get, that cannot keep; and for want of frugality, spend what they get, and so come to want what they have spent. But have a care of the extreme: want not with abundance, for that is avarice, even to sordidness:

it is fit you consider children, age, and casualties; but never pretend those things, to palliate and gratify covetousness. As I would have you liberal, but not prodigal; and diligent, but not drudging; so I would have you frugal, but not sordid. If you can, lay up one half of your income for those uses; in which let charity have at least the second consideration; but not Judas's, for that was in the wrong place.

§. 12. Temperance I most earnestly recommend to you, throughout the whole course of your life: it is numbered amongst "the fruits of the spirit," Gal. xxii. 23. and is a great and requisite virtue. Properly and strictly speaking, it refers to diet; but in general may be considered as having relation to all the affections and practices of men. I will therefore begin with it in regard to food, the sense in which it is customarily taken. Eat to live, and not live to eat, for that is below a beast. Avoid curiosities and provocations; let you chiefest sauce be a good stomach, which temperance will help to get you. You cannot be too plain in your diet, so you are clean; nor too sparing, so you have enough for nature. For that which keeps the body low, makes the spirit clear; as silence makes it strong. It conduces to good digestion, that to good rest, and that to a firm constitution. Much less feast any, except the poor; as Christ taught, Luke xiv. 12, 13. For entertainments are rarely without sin: but receive strangers readily. As in diet, so in apparel, observe, I charge you, an exemplary plainness. Choose your clothes for their usefulness, not the fashion; and for covering, and not finery, or to please a vain mind, in yourselves or others: they are fallen souls that think clothes can give beauty to man. "The life is more than raiment." Matt. vi. 25. Man cannot mend God's work, who can give neither life nor parts. They show little esteem for the wisdom and power of their Creator, that under-rate his workmanship (I was going to say his image) to a tailor's invention: gross folly and profanity! but do you, my dear children, call to mind who they were of old, that Jesus said, took so much care about what they should eat, drink, and put on. Were they not gentiles, heathens, a people without God in the world? Read Matt. vi. and when you have done that, peruse those excellent passages of the apostles Paul and Peter, 1 Tim. ii. 9. 10. and 1 Pet. iii. 3. 5. where, if you find the exhortation to women only, conclude it was effeminate, and a shame then for men to use such arts and cost upon their persons. Follow you the example of those primitive Christians, and not voluptuous gentiles, that perverted the very order of things: for they set lust above

nature, and the means above the end, and preferred vanity to conveniency: a wanton excess, that has no sense of God's mercies, and therefore cannot make a right use of them, and less yield the returns they deserve. In short, these intemperances are great enemies to health and to posterity; for they disease the body, rob children, and disappoint charity, and are of evil example; very catching, as well as pernicious evils. Nor do they end there: they are succeeded by other vices, which made the apostle put them together in his epistle to the Galatians, chap. v. 20, 21. The evil fruits of this part of intemperance, are so many and great, that, upon a serious reflection, I believe there is not a country, town, or family, almost, that does not labour under the mischief of it. I recommend to your perusal the first part of "No Cross, No Crown," and of the "Address to Protestants," in which I am more particular in my censure of it: as are the authorities I bring in favour of moderation. But the virtue of temperance does not only regard eating, drinking, and apparel; but furniture, attendance, expense, gain, parsimony, business, diversion, company, speech, sleeping, watchings, and every passion of the mind, love, anger, pleasure, joy, sorrow, resentment, are all concerned in it: therefore bound your desires, teach your wills subjection, take Christ for your example, as well as guide. It was he that led and taught a life of faith in Providence, and told his disciples the danger of the cares and pleasures of this world; they choaked the seed of the kingdom, stifled and extinguished virtue in the soul, and rendered man barren of good fruit. His sermon upon the mount is one continued divine authority in favour of an universal temperance. The apostle, well aware of the necessity of this virtue, gave the Corinthians a seasonable caution. "Know ye not," says he, "that they which run in a race, run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain. And every man that striveth for mastery (or seeketh victory), is temperate in all things:" (he acts discreetly, and with a right judgment.) "Now, they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible. I therefore so run, as not uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air: but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection; lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should become a castaway," 1 Cor. ix. 25, 27. In another chapter he presses the temperance almost to indifferency: "But this I say, brethren, the time is short: it remaineth then, that both they that have wives, be as though they had none; and those that weep, as though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and they that use this

world, as not abusing it." And all this is not without reason: he gives a very good one for it. "For," saith he, "the fashion of the world passeth away; but I would have you without carefulness," 1 Cor. vii. 29—32. It was for this cause he pressed it so hard upon Titus to warn the elders of that time to be sober, grave, temperate, Tit. ii. 2. not eager, violent, obstinate, tenacious, or inordinate in any sort. He makes it an indispensable duty in pastors of churches, that they be "not self-willed, soon angry, given to wine or filthy lucre, but lovers of hospitality, of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate," Tit. i. 7, 8. And why so? Because against these excellent virtues "there is no law." Gal. v. 23.

I will shut up this head (being touched upon in divers places of this advice) with this one most comprehensive passage of the apostle, Philip. iv. 5. "Let your moderation be known unto all men, for the Lord is at hand." As if he had said, 'Take heed! look to your ways! have a care what ye do! for the Lord is near you, even at the door; he sees you; he marks your steps, tells your wanderings, and he will judge you.' Let this excellent, this home and close sentence live in your minds: let it ever dwell upon your spirits, my beloved children, and influence all your actions, aye, your affections and thoughts. It is a noble measure, sufficient to regulate the whole; they that have it, are easy as well as safe. No extreme prevails; the world is kept at arm's end; and such have power over their own spirits, which gives them the truest enjoyment of themselves and what they have: a dominion greater than that of empires. O may this virtue be yours! you have grace from God for that end, and it is sufficient: employ it, and you cannot miss of temperance, nor therein of the truest happiness in all your conduct.

§. 13. I have chosen to speak in the language of the scripture; which is that of the Holy Ghost, the spirit of truth and wisdom, that wanted no art or direction of man to speak by, and express itself fitly to man's understanding. But yet that blessed principle, the Eternal Word, I begun with to you, and which is that light, spirit, grace and truth, I have exhorted you to in all its holy appearances or manifestations in yourselves, by which all things were at first made, and man enlightened to salvation, is

Pythagoras's Great Light and Salt of Ages:
Anaxagoras's Divine Mind:
Socrates's Good Spirit:
Timæus's Unbegotten Principle, and Author of all Light:
Hieron's God in Man:

Plato's Eternal, Ineffable, and Perfect Principle of Truth:
Zeno's Maker and Father of all: and
Plotin's Root of the Soul:
who as they thus styled the ETERNAL WORD, so for the appearance of it in man, they wanted not very significant words:

'A Domestic God, or God within,' say Hieron, Pythagoras, Epictetus, and Seneca.

'Genius, Angel, or Guide,' say Socrates and Timæus.

'The Light and Spirit of God,' says Plato:

'The Divine Principle in Man,' says Plotin:

'The Divine Power and Reason, the Infallible Immortal Law in the Minds of Men,' says Philo: and

'The Law and Living Rule of the Mind, the Interior Guide of the Soul, and Everlasting Foundation of Virtue,' says Plutarch.

Of which you may read more in the first part of 'The Christian Quaker,' and in the 'Confutation of Atheism, by Dr. Cudworth.'

These are some of those virtuous Gentiles commended by the apostle, Rom. ii. 13, 14, 15. who though they had not the law given to them, as the Jews had, with those instrumental helps and advantages, yet doing by nature the things contained in the law, they became a law unto themselves.

WILLIAM PENN.

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